

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS

SPANISH

Master of Philosophy

THE INFLUENCE OF SPANISH LITERATURE ON OPERA

by Frederick James Woods

There are a considerable number of operas based on Spanish subjects, many of them taken direct from Spanish literature and drama. Very few of these operas have been compared with their literary sources, and hitherto no attempt has been made to present an overall account of the extent of Spanish influence on opera. The aims of this study are to indicate the extent of that influence, to examine the literary works chosen by composers and librettists with regard to their adaptability as operatic material, and to compare the adaptations with the original works so as to assess the worth of the musical versions. The operas discussed have been grouped according to the nationality of the composer, in order to show how Spanish influence has varied from one country to another.

The two Spanish subjects used most frequently in opera are Cervantes's novel, Don Quixote, and the legend of Don Juan. The latter subject exists in several literary versions, the most important ones in Spain being Tirso de Molina's El burlador de Sevilla and José Zorrilla's Don Juan Tenorio. Operas based on these themes are discussed in separate chapters. Most of the other Spanish works used belong to the Golden Age (1492-1700); a few are from the literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but none is from the eighteenth. In addition, references have been made to a number of operas set in Spain but not derived from Spanish literature.

A study of this kind cannot be exhaustive. In a very few cases it has proved impossible to trace either the score or the libretto of an opera believed to be based on Spanish literature. On the other hand, there may well be other works, as yet undiscovered, which are derived from that source.

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INTRODUCTION

The extent to which Spain has inspired opera composers is not generally realised. Although Spanish literature has been widely read outside the Peninsula, especially since the nineteenth century, Spanish music, and in particular opera, has been neglected by non-Spanish musicologists. Such neglect is not entirely unjustified; with the possible exception of the seventeenth-century zarzuela, indigenous opera in Spain has never equalled that of Italy, Germany, France or even England. Nevertheless, Spanish literature, history and locales have been used frequently by composers and librettists from these and other countries, including Britain and America, Russia, Hungary, Portugal, Argentina and Spain itself.

Of the 380 operas with a Spanish background to which references have been found, 230 are inspired by Spanish prose and drama. 103 of these are adaptations of Cervantes's Don Quixote. The large number of Quixote versions performed in the eighteenth century attests to the plagiarism and the fierce rivalry among composers of Italian opera during that period. Also, at a time when opera buffa was regarded by many as a very inferior art-form, the use of a well-known subject by a respected author would have had obvious advantages. A further 49 works treat the Don Juan legend, although several of these owe more to non-Spanish literary versions than to either Tirso de Molina or Zorrilla. The majority of the remaining 78 operas are based on Golden-Age plays and novels, Calderón and Cervantes being the favourite authors. The interest in Calderón's work shown by nineteenth-century writers, particularly in Germany, may well have influenced some opera composers in their choice. In the twentieth century one Spanish writer predominates: García Lorca. References have been found to 11 operatic adaptations of his plays, all written since his death in 1936. It is very significant that in Lorca's drama, as in Calderón's,

music is an integral part of the action, and furthermore, both dramatists showed a profound interest in music.

In order to indicate the extent of Spanish influence on opera, references have been made to 150 works in which the setting is Spanish, although there is no traceable derivation from Spanish literature. These include 17 which depict the Spanish conquest of America, 13 based on the legend of El Cid, and 12 which treat the voyages of Columbus. All three subjects offer scope for spectacular effects in the form of battle scenes, with choruses of rival armies, and their remoteness of time and place would doubtless have gratified the audiences' love of the exotic during the period 1750-1850, when the majority of these operas were written.

Since, for the purposes of this study, it is impossible to distinguish satisfactorily between "pure" opera, that is opera which is sung throughout, and drama in which only a proportion of the dialogue is sung, the term "opera" has been used to denote all musico-dramatic works.

Unless otherwise stated, details of place and date refer to the first staged performance for dramatic works and to publication for non-dramatic works.

Chapter 1

ITALY

There are many more operas on Spanish subjects by Italian composers than by composers from any other country. The most obvious reason for this is that in Italy opera, since its origin in Florence, has always been a favourite musical genre, whereas in other countries its popularity has been inconsistent. In the sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries political and cultural ties between Italy and Spain were fairly strong,¹ and this fact would no doubt have increased the popularity of Spanish subjects in opera. Several of Calderón's plays were performed in Italy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These performances made extensive use of music and some may have approximated to operatic adaptions.² The three most frequently used subjects, however, were Don Quixote, the Don Juan story, and the legend of El Cid. Among the operas with no connection with Spanish literature the favourite subjects were Columbus, the conquest of America, and Don Carlos. It was not until the nineteenth century that originality of subject-matter appears to have been important for opera composers. One finds therefore that, with very few exceptions, the "Spanish" operas written before 1800 are based on one of the six subjects mentioned. With the rejuvenation of Spanish literature in the nineteenth century, which followed a period of literary poverty, and with an increasing desire on the part of composers and audiences for originality of subject-matter, one finds contemporary or near-contemporary Spanish literature being used as the source of opera libretti.

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1. Milan and Naples belonged to Spain until the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), and the early writers of the Golden Age were influenced considerably by Italian literature.
 2. See Arturo Farinelli, "Apuntes sobre Calderón y la música en Alemania", Cultura Española, I (1907), 119-160.

The earliest known Italian opera on a Spanish subject is Sancio - un dramma per musica (1655).¹ The next "Spanish" opera is Alessandro Melani's Il empio punito (1669).² The title, "The Impious Man Punished", is typical of the moralising tone of Roman opera at that time as opposed to Florentine and Venetian opera.³

In 1710, an Italian opera was produced at the Haymarket Theatre, London, entitled Almahide. It treats not one of the six most common Spanish subjects but one which was to gain popularity amongst composers of the nineteenth century: the reconquest of Moorish Spain. It is based on Dryden's Almanzor and Almahide, the second part of his The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards (1672). Although neither the poet nor the composer is mentioned in either the libretto or the score, the music is attributed to Giovanni Bononcini, Handel's rival in England, on the strength of a remark made by Burney that the music was "all of one style, and that style more like Bononcini's than any other composer of the time".⁴ By this time Italian opera was firmly established in many cities outside Italy, and in 1719 another Quixote opera was produced, this time in Vienna: Don Chisciotte in Sierra Morena⁵ by Francesco Bartolomeo Conti.

During the eighteenth century a number of very important changes took place in the development of the opera, and their effect can be seen in the choice of subjects among Spanish-influenced works. The focal point for Italian opera shifted from Venice to Naples, and it was in the latter

1. See below, p. 248.

2. See below, p. 270, n. 1.

3. See Donald Jay Grout, A Short History of Opera, 2nd ed., (Columbia, 1965), pp. 61-72, for a description of opera in Rome at that time.

4. Quoted in Sir. G. Grove, Dictionary of Music and Musicians 5th ed. (London, 1954), I, 807.

5. See Grout, op. cit., pp. 185-194.

city that, due to the reforms made in opera seria by Zeno and Metastasio,¹ comic opera became established as an independent genre,² for Zeno had purged serious opera of both comic and supernatural episodes. During the years 1719-71, at least seven Italian Quixote operas were performed, but reference has been found to only one opera on the Don Juan theme: La gravità castigata (Brünn, 1734), by Angelo Mingotti. Don Quixote, although until the nineteenth century treated in opera merely as a comedy, would have had the advantage of being a very well-known story by a respected author - a point of considerable importance at a time when comic opera was regarded by many as an inferior form of entertainment. On the other hand, one of the greatest attractions of the Don Juan theme was its supernatural ending, and so it was not until the last quarter of the century, when Zeno's reforms had generally speaking been forgotten, that the Don Juan theme once again became popular amongst opera composers. At least fourteen Italian operas based on Don Quixote were performed during the eighteenth century.³ The fact that the last three of these were performed during three successive years, 1769, 1770 and 1771, gives some indication of the open rivalry which existed between Italian opera composers of the eighteenth century. Apart from Don Quixote, the favourite Spanish subjects amongst opera composers of this period (the eighteenth century) were those which lent themselves to heroic opera seria treatment, such as El Cid, of which six examples have been found, and the Spanish conquest of America, of which ten examples have been found.⁴ The latter subject was especially popular with composers of the

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1. See Grout, op. cit., pp. 185-194.
 2. During the first half of the century opera buffa was regarded as a rather low kind of entertainment; by 1750 it was as important as opera seria, and towards the end of the century the two types had once again begun to be intermingled, so that in 1787 one finds Mozart describing his Don Giovanni as a dramma giocoso.
 3. The Quixote operas are discussed in Chapter 6.
 4. See Appendix.

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as it provided an opportunity for lavish spectacle, battle scenes and local colour, which sometimes took the form of a rather feeble attempt to create the sound of primitive Indian music in the ballet movements. None of these operas is based on a Spanish literary work, and so they do not justify a detailed description here, but Mayo's Montesuma¹ may be taken as fairly representative of the subject-matter of these operas. The plot shows how Montesuma, the old tyrannical Emperor of Mexico, is finally defeated by Fernando Cortés and the Spaniards. There are battle scenes and love scenes, but very little really dramatic action. An opera with the same title, of which the music has been published, is Heinrich Graun's Montesuma, composed to a libretto by Frederick the Great of Prussia. The chief interest in this work lies in the use made of the cavatina, which at that time was a new aria-form.²

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century at least eight Italian operas on the Don Juan legend were composed. It has already been mentioned that towards the end of the century the distinction between opera seria and buffa was once again becoming blurred. In the Don Juan story the comic and tragic elements are almost inextricably intermingled. Eighteenth-century audiences might have found it virtually impossible to witness Don Juan's crimes enacted on the stage without making light of them. They are therefore exaggerated to the point at which they are no longer embarrassing. On the other hand, moral propriety required the castigation of the libertine, so a serious ending was necessary. One has in the Don Juan story a good example of the comico-serious plot for which audiences at this time were showing preference. An additional advantage was that the story was well-known and enjoyed. E. J. Dent

1. The libretto of this work may be seen in the Biblioteca Central, Barcelona, Cat. no. C 400/253.

2. For a description and bibliography of this opera see Grout, op. cit., pp. 211-215.

mentions¹ that at least until 1783 an improvised version of the story was regularly performed in Vienna during the octave of All Souls.

The first operatic version of the Don Juan story during this period is Guiseppe Calegari's Il convitato di pietra, performed in Venice in 1777.² Possibly in the same year Vincenzo Righini's Don Giovanni ossia il convitato di pietra was performed in Vienna.³ In 1783 a Don Juan opera was performed in Warsaw, entitled Don Juan albo Ukarany Libertyn. The libretto was by W. Boguslawski, and may have been a Polish translation of the one set by Righini. The music however was by an Italian, Gioacchino Albertini, who, in 1782, became conductor of the Royal Orchestra in Warsaw. Also in 1783 Giacomo Tritto's Il convitato di pietra, with a libretto by Giambattista Lorenzi, was performed in Naples at the Teatro dei Fiorentini. Weinstein describes it as a "musical farce".⁴ It is clear that the work has none of the seriousness which one finds in Tirso's El burlador de Sevilla. The year 1787 saw the first performance of the work which was to eclipse all other Don Juan versions: Mozart's Il dissoluto punito ossia il Don Giovanni. It was preceded in the same year by two other Don Juan operas: Giuseppe Gazzaniga's Il Don Giovanni ossia il dissoluto and Francesco Gardi's Il nuovo convitato di pietra. There can be no doubt that Mozart and Da Ponte studied both the music and the libretto of the former work.⁵ Gazzaniga's opera,⁶ with words by Giovanni Bertati, was performed in February at the Teatro San

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1. Edward J. Dent, Mozart's Operas, 2nd ed. (London, 1947), p. 128.
 2. The score of this work is apparently lost.
 3. The work has an alternative title: Il convitato di pietra ossia il dissoluto. Other times and places for the first performance are suggested in Leo Weinstein, The Metamorphoses of Don Juan (Stanford, Calif., 1959), p. 207.
 4. Weinstein, op. cit., p. 208.
 5. E. J. Dent, op. cit., pp. 129-143, sets out in detail the relationship between Gazzaniga's opera and Mozart's.
 6. Gazzaniga had studied under Piccinni and Sacchini, both of whom wrote operas on Spanish subjects.

Moisè, Venice. It was so successful that Gardi's rival opera, with words by Giuseppe Foppa, was produced very soon after at another Venetian theatre, San Samuele. Mozart's version was produced on October 29, at Prague. The following year yet another Don Giovanni appeared in Italy, at Fano, with music by Fabrizi.¹ If one includes the possible version by Paisiello,² there are at least nine known operatic versions of the Don Juan theme written between 1775 and 1788.³

The changes which occurred in opera during the nineteenth century were of greater significance than even the literary reforms of Zeno and Metastasio or the musical reforms of Gluck. For the first half of the century Paris was regarded as the European centre for opera, and even the Italians regarded a success in that city as a climax in their careers. Even Verdi was no exception in this respect. The atmosphere of unrest during the years of the French Revolution gave rise to the so-called "rescue" operas, in which danger, suspense and the ideals of human liberty and self-sacrifice played a major part.⁴ During the nineteenth century a changing attitude to the choice of subject-matter becomes apparent. With regard to Spanish subjects, the plagiarism found in the eighteenth century is less common, and the traditionally popular themes, Don Quixote,⁵

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1. The libretto is thought to have been either that used by Tritto, or a new one by Giuseppe Maria Diodati.
 2. See Eugenio Faustini-Fasini, Opere teatrali, oratori e cantate di Giovanni Paisiello (1764-1808): Saggio storico-cronologico (Bari, Laterza, 1940), p. 175.
 3. In 1794 another Don Giovanni was produced, by Vincenzo Federici in collaboration with Da Ponte, and with additional music by Gazzaniga, Giuseppe Sarti and Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi.
 4. The most famous example is Beethoven's Fidelio. Like Beaumarchais's controversial plays, this work is set in Spain, a country which, at that time, appears to have been regarded as sufficiently remote to distract the audience's attention from any political interpretations.
 5. See Chapter 7 and Appendix. It is known that at least two composers of Don Quixote operas spent some time in Spain, Generali from 1817 to 1820, and Mercadente from 1827 to 1829. The latter wrote some of his operas for Spanish theatres in Madrid and Cadiz, and a work entitled Sinfonía de aires españoles.

Don Juan, the discovery and conquest of America, and El Cid,¹ are used less frequently. On the other hand, operas portraying other episodes from Spanish history, purely fictional operas with a Spanish locale, and operas based on near-contemporary Spanish literature are more numerous.

It is of interest to compare the number of eighteenth-century Italian operas on a particular subject with the number of nineteenth-century operas. The Spanish conquest of America had been a popular subject in the eighteenth century, whereas in the nineteenth century only two examples have come to light.² The discovery of America by Columbus, however, gained in popularity during the nineteenth century, and there are at least eight operas on this subject.¹ Franchetti's Cristoforo Colombo was commissioned by the town of Genoa to mark the 400th anniversary of Columbus's first voyage and is conceived on a vast scale; it attempts to span the whole of Columbus's adult life. A large cast and orchestra are employed, and the work is divided into four acts and an epilogue. In the First Act we hear Columbus's ideas derided by the crowds. Only Queen Isabella believes in him, and she provides him with the necessary aid to realise his ideal. The Second Act takes place at sea. Columbus, at the mercy of the disillusioned sailors, is saved only by the sight of land. The Third Act results in Columbus's being dispatched to Spain in chains. In the closing scene we see Columbus kneeling beside the tomb of Isabella, who had made possible his discovery. Dramatically, as well as musically, the opera is very weak, action being sacrificed for spectacle. It is the antithesis of the "verismo" opera which was fashionable at that time and is in fact

1. See Appendix.

2. Gasparo Luigi Pacifico Spontini, Fernando Cortez ou la conquête du Mexique (Paris, 1809) and Pacini, Amazilia (Naples, 1825). The former work looks back to the dramatic methods of Gluck rather than forwards to nineteenth-century practice, in spite of its occasional use of mild exoticism, as in the "coro e danze barbare", and its grandiose, Meyerbeerian choruses.

an anachronism, a relic of Meyerbeerian grand opera.

In most cases it is impossible to say with any certainty why a particular subject which had been popular in the eighteenth century was not so in the nineteenth. So many factors would have affected a composer's or a librettist's choice that it is impossible to generalise. One can, however, suggest a possible reason why the Don Juan legend, of which there were many eighteenth-century versions, was rarely used in opera during the nineteenth century. The conclusion of the story presents a problem. For the Spanish dramatist, Tirso de Molina, the solution was clear, for he treated his theme from a religious view-point, which required that the protagonist be justly punished for his misdeeds. The eighteenth century took a lighter, not to say cynical, view of the Don's debilidades, and compromised with a closing moral for the sake of propriety. Neither of these attitudes was congenial to the majority of composers of the Romantic period, and, apart from the works by Raimondi and Pacini (both written fairly early in the century), the Don Juan theme was neglected by Italian opera composers during the nineteenth century.

During the nineteenth century Spain became increasingly popular as the locale for operatic subjects. It has already been noted that operas open to political interpretation were sometimes set in that country. As the emphasis shifted from the portrayal of stylised moods to the portrayal of individual persons and their often violent passions, so Spain, its history and its people, came to be regarded as the embodiment of violent emotions. There are very few examples of Spanish literature being used as the basis for a libretto. There are, however, a large number of nineteenth-century Italian operas based on an episode or character from Spanish history. These include five operas entitled Don Carlo,¹ a subject which had been popularised by the publication of Schiller's Don Carlos. The three Don Carlo operas of which the score or the libretto is in ex-

1. See Appendix.

istence, Costa's,¹ Bona's and Verdi's, all follow closely Schiller's drama, which deviates from historical fact by making Don Carlos the champion of freedom in the Low Countries, guided by his friend, the fictitious Marquess of Posa, and by representing the cause of the Infante's quarrel with Philip II as his adulterous love for the young queen, Isabella of Valois. Costa's work, which, like Schiller's, is markedly biased against the bigotry of Philip II and the cruelty of the Inquisition, is representative of the English attitude in the nineteenth century towards Spanish cruelty and fanaticism, such as one finds in Borrow and Blanco-White.² The libretto of Bona's opera, by Giorgio Giachetti, is very similar to that written by Méry and Du Locle for Verdi, but in the earlier work the action proceeds at a faster pace, allowing less time for the delineation of character in the music. This is particularly noticeable in the scenes between Don Carlos and Princess Eboli (Bona's opera, III, 1), in which the change in Eboli's feelings for Carlos from love to revenge takes place too rapidly to be convincing.³ Verdi's opera is of course superior musically to the other versions, in spite of the somewhat bombastic Meyerbeerian spectacle of the "auto da fe" scene and some rather trivial ballet movements. The characterisation in music of Eboli⁴ and

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1. Costa, whose father was of Spanish descent and a pupil of Leo, was himself a pupil of Tritto and Zingarelli, both of whom had composed "Spanish" operas.
 2. See Chapter 2.
 3. In the corresponding scene in Verdi's opera a great sense of dramatic irony is felt as Eboli mistakes Carlo's gallant flattery for his reciprocation of her love.
 4. Eboli's vocal arabesques, with their use of the Phrygian cadence found in Andalusian folk music, are the only example of "Spanish" effects in this work.

the king¹ are among Verdi's greatest achievements in his middle-period operas.

A Spanish historical subject which was as popular among Italian composers as was the life of Don Carlos was the legend of Inés de Castro. This very macabre story, the final scene of which shows a young Portuguese king crowning the head of his assassinated Spanish bride, is found in both Spanish and Portuguese literature,² and it inspired six Italian operas.³

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1. The scene between Philip and the Grand Inquisitor in Act IV, which symbolises the conflict between church and state, is surely one of the finest scenes of any Spanish-influenced work. The oppressive atmosphere is intensified by the sombre orchestral chords with which the scene opens:

Ex. 1.

The musical score for Ex. 1 is written for voice and piano. It consists of two systems of staves. The top system shows a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (bass clef). The vocal line begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4. The piano accompaniment begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note G3, a quarter note A3, and a half note B3. The bottom system shows a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (bass clef). The vocal line begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4. The piano accompaniment begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note G3, a quarter note A3, and a half note B3. The score is marked with 'pp legato' and 'con s' (con sordina). The piano accompaniment is marked with 'dim. pp' (diminuendo pianissimo).

Voc. sc. (Paris, 1867), p. 265, bars 3-7.

2. For details of versions of this legend in Spanish literature see Germán Bleiberg and Julián Marías, Diccionario de la literatura española (Madrid, 1964), pp. 410-411; Edward M. Wilson and Duncan Moir, The Golden Age: Drama 1492-1700 (London, 1971), pp. 29-30 and 79.
3. See Appendix.

None of these operas, however, shows sufficient resemblance to a Spanish literary work to justify a detailed description here. Four Italian operas entitled Giovanna di Castiglia¹ and two entitled Il duca d'Alba² appeared during the nineteenth century, in addition to a considerable number of operas with a Spanish historical background, but with more or less fictional subject-matter.³ On the other hand, purely fictional operas with a Spanish setting, corresponding to Carmen in French opera, are rare among Italian composers of the nineteenth century. Unlike French composers of that period, the Italians appear to have been attracted not so much by Spain as an exotic locale but by the dramatic possibilities seen in Spanish historical subjects. Consequently one finds very few attempts among Italian composers to imitate the sound of Spanish folk music, and very few non-historical operas set in Spain.⁴

It is an important fact that, with one notable exception, Verdi, Italian composers found no inspiration in contemporary Spanish literature. The primary reason for this is that few contemporary Spanish works were available in Italy, and even less in translation. This is exemplified by the fact that Verdi found great difficulty in obtaining a copy of El trovador by Antonio García Gutiérrez. Also Spanish drama of this period would pose very difficult problems for the librettist, as Verdi himself

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1. See Appendix. The central figure in these operas is Juana la loca, elder daughter of the Catholic Monarchs. Although she was proclaimed Queen of Castile in 1504 she was mentally incapacitated and unable to rule.
 2. See Appendix.
 3. These include Luigi Cherubini's Les Abencérages ou l'Étendard de Grenade (Paris, 1813). This opera, based on Florian's novel, Gonsalve de Cordove, is set in Moorish Spain. The plot is similar to that of Lope de Vega's El remedio en la desdicha, but there is no evidence to suggest that the opera is in any way directly influenced by a Spanish work. Other works in this category are listed in the Appendix.
 4. Apart from operas with an historical background and operas based on a Spanish literary work, there appear to be only two nineteenth-century Italian operas in which the locale only is Spanish. They are both adaptations of Le barbier de Seville (1788) by Beaumarchais, first made into an opera by Paisiello in 1782, and both were written in 1816, the composers being Rossini (Rome) and Morlacchi (Dresden).

discovered, even though some plays bear a superficial resemblance to opera libretti.¹ Spanish romantic drama, in spite of the powerful influence on it of French romanticists such as Dumas and Hugo, still followed closely the tradition of the Golden-Age dramatists, and this is seen in the perpetuation of pundonor themes and the episodical rather than developmental structure of the plots. This drama was to prove a snare even for Verdi.

Verdi's use of Spanish subjects is unparalleled in the history of opera. With the exception of Mozart's Don Giovanni, which in any case is not taken directly from Tirso's play, Verdi's Il trovatore (Rome, 1853), Simon Boccanegra (Venice, 1857), and La forza del destino (St. Petersburg, 1862) are the only operas based on Spanish literary works which have remained in the operatic repertoire, and, with the possible exception of Avelino de Aguirre's Gli amanti di Teruel,² they are the only pre-twentieth-century examples of the use of contemporary Spanish literature in Italian opera. In addition to these three operas, Verdi wrote three operas, Ernani, Alzira³ and Don Carlo, in which the setting is Spanish, although these works are not based on Spanish literature. As Zenia Sacks suggests,⁴ it is unlikely that Verdi had much contact with literature before his middle twenties, and even then his interest was not in drama per se but as the source of opera libretti. Nevertheless his interest in dramatic production was great and, as the letters to his librettists show, he took

1. E.g. El trovador. See Enrique Piñeyro, El romanticismo en España (Paris, 1904), p. 101.

2. This work is referred to in Félix Clément and Pierre Larousse, Dictionnaire des Opéras, rev. Arthur Pougin (Paris, 1905), p. 40, but neither the score nor the libretto have been located. The libretto was by Rosario Zapater, and the opera was performed in Valencia in 1865. It is certainly possible that it was based on Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch's Los amantes de Teruel (1837).

3. Alzira (Naples, 1845), is based on Voltaire's Alzire and depicts the Spaniards in Peru.

4. Zenia Sacks, "Verdi and Spanish Romantic Drama", Hispania, XXVII (1944), 451-465.

a major part in the construction of his libretti, sometimes leaving the librettist to do little more than versify his ideas. It is not known how he discovered the Spanish plays on which three of his operas are based. Sacks's suggestion that he may have seen a performance of El trovador seems improbable. Contemporary Spanish literature was not widely known in Italy at that time, as is evidenced by Verdi's difficulty in obtaining a copy of that work. Nor has any evidence appeared to show that Verdi met García Gutiérrez, despite the fact that the latter was Spanish consul in Genoa, a town for which the composer had great affection. Verdi's direct contact with Spain and Spaniards is not very significant. Among his acquaintances he would have numbered Signora Rossini, who was Spanish, and no doubt some Spanish singers, but he did not visit Spain until 1863, by which time he had written the three operas in question. It seems that by chance he must have read the plays, either in Spanish or in a translation.

Verdi's three "Spanish" operas belong to the middle period of his life, that is to the period in which his works show greater emphasis on human emotions and individual situations and less on patriotism. Although there would still be those who saw political significance in these more mature works,¹ any parallels between operatic situations and Italy's fight for freedom and unity are few in number and almost certainly fortuitous.² The three Spanish plays which Verdi chose, despite their politico-historical background, are essentially dramas of human emotions and conflicts, and Verdi probably had no political motive in choosing them.

The first mention by Verdi of El trovador occurs in a letter, dated 1850, which the composer wrote to his librettist, Salvatore Cammarano. Clearly the play had made a deep impression on him, for he writes: "The

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1. La forza del destino, for example, includes a scene in which Italians appear fighting on the side of the Spaniards against the Austrians.
 2. For a detailed account of Verdi's relationship with the Risorgimento see George Martin, Verdi: His Music, Life and Times (London, 1965).

subject I should like and which I suggest is El trovador, a Spanish drama by García Gutiérrez. It seems to me very fine, rich in ideas and strong situations."¹ Cammarano prepared a draft synopsis for the libretto, which, however, did not satisfy the composer, and in a letter dated April 9, 1851, he suggests that they abandon Il trovatore if they find that they are unable "to retain all the boldness and novelty of the Spanish play".² With the requirements of the theatre always uppermost in his mind, Verdi was prepared to exchange the subject which had so fired his imagination for a more easily adaptable play,³ yet not without reluctance, for he enclosed a libretto sketch of his own which Cammarano used, though not, it seems, with much enthusiasm. In July of the following year Cammarano died, and the libretto was completed by Leone Emanuele Bardare. The music of Il trovatore was composed at a speed more characteristic of Verdi's earlier years, but the finished work shows none of the haste which mars his youthful works. The subject had been maturing in his mind for over a year by the time he wrote down the notes.

García Gutiérrez's play, El trovador, is one of the most important works of the Romantic Movement in Spain. It was first performed at the Teatro del Príncipe in Madrid on March 1, 1836, and it was enthusiastically acclaimed by public and critics alike. Though not without a number of very original elements, notably the creation of Azucena, the work relies heavily on earlier romantic dramas by both Spanish and French authors. Both Regensburger⁴ and Adams⁵ have shown how closely García Gutiérrez's

1. Quoted from George Martin, op. cit., p. 217.

2. I Copialettere di Guiseppe Verdi, ed. Gaetano Cesari and Alessandro Luzio (Milan, 1913, reissued Bologna, 1968), p. 118.

3. Viz. La dame aux camélias, which he did in fact use in La traviata.

4. C. A. Regensburger, Über den Trovador des García Gutiérrez, die Quelle von Verdis Oper 'Il trovatore' (Berlin, 1911).

5. N. B. Adams, The Romantic Dramas of García Gutiérrez (New York, 1922), pp. 68-80.

play resembles Mariano José de Larra's Macías (1834), which in turn is similar in several respects to Henri III et sa cour (1829) by Dumas. Regensburger has also shown the influence of the latter's La tour de Nesle (1832) on El trovador, which García Gutiérrez was later (in 1840) to translate as Margarita de Borgoña.

El trovador is in many ways a typical example of Spanish romantic drama. The events follow one another in quick succession, but often they seem to be dependent upon chance rather than to follow a logical cause-and-effect process. This produces an atmosphere of fatalism, of which the lovers Manrique and Leonor are the victims, and although el destino is not felt to be the motivating force as it is in Rivas's Don Alvaro, there are several references in the play to the inevitability of fortune.¹ Other romantic characteristics are seen in the use of a title for each act,² in the choice of locales - a convent, a prison - and the predilection for night scenes, the emphasis on violence,³ and the disregard for the classical unities. Regarding the unities, a year separates the First Act from the Second, and although the action is confined to Aragon, the precise locale varies from act to act. Also there are two distinct themes: the love between Manrique and Leonor and Azucena's desire for vengeance. And, following Rivas's example, García Gutiérrez alternates verse and prose, although in this he respects certain self-

1. E.g. Leonora: Llorando, sí;
 yo para llorar nací;
 mi negra estrella enemiga,
 mi suerte lo quiere así. (I, iii).

2. This device was more prevalent in French romantic drama than in Spanish, e.g. Victor Hugo's Hernani.

3. The play includes a duel, a beheading, a suicide by poisoning and several references to burning at the stake. To this may be added the background of civil war.

imposed rules, as Fernández González has pointed out;¹ he uses prose for dialogues between Manrique and Azucena and between the servants, reserving the use of verse for dialogues between the characters of noble birth, including the lovers.

The First Act of El trovador falls into two sections. The first of these, which is in prose, opens in an atmosphere of suspense as Nuño's servants relate past events, how their master's father had had a witch burnt at the stake and how, very soon after this event, Nuño's brother had mysteriously disappeared. Proceeding to more recent events, they tell of Nuño's love for Leonor and of her mistaking him for her troubadour lover. The rest of the act is in verse and advances the action. We see Guillén, Leonor's tyrannical brother, scorning her for rejecting Nuño in favour of an unknown troubadour. The next scene shows Leonor confessing to her servant, Jimena, her sorrow that Manrique thinks her unfaithful. Manrique enters, and, on hearing Leonor's explanation, reassures her of his love. The First Act ends with the arrival of Nuño, who reproaches Manrique for his low birth and is provoked to a duel. The title of the Second Act, El convento, serves as an antithesis to that of the first. Leonor, believing Manrique to be dead, is about to take her vows as a nun. Outside the church the servants of the count are waiting to abduct her, but Manrique arrives, and, on seeing him, Leonor faints and Nuño's servants flee. In the Third Act the gypsy, Azucena, makes her first appearance. Though not the central character for García Gutiérrez as she was for Verdi, she is without doubt the most forceful and the most original character. She relates the story of her mother's death and how

1. A. García Gutiérrez, El trovador, ed. A. Raimundo Fernández González (Salamanca, 1965), p. 18. All quotations from El trovador are from this edition.

she burnt her own son in mistake for the count's. The second half of this act deals with Manrique's successful attempt to abduct Leonor. The Fourth Act is entitled La revelación and in fact the revelation is two-fold. Nuño learns that his rival is a gypsy's son,¹ and, when the news of Azucena's capture reaches Manrique, the troubadour confesses to Leonor that his mother is a gypsy. The Final Act ends with horrific melodrama, worthy of Dumas père. Leonor dies poisoned; Azucena is forced to watch the beheading of Manrique before finally dying herself. The play which had opened in an atmosphere of gloom ends in unrelieved tragedy.

El trovador has a number of serious defects, but the construction of the plot is not one of them. On the contrary, García Gutiérrez handles with remarkable assurance what Larra described as the vast plot of a novel rather than a play.² The action is fast and at no point is the tension weakened by unnecessary dialogue or lengthy soliloquy. The endings of the acts are especially good, for, having completed a particular episode, each act ends on a note of suspense, leaving the audience in a mood of eager expectancy.³ The violent last act, which might easily have been allowed to sink to the level of distasteful sensationalism, is well compressed, and its lugubriousness is lightened momentarily by Manrique's concise yet lyrical lament over Leonor:

A morir dispuesto estoy...
Mas no, esperad un instante;
a contemplar su semblante,
a adorarla otra vez voy. (V, vii).

1. On being captured by Nuño's men, Azucena exclaims:

... ¡Manrique, hijo,
ven a librarme! (IV, iii).

2. See M. J. de Larra, Obras de Figaro (Paris, 1857), II, 80-83.

3. See N. B. Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

The play's defects consist chiefly of entries such as Manrique's appearance at the convent (II, vii), or his visit to Leonor's cell (III, iv), and situations such as Nuño's allowing Leonor to visit her lover's cell and her admission to the cell without any note of authority from the count. For none of these incidents is adequate explanation given. Nor is it easy to accept Azucena's explanation of the killing of her own son.

The characters in El trovador are depicted in broad outline rather than with subtle idiosyncrasies. Nevertheless they are perfectly credible. Azucena is by far the most interesting figure in the drama, since she is the only person in whom there is any conflict of emotions.¹ Her desire to avenge her mother's death is mitigated only by her maternal love for Manrique. Of the two lovers, Leonor is the more constant. She shows considerable courage in her defiance of Guillén:

Que nunca seré del conde...,
nunca: ¿lo oís Don Guillén? (I, ii).

She deserts the convent for Manrique, unable to forget him even there. She rescues him from prison, offers him her life:

Si necesitas mi sangre,
aquí la tienes, (IV, viii),

and in fact she commits suicide to ensure his freedom. Manrique, on the other hand, is at first untrusting:

¡Quién, perjura, te creyera! (I, iv).

In his opening words to Leonor his tone is coldly formal, and he ignores the warmth of her greeting.

Adams,² quoting Piñeyro,³ concludes his discussion of El trovador

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1. It is difficult to see any conflict in Leonor between her religious vows and her love for Manrique, since the former is only a substitute for the latter. When abducted (III, vii), her only concern is for Manrique's safety.
 2. N. B. Adams, op. cit., p. 98.
 3. E. Piñeyro, op. cit., p. 101.

by saying: "One might say that García Gutiérrez wrote his poem foreseeing that it would be set to music and facilitating beforehand the task of the composer." Certainly there is much in the play to suggest operatic treatment. Apart from the obvious suitability of the subject-matter, with its juxtaposition of revenge and love, horror and lyricism, physical violence and the peace of the convent, the play makes several references to music. Three times in the dialogue Manrique's singing and lute-playing are mentioned, twice by the servants in the opening scene and once by Manrique himself, as he describes his dream to Leonor:

pulsaba yo el laúd, y en dulce trova
tu belleza y mi amor tierno cantaba,
y, en triste melodía,
el viento que en las aguas murmuraba,
mi canto y tus suspiros repetía. (IV, vi).

In Act III, when Manrique has abducted Leonor from the convent, alarm bells are heard, and in Act IV Manrique says: "El clarín llama al combate" (IV, viii). Of greater importance are the four specific indications of singing in the stage directions. These are the chanting of the nuns in Act II,¹ Azucena's song which opens the Third Act, and Manrique's two songs with lute accompaniment, the first of which is sung as he approaches Leonor's cell,² a picturesque though hardly credible entry, and the second sung in prison.³

For Verdi the play's greatest attraction was the character of Azucena, and one of his objections to Cammarano's scenario was that the contrasts in her character were portrayed less strongly than in the original.⁴ In a letter to the librettist Verdi says: "You must preserve

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1. "Las religiosas cantarán dentro un responso; el canto no cesará hasta un momento después de concluída la jornada." (II, viii).
 2. "Una voz, acompañada de un laúd, canta las siguientes estrofas después de un breve preludio." (III, iv) .
 3. "... se oye tocar un laúd; un momento después, canta dentro Manrique." (V, ii).
 4. See Gaetano Cesari and Alessandro Luzio, op. cit., p. 118.

to the very end the two great passions of this woman: her love for Manrico and her ferocious thirst to avenge her mother. When Manrico is dead, her feeling of vengeance becomes overwhelming and she cries triumphantly: 'Yes.... he was your brother!.... Fool!.... you are avenged, mother!'"¹ The composer's preoccupation with Azucena is clearly seen in the letter to Cammarano referred to above, in which he says: "I should like to have two feminine roles. First, the gypsy, a woman of unusual character after whom I want to name the opera. The other part for a secondary singer." One of the most significant deviations from the original play is the shift of emphasis from the lovers as the central figures to the gypsy-woman. In the play the latter does not appear until Act II, and, compared with Manrique and Leonor, her part is a short one and one may justifiably regard her desire for vengeance as the theme of the subplot. In the opera, however, she appears earlier, at the beginning of Act II, and she is given some of the most memorable arias in the work, including "Stride la vampa". Both musically and dramatically her presence dominates the entire opera, so much so that one is forced to recognise her as the protagonist, and Leonora and Manrico as secondary characters. In Act II, scene i, Azucena is the focal point, and it is to her story, vividly expressed in "Stride la vampa", that the gypsies listen. Manrico in this scene has a passive role, that of an attentive and horrified listener. The words of this aria are fairly close to the

1. Quoted from George Martin, op. cit., p. 242.

corresponding words in the play,¹ but Verdi's music, notably the dotted rhythms, trills and sudden alternations of forte and pianissimo in the vocal line, causes Azucena's voice literally to tremble with emotion, and it adds a dimension of horror to her story impossible to realise through words alone. The contrasts in her character are very effectively brought

Ex. 2.

(a) *Azucena*

Stri - de la vam - - pa! la

(b)

fol - la in - do - - - mi - ta.

(c)

Ur - li - di gio - a *pp* in - tor - no eccheggiano.
ciel che - - s'al - za al ciel!

Voc. sc. (London, 1960), p. 59, bars 12-19; p. 60, bars 5-12; p. 61, bars 1-7.

out in the music. One has only to compare the tremulous vocal line of "Stride la vampa" with "Ai nostri monti", in which the repetition

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1. Cf. Bramando está el pueblo indómito
de la hoguera en derredor;
al ver ya cerca la víctima,
gritos lanza de furor.
Allí viene; el rostro pálido,
sus miradas de terror,
brillan de la llama trémula
al siniestro resplandor. (III, i).
Stride la vampa! La folla indomita
Corre a quel fuoco Lieta in sembianza:
Urli di gioia D'intorno eccheggiano,
Cinta di sgheri Donna s'avanza!
Sinistra splende, Sui volti orribili,
La tetra fiamma che s'alza al ciel! (II, i).

of an extremely simple two-bar phrase produces an atmosphere of great calm which serves as an antithesis to the emotional upheaval of the final scenes:

Ex. 3.



p. 229, bars 13-24.

This is also the last scene in which Azucena's maternal tenderness towards Manrico is seen, for, when she awakes and is forced to watch Manrico's execution, vengeance on behalf of her own mother precludes any feeling of pity for the man whom she had tried to accept as a son, and her final exclamation is one of triumph: "Sei vendicata, oh madre!"

The libretto of Il trovatore has been much maligned, and has often been described as confused and absurd, yet, as Charles Osborne has pointed out, "the plot is complicated, but it makes sense".¹ Cammarano already had some forty libretti to his credit when he started work on Il trovatore. The task of adapting García Gutiérrez's play was not an easy one, for the play itself seems to be greatly compressed. From an embarrassing plethora of incidents Cammarano chose those which most readily invited musical treatment, while at the same time preserving a logical cause-and-effect process. Regensburger² has shown in detail how

1. Charles Osborne, The Complete Operas of Verdi (London, 1969), p. 251.

2. Regensburger, op. cit.

Cammarano adapted the five acts or thirty-nine scenes of the play into the four acts or twenty scenes of the opera. There are fewer named characters in the opera. The count's servants are condensed into one man, Ferrando, and both Don Lope and Leonor's brother, Don Guillén,¹ are omitted. With the exception of Azucena, whose importance in the opera has already been discussed, the characters are unchanged, though there are moments when the dignity of the count's music and the obvious sincerity of his love for Leonora make him appear less villainous than in the play.²

Regensburger has pointed out that although the Second Act of the play is entirely omitted, several scenes from the play are given complete in the libretto apart from some slight truncation of the dialogue. Even in the arias and ensembles the words are sometimes suggested by a passage in the play. Leonora's aria, "Tacea la notte placida", for example, bears a strong resemblance to Manrique's speech,

"En una noche plácida y tranquila..." (III, v).

The three most famous scenes in Il trovatore, the opening scenes of Acts II, III and IV, have no exact counterpart in the play. The soldiers' scene which opens Act II has no place in the play and is merely an interlude. There are several similar scenes in Verdi's earlier operas and also one in La forza del destino. The gypsy scene (II, i), is based on the opening scene of Act III of the play. At times the words of the libretto follow closely the Spanish text, but the scene is completely transformed by the addition of a chorus of gypsies. Azucena's importance is magnified by the fact that she tells her horrific tale not to Manrico

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1. The tyrannical brother is a fairly common figure in Spanish literature. A parallel can be found in Rivas's Don Álvaro.
 2. This feeling is particularly strong in his aria "Il balen del suo" (II, ii), and in his duet with Leonora, "Vivra! contende il giubilo" (IV, i).

alone, as in the play, but to a large crowd of gypsies, who interrupt their work and singing¹ and group themselves around her. The locale is changed from Aragon to a mountain-side in Biscay; the fire, which reminds Azucena of her mother's death, is much larger than in the play, and the atmosphere is further intensified by the ever-increasing light, for in the opera this scene takes place at dawn.

Although the dramatic climax in both the opera and the play occurs in the closing lines, when Azucena reveals Manrico's identity, the musical climax of the opera comes earlier, in the "Miserere" scene (IV, i). Manrico, true to his nature, will later doubt Leonora again and even curse her, as he thinks she has betrayed him, but at this moment their love reaches its highest point and each is willing to sacrifice his life.² The scene is based on Act V, scene ii of the play. Its construction is very simple; it consists of the juxtaposition of three elements which are spatially as well as musically contrasted. In the foreground stands Leonora, her vocal line, in Ab minor, accompanied by a tense rhythmic figure in the orchestra. From the tower Manrico is heard singing with harp accompaniment. His music is in Ab major, and the sudden change from the minor key is particularly effective. In the background a chorus of monks chant the "Miserere", their part no doubt suggested by García Gutiérrez's mysterious "Voz":

¡Hagan bien para hacer bien
por el alma de este hombre! (V, ii).

Finally all three elements are brought together.

Cammarano solves no problems with regard to the play's weaknesses. No satisfactory explanation is given for Manrico's entry into the convent,

1. The "Anvil Chorus".

2. Leonora sings: "conte sempre unita nella tomba..."

or for Leonora's admission to Manrico's cell, or for Azucena's killing of her own son. In opera, however, these defects are less noticeable, and one is left with the impression that opera is a more suitable medium for García Gutiérrez's drama than the spoken word.

The second of Verdi's "Spanish" operas, Simon Boccanegra, was begun three years after the première of Il trovatore. Again Verdi chose a play by García Gutiérrez, but although in later life he expresses affection for this opera, there is no evidence to show that the composer felt as enthusiastic about the Spaniard's Simón Bocanegra as he had felt about El trovador. Unlike Il trovatore, Simon Boccanegra was unsuccessful, partly on account of Piave's confused libretto.¹ Not that Piave can be held entirely responsible. The play, which Verdi himself chose, is even more diffuse than García Gutiérrez's earlier work, and is not obviously suggestive of operatic treatment. In 1880, at the suggestion of Giulio Ricordi, Verdi collaborated with Arrigo Boito in a revised version of Simon Boccanegra, which was successfully produced at La Scala, Milan, on March 24, 1881. In a letter to Ricordi, Verdi states that the original version is "too sad, too desolate" and that "the whole of the second act must be revised" in order to provide scenes which would "give life and variety to the drama's excessive gloom".² In fact the opera is no more gloomy and is certainly less horrific than Il trovatore, but the fact that it failed with the general public whereas the earlier work succeeded prompted Verdi to find some contrast to the unrelieved gloom of García Gutiérrez's drama. This contrast was found in Boito's most important contribution to the work, the entirely new Council Chamber scene. But although the revised version showed great improvement upon the original version, compared with Verdi's most famous operas Simon Boccanegra can only be said to have had a succès d'estime.

1. Verdi was dissatisfied with parts of Piave's libretto, and asked a certain Guiseppe Montanelli to rewrite some of the scenes.

2. See Gaetano Cesari and Alessandro Luzio, op. cit., pp. 559-560.

García Gutiérrez's play, first performed in 1843, is based loosely on historical fact.¹ The protagonist is an amalgam of Simon Boccanegra, the first Doge of Genoa,² and his brother Egidio, a sailor. The plot is exceedingly complicated, and the characters are more complex and more credible than in the earlier work. The romantic hyperbole found in El trovador is restrained in Simón Bocanegra, the element of horror is less important, and the theme of romantic love is subordinated to that of political intrigue. The situations, though not always immediately comprehensible, are logically and ingeniously contrived. Dramatic conflict is used convincingly, and exists between groups of characters, between individuals and within some of the characters. The most important conflict lies between the two rival factions, the patricians and the plebians, and to this cause can be traced many of the characters' actions. It explains the mutual hatred and contempt between Paolo and Fiesco, even when, in the Final Act, they unite to depose Bocanegra. It explains too Paolo's desire that Bocanegra, who, like him, comes from "las masas del pueblo", should be elected Doge. Later, when Bocanegra shows that he is not biased in favour of the plebians, as Paolo had hoped, Paolo changes his allegiance and joins forces with the patricians.

In his portrayal of character García Gutiérrez's technique shows considerable advancement over that of his earlier play. In Simón Bocanegra the main characters are shown in several different situations in order to illustrate various aspects of their personalities. In the Prologue, Pietro refers to Simón as "ese corsario sangriento", but this description is contrasted with the protagonist's grief and tenderness at

1. For a summary of the historical facts concerning Boccanegra, see C. Osborne, op. cit., p. 299.

2. García Gutiérrez had served as Spanish consul in Genoa.

the death of his mistress, Mariana:

¡Inocente
mártir leal, de mis amores tristes!

Simón Bocanegra (Madrid, 1843), Pról., v.

The recognition scene in Act II, in which Simón reveals his deep affection for his illegitimate daughter, Susana, is preceded by a scene in which the Doge puts Paolo to torture in order to discover the whereabouts of his daughter. And in Act III Simón's magnanimity in pardoning Gabriel is juxtaposed with his harshness as a ruler, which he attempts to justify in the following speech:

y si el rigor no sujeta
sus impulsos vengadores,
Génova pudiera ser
mañana sangriento lago
donde entre ruina y estrago
se abismara mi poder. (III, vii)¹.

Susana, too, is more individualised than is the heroine of El trovador. Less overtly passionate than Leonor, she is always dignified and reserved, astute and fearless in dealing with complicated situations, and prudent in keeping her father's secrets. In comparison Gabriel appears irresolute, and his hurried shift of allegiance at the end of Act III is one of the least convincing incidents of the play.

In its plot structure Verdi's opera does not depart substantially from the play, and even in the revised version the sequence of events remains the same. The idea of the Council Chamber scene in the later version was initially Verdi's, who wished to alleviate the gloom of the Second Act, and who saw immediately the contemporary relevance of Petrarch's letter to Bocanegra and of the Doge's appeal for peace and

1. cf. Simón's words in III, xi: yo haré
que mi justicia conozcan.

unity in Italy. The construction of this scene was undertaken by Boito upon suggestions made by the composer.¹ Both musically and dramatically this scene forms the climax to the opera. It is almost the only scene in which Simon's clemency and statesmanship are seen in action.² In the play there is a certain disparity between the sea-faring man of action described in the Prologue and the inert, somewhat passive ruler of the rest of the drama. This scene increases the stature of the hero as one sees him presiding over the senate, quelling the angry rioters and pleading for peace and unity. And, to counterbalance his clemency in pardoning Gabriele later, one is given a glimpse of his shrewdness as he commands Paolo, whom he already suspects, to join in cursing Amelia's³ abductor. The scene also emphasises Amelia's fortitude and filial devotion, as she intervenes to prevent Gabriele from striking Simon.

More than in his earlier operas Verdi emphasises dramatic characterisation rather than lyrical melody for its own sake. The Doge's music gives that character a grandeur which was lacking in the play, and which is perhaps nowhere better illustrated than in the Council Chamber scene, where he pleads for peace and love:

Ex. 4.

e vo gridando: pa - - - ce!

e vo gridando: a - mor, e vo gridando a - mor!

Voc. sc. (Milan, 1961), p. 133, bars 5-9.

1. See C. Osborne, op. cit., pp. 296-297.

2. By this time Verdi had gained first-hand experience of political life.

Fiesco's part, too, has great dignity, and his expression of grief at the death of his daughter ("Il lacerato spirito"), is one of the opera's musical climaxes. By contrast, Amelia's music is innocent and light, though never trivial. With the exception of her maid, who has only a minor part, she is the only female character in the opera. Furthermore, with the exception of the captain, another minor character, there is only one tenor, Gabriele, the remaining characters being either baritone or bass. Verdi's predilection for the lower tessiture contributes to the sombre tone-colour of the work. Gabriele is the least effective character in the opera. His relatively undistinguished music is typified by his first aria, accompanied, like Manrico's in Il trovatore, by a harp. Paolo, on the other hand, becomes a much more fully developed character in the opera. His Iago-like soliloquy¹ at the beginning of Act II, added in the revised version and not found in the play, and his confession in Act III, make him no less villainous but much more human. Verdi had written, "I will see to it that Paolo is no ordinary villain",² and he proceeded to create a character who inspires both horror and pity.

Boito's revision of the libretto was thorough, but Verdi's revision of the music went even deeper, in an attempt to create a homogeneous work. The score, though it contains some of Verdi's finest music of his mature period, is somewhat uneven. The chorus which ends the Prologue is characteristic of Verdi's early period, as are Gabriele's aubade and some of the orchestration. Yet there are moments which show the composer at the height of his powers. One thinks of the dramatic use of a bass clarinet as Paolo is made to join in the curse; the deliberate restraint which makes the climax of the recognition scene between

1. Verdi had already begun the composition of Otello by this time.

2. Osborne, op. cit., p. 310.

Simon and Amelia all the more effective: the use of a wordless chorus to represent the approaching rioters in the Council Chamber scene; the impressionistic orchestral sounds depicting dawn breaking over the Mediterranean at the beginning of Act I. The atmosphere created by references to the sea is important in both play and opera, and its tranquility is contrasted with the turmoil and passion of the human drama.

Cf.: Susana (Amelia):

Ven, Gabriel, y contemplemos
los encantos de ese mar.
Sobre su lecho espumoso,
cuya inmensidad me espanta,
Génova allá se levanta
alto asiento de un coloso.
(I, iii).

Vieni a mirar la cerula
marina tremolante;
là Genova torreggia
sul talamo spumante;
(pp. 52-53).

Act I begins with an orchestral introduction depicting the sea, the subtle orchestration of which foreshadows Debussy. The extremely delicate texture of this music is continued in Amelia's aria, "Come in quest' ora bruna":

Ex. 5.

The musical score for Amelia's aria is presented in four systems. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with a treble clef, a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and a 9/8 time signature. The second system continues the melody with a piano (pp) dynamic marking and features sixteenth-note passages with slurs and a '6' indicating a sextuplet. The third system is marked 'cantabile' and shows the vocal line with the lyrics 'Co - me in quest' or - a bru - na sor -'. The fourth system shows the continuation of the vocal line and the piano accompaniment, which includes rests and slurs.

This mood returns in the Final Act, as Simon apostrophises the sea:

Oh refrigerio! la marina brezza!
Il mare! quale in rimirarlo di glorie e di sublimi
rapimenti mi s'affaccian ricordi!
Il mar! ah perchè in suo grembo no trovai la tomba?

With regard to form, Simon Boccanegra shows a more advanced technique than the earlier operas. The various arias and ensembles are still distinct, despite a greater fluidity of form, but they are no longer set out as separate movements. The musical and dramatic continuity is greater here than in, for example, Il trovatore, and in general arid recitative is replaced by arioso. In spite of the work's merits, however, it has never been as successful as Verdi's other "Spanish" operas. Its plot is more credible than that of Il trovatore, its characterisation is as subtle as that in Don Carlo, and it lacks the inconstancies and improbable coincidences of La forza del destino. Its lack of popularity must be due, at least in part, to its subject-matter. The protagonist is a statesman and a dreamer, and it is the qualities of statesmanship which Verdi emphasises in this work.

The third and last of Verdi's operas based on a Spanish literary work was La forza del destino, based on the Duke of Rivas's Don Álvaro o la fuerza del sino.¹ It was written for the winter season 1861-62 of the Imperial Theatre at St. Petersburg but, due to illness amongst the singers, it was not produced until November 1862, when it met with great success. Verdi was strongly attracted to Rivas's play, as he had been to El trovador, and in a letter to León Escudier he wrote: "The play is powerful, unusual and extremely vast. I like it immensely".² His correspondence with Piave at that time shows that the latter's libretto satisfied the

1. Quotations from this play are taken from the edition by Alberto Sánchez (Salamanca, 1959).

2. Rivista Musicale Italiana, XXXV (1928), p. 22. Quoted from C. Osborne, op. cit., p. 332.

composer no more than had the libretto of Simon Boccanegra, and despite the opera's undeniable success,¹ Verdi revised the score and engaged the poet, Antonio Ghislanzoni, to revise the text for the 1869 production at La Scala, Milan.

Rivas's position in Spanish literature is similar to that of Victor Hugo in French, by whom he was influenced and to whose Hernani Don Álvaro bears a strong resemblance. Rivas was responsible for introducing the ideas of the French Romantic Movement to Spain, and his works exerted a profound influence on younger playwrights such as García Gutiérrez. In Spain, however, as Peers has shown,² the Romantic Movement was as much a revival as a revolution, and Don Álvaro in particular has its links with Golden-Age traditions, despite its romantic characteristics. Partly because of this, and partly because the Madrid public was unprepared for anything as violent as Don Álvaro, the first performance of the play in 1835 was not a sensational success.³ Twentieth-century critics, notably Azorín,⁴ have tended to give disparaging accounts of Rivas's work, but the undeniable defects of Don Álvaro have sometimes blinded critics to the play's merits.

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1. La forza was produced in Rome, Madrid, New York, Vienna, Buenos Aires and London. Rivas himself attended a performance in Madrid.
 2. E. A. Peers, Rivas and Romanticism in Spain (London, 1923).
 3. See E. A. Peers, "The Reception of Don Álvaro", Hispanic Review, II (1934), 69-70.
 4. Azorín, Rivas y Larra (Madrid, 1916). Although many of Azorín's objections are valid, his criticism of the play is weakened by exaggeration and pettiness. For instance, it is not especially remarkable that the canónigo should go to the Triana bridge "todas las tardes de verano", and it seems irrelevant to conjecture, as does Azorín, what would have happened had Don Álvaro decided to abduct Leonor in winter.

Don Álvaro has been described as "the typical romantic play of the age".¹ With complete disregard for the classical unities, Rivas mixes melodrama and comedy, prose and verse, nobles and servants, and in his portrayal of violence he is more extreme than most of his French precursors, as well as his Spanish successors, García Gutiérrez and Zorilla. The dramatis personae show a very wide cross-section of eighteenth-century society, which includes nobles, servants, clerics, soldiers, civic officials, gypsies and townsfolk, whereas the locale shifts from street corner to palace, from convent to battle-field, from inn to mountainside, sometimes in Spain and sometimes in Italy. Nevertheless, in spite of the romantic extravagance, Don Álvaro has some links with Golden-Age literature. The names of two minor characters, Preciosilla and Monipodio, recall two of Cervantes's characters,² while several phrases in Don Álvaro's soliloquy (III, iii), are reminiscent of Segismundo's speeches in La vida es sueño.³ In Sedwick's view⁴ the play is a variation of the traditional "médico de su honra" theme, and fate thus pursues not so much Don Álvaro as the Vargas family, who cling to the tokens of lineage but who, in their tyrannical attitude to Leonor and in their unjust rejection of Don Álvaro, show little understanding of

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1. Gerald Brenan, The Literature of the Spanish People (Cambridge, 1951), p. 309.
 2. Preciosilla, the gypsy girl, recalls Preciosa of La Gitanilla, and Monipodio was the name of a Sevillian pícaro in Rinconete y Cortadillo, both works by Cervantes.
 3. Compare Don Álvaro's words: "¡terrible cosa es nacer!" (III, iii), with Segismundo's: ...el delito mayor del hombre es haber nacido (III-III2), A. E. Sloman's ed. (Manchester, 1961), and "y yo, que infelice soy" (III, iii), with "¡Ay, mísero de mí! ¡Y ay, infelice!" (78). Also there is a certain similarity between Leonor's situation in Act II, scene iii, and Rosaura's - a point emphasised by the fact that both heroines disguise themselves in male attire.
 4. B. F. Sedwick, "Rivas's Don Álvaro and Verdi's La forza del destino", Modern Language Quarterly, XVI (1955), 124-129.

true honour. The stage directions describing the marquess's house would then symbolise moral deterioration:

El teatro representa una sala colgada de damasco, con retratos de familia, escudos de armas ... pero todo deteriorado. (I, v).

Alfonso's final words, "Conozco mi crimen y me arrepiento", would have a deeper meaning, and the officers' condemnation of Don Carlos after the latter's death would be justifiable. This view of the play is not entirely satisfactory, however. Don Álvaro is pursued by fate more persistently than is any individual member of the Vargas family, yet his sense of honour is much more genuine than theirs. On closer scrutiny, the marquess is much less tyrannical than might be supposed, and the central action from which the entire tragedy evolves, the pistol shot, is performed, albeit accidentally, by Don Álvaro. He is the central figure in the drama and, whether one chooses to regard him as innocent or guilty, he is the chief victim of fate, though not necessarily the only one.

The part played in the drama by fate has been one of the chief debating points taken up by critics of the play. With regard to the playwright's own attitude to this theme, it is difficult not to agree with Peers when he says that "Rivas, whose works, like those of most Spanish Romantics, were never distinguished by depth of thought, gave very little attention to the matter at all. His object was to create a certain atmosphere and impression..."¹ Fate as the motivating force behind the action of a literary work was common enough in the nineteenth century, and in this Rivas may well have been influenced by Dumas's Anthony, written four years earlier.² In Don Álvaro "la fuerza del sino" is seen in the chain

1. E. A. Peers, op. cit., p. 31.

2. In Act II, scene iii of Anthony, the protagonist says to Adèle: "Qu'important donc les causes!... C'est le hasard seul dont vous devez vous plaindre", and a little later: "Si vous ne la nommez pas hasard, comment donc appellerez-vous cette suite d'infimes petits événements qui, réunis, composent une vie de douleur ou de joie...".

of coincidences, sometimes improbable but never impossible, which finally bring about the deaths of the protagonist and of the Vargas family.

It seems that there are three possible interpretations of the play. The more romantic interpretation is that the lovers are unjustly pursued by a malignant force beyond their control.. This would make sense of Don Álvaro's otherwise inexplicable words when discovered by the marquess: "La pistola emplearé en dar fin a mi desventurada vida" (I, vii),¹ but it would not explain his diabolical exclamation at the end of the play: "Yo soy un enviado del infierno, soy el demonio exterminador" (V, xi). Sedwick's interpretation of the play as a development of the Golden-Age "médico de su honra" theme, in which the Vargas family is punished for its distorted sense of honour, leaves unanswered the question of Don Álvaro's terrible end. The third interpretation is that the lovers are justly though harshly punished for defects in their own characters: in Don Álvaro the impatience which causes him to abduct Leonor,² and in the heroine herself, indecision. This view, however, is confused by the repeated allusions to fate, a force which is unrelated to the characters' defects. The fact that no interpretation is wholly satisfactory or consistent is one of the play's most serious faults.

Two of the climaxes in Don Álvaro, the marquess's death and Don Carlos's discovery of Don Álvaro's identity, are amongst the weakest scenes in the play, both dramatically and psychologically. It is very unfortunate, in more than one sense, that the event which causes the

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1. Hitherto there has been no reason why he should consider his life unfortunate.
 2. Don Álvaro had only been in Seville a few weeks, and the marquess, once convinced of his daughter's happiness, in time "comenzará a templarse" and "empezará a consolarse", as Curra predicts in Act I, scene vi.

entire tragedy should be as unpoetic as the accidental firing of a pistol. And it is hardly in keeping with Don Álvaro's bold plan to abduct Leonor that, at the first set-back, he should consider committing suicide. Indeed, his behaviour throughout this scene is surprising. Ignoring the marquess's insults he kneels before him and insists on his own guilt and on the marquess's right to kill him.¹ The marquess's character, too, is inconsistent. Only a few minutes earlier, in scene v, he had shown great love and tenderness towards his daughter:

Adiós, mi amor, mi consuelo,
mi esperanza, mi alegría,

and

Sabes que el ídolo eres
de tu padre,

and

(Con gran ternura)
Yo te adoro, Leonorcita,

and

Tus cariñosos extremos
el cielo bendiga. Amén. (I, v).

These words, reinforced by Curra's predictions already mentioned, convey the impression of a devoted father who, though he may have objected to Don Álvaro, would scarcely have prevented Leonor's happiness. Yet, on entering her room, he sees Don Álvaro, immediately deduces that she is guilty, and says

¡Hija infame! ... No soy tu padre... Aparta ... Quita, mujer inicua,
ending with words which entirely contradict his earlier sentiments:

¡Yo te maldigo! (I, v).

The monologue in which Don Carlos discovers Don Álvaro's identity

1. Although his words, "yo soy el culpado", may be out of character, they are not, as Azorín implies, erroneous. He is guilty both of breaking into the marquess's house and of attempted abduction.

(III, viii), is highly dramatic, as we see Don Carlos torn between the desire to know the truth concerning his friend and the desire to keep his promise. The events which lead up to this scene, however, leave too many questions unanswered, notably why neither Don Álvaro nor Don Carlos mentioned Leonor, in view of the depth of their friendship, and why Don Carlos, knowing Don Álvaro's identity, waited patiently for the latter to recover before challenging him. In a play of this type a number of improbable coincidences are to be expected, but the inconsistencies in the characters of Don Álvaro and the marquess constitute a serious defect.

Notwithstanding its weaknesses, Don Álvaro has considerable attractiveness, and this is most apparent in the cuadros de costumbres¹ and in the scenes which include Leonor. The opening scenes of the play are particularly felicitous, in that they give very animated sketches of a wide cross-section of society, while at the same time they introduce, through the conversation, the character of Don Álvaro, his love for Leonor and the opposition of the marquess, and help to create an atmosphere of mystery and anticipation. Most of Leonor's part is in verse, and, although her character is not developed in depth, it is in her soliloquies and in her conversations with her father and with the Padre Guardián that the lyrical climaxes of the work are reached. The Padre Guardián, who in Leonor's mind becomes a substitute for her own father, is very sympathetically portrayed, and he provides a marked contrast with the pompous canónigo of the First Act and with the comic Hermano Melitón.

Don Álvaro contains a number of "operatic" situations, including the scene between Leonor and the marquess, the inn scene and the convent scenes. As in El trovador, music is used to enhance the atmosphere of

1. Casaldueiro has shown how these scenes serve a moralistic purpose. See Joaquín Casaldueiro, Estudios sobre el teatro español (Madrid, 1962), pp. 217-258.

certain scenes.¹ Apart from the obvious suitability of the subject-matter, Verdi was attracted by the character of the protagonist, who, like the consumptive Violetta, the hunch-back Rigoletto, the harrassed Simon and the jealous Otello, is a suffering hero who inspires pity. The patriotic sentiments of the military scenes, in which Italians are seen fighting Austrians,² also appealed to Verdi, and in the opera these scenes are considerably magnified. In so doing, Verdi increases the importance of the part played by Preciosilla who, in the play, had only a few lines in the opening scenes,³ and he makes her appear in the inn scene and in one of the military scenes. From being a gay, dancing gypsy-girl she becomes an ominous prophetess⁴ and the chorus-leader in a group of patriotic songs, eulogising war and denouncing the enemy.⁵

In general, the action of the opera follows closely that of the play, and at times Piave's verse is no more than a truncated version of F. Sanseverino's Italian translation of Rivas's play, which had been

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1. Reference is made to an Andalusian dance, La corralera, in the opening scene; monks, accompanied by an organ, are heard singing matins in Act II, scene iii; drums are heard in the military scenes, and the final scenes are enhanced by the sound of the convent bells and the singing of the "Miserere".
 2. These scenes are based on actual events, hence their appeal to Verdi's patriotic fervour. In 1744 the forces of the Austrian Empire were destroyed by the Spaniards and the Neapolitans, led by Charles the Bourbon.
 3. These first four scenes of the play, in which Don Álvaro is introduced through the conversation of the habitués of the Triana bridge, are omitted in the opera.
 4. Preziosilla to Student: O tu miserrime
Vicende avrai.
Non mente
Il labbro mai. (II, i).
 5. Preziosilla: Correte allor soldati
In Italia, dov'è rotta la guerra
Contro ai tedeschi.
Student, Alcalde, Chorus: Morte ai tedeschi! (II, i), and
Preziosilla: Inseguite chi le terga, fuggendo, volto. (III, iii).

published in Milan in 1850.¹ A number of the minor characters are omitted, and the two brothers are fused into the one character, Don Carlo. The omission of Don Alfonso weakens the idea of fate's systematically killing the entire Vargas clan, but Verdi does not appear to have been interested in the vendetta aspect of the drama. For him the principal motifs were the love of Don Alvaro and Leonora, patriotism and, to a lesser extent than for Rivas, fate. In the libretto the sequence of coincidental events is less apparent than in the play, and consequently one is less aware of the force of fate than in Rivas's work. However, this is more than adequately compensated for by the persistence of a recurrent theme first heard in the overture, consisting of repeated unison notes followed by a restless melody played by the violins:

Ex. 6.



Voc. sc. (New York, 1944), p. 1, bars 1-13.

This theme, which reappears a number of times, expresses the feeling of

1. Compare, for example, the opening scene of the opera with the corresponding scene of the play:

Buona notte, mia figlia...
addio, diletta.

Aperto ancora è quel veron!

Nulla dice il tuo amor?...

Perchè si triste? (I, i).

Buenas noches, hija mía;

Adiós, mi amor.

Están abiertos estos balcones...

¿Nada me dice tu amor?

¿Por qué tan triste te pones? (I, v).

impending tragedy far more eloquently than do the somewhat perfunctory allusions to el destino and the chain of often improbable coincidences in the play.

In the opera several attempts are made to relieve the tragic atmosphere which pervades the work. Possibly Verdi wished to avoid the almost excessive gloom of his two earlier "Spanish" operas, although Rivas's play, with its costumbrista scenes and its comic figure, Hermano Melitón, is in any case much less lugubrious than García Gutiérrez's works. In addition to Preziosilla's part, the parts played by Trabuco and Melitone are enlarged in the opera. Trabuco now appears in the military scene in Act III as well as in the inn scene, and from being a sullen muleteer he becomes a jovial street-pedlar and, as such, helps to enliven the scene by trading with the soldiers. Fra Melitone, in addition to his original part, in the opera also appears in the military scene (III, iii).¹ The latter part of this scene, which includes Melitone's comical sermon, does not derive from Rivas but, as Osborne has shown,² is closely modelled on a scene from Schiller's Wallensteins Lager. In the final version of the opera³ the tragic denouement is lightened by the omission of two deaths, and by the fact that the deaths of Don Carlo and Leonora take place off stage. The exclusion of Don Alfonso necessitates the arrest of the duel between Don Alvaro and Don Carlo in Act III, as the latter is needed to challenge the protagonist in the Final Act. And Don Alvaro does not commit suicide but, restrained in his cursing by the

1. No explanation is given as to why Fra Melitone and Preziosilla appear in Velletri, Italy, in Act III, while in Acts II and IV they are in Hornachuelos, Spain.

2. C. Osborne, op. cit., pp. 336-337.

3. This is the revised Milan version of 1869. In the original St. Petersburg version the opera ends as does the play, with Don Alvaro's suicide.

Padre Guardiano, falls at Leonora's feet crying, "Leonora, io son redento".¹ This ending contributes even more to the relegation of Don Alvaro to the rôle of conventional operatic hero. In the play he alone remains in the foreground, and even in the scenes in which he does not appear his presence is felt, either by references to him - direct in the opening scenes, disguised in the inn scene - or by his effect on the other characters, notably Leonor. In the opera, however, he is only one of at least three important characters, and the air of mystery which surrounds his origin² is largely lost by the omission of the opening scenes of the play. His language, too, is considerably moderated; his sacrilegious outburst, "Mi bien, mi Dios, mi todo" (I, vii) is not included, and his cursing in the final scene is very mild when compared with the original version.³ Deprived of his aura of mystery and his Byronic imprecations, he inspires sympathy but he no longer dominates the stage.

Verdi's love of operatic spectacle is gratified in Rivas's costumbrista episodes which the composer enlarges. In the inn scene he adds a chorus of pilgrims, and he justifies this dramatically irrelevant innovation by making Leonora apply the pilgrims' prayer to her own

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1. The accumulation of corpses in the final scene caused Verdi much anxiety, as his letter to Piave of October, 1863 shows. The final solution was suggested by Ghislanzoni.
 2. Sedwick has shown that there is some confusion in the libretto regarding Don Alvaro's country of origin. Piave renders "La región indiana" simply by "India", which is ambiguous if not mistaken. See B. F. Sedwick op. cit., pp. 124-126.
 3. Compare:

;Infierno, abre tu boca y trágame! ;Húndase el cielo, perezca la raza humana; exterminio, destrucción....! (V, xi).	E tu paga non eri, O vendetta di Dio!.... Maledizione! Maledizione! (p. 359).
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situation:

Pilgrims: Ne salvi tua bontà, Signor!

Leonora: Salvami dal fratello ... che anela il
sangue mio... (pp. 77-81).

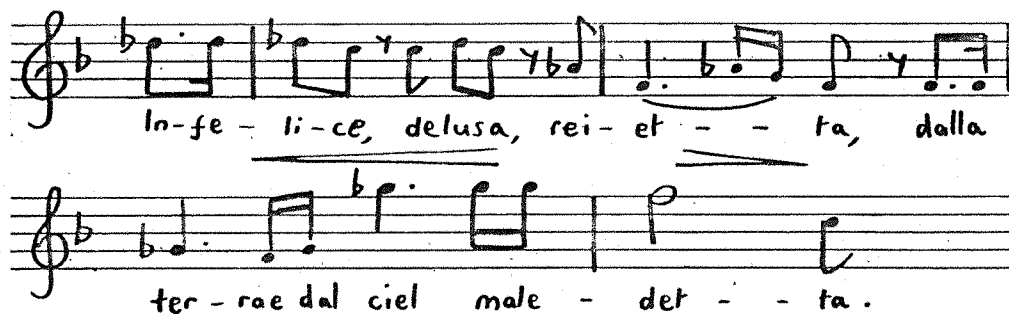
As Osborne has said,¹ Verdi recognised the contrast in Rivas's play between the contemplative life and the life of action, and in the Final Act he emphasises this contrast by adding a soliloquy for Leonora (IV, ii), which takes place while Don Alvaro and Don Carlo are fighting.

Much has been written concerning the music of La forza del destino, favourably and adversely. One thing, however, is certain; Rivas's play, unlike García Gutiérrez's, gave Verdi an opportunity to develop his technique, and the opera in several respects anticipates his later works. The costumbrista scenes are as indispensable to the opera as they are to the play. The crowds no longer form a merely scenic background to the principal characters, as had the gypsies in Il trovatore; they now have life of their own, and they are often broken down into small groups and individual characters. The music of the "Rataplan" chorus, for example, may not be of the same quality as Leonora's arias, but it represents Verdi's attempt to reproduce faithfully Rivas's panoramic view of society. The vocal writing, too, shows an advancement on the earlier operas. A flexible arioso style often takes the place of recitative, notably in the opening scene. The vocal lines are now more austere and derive their expression from their melodic shape and their intervallic structure rather than from ornamentation or melismas, as in the following example

1. C. Osborne, op. cit., p. 336.

from Act II:

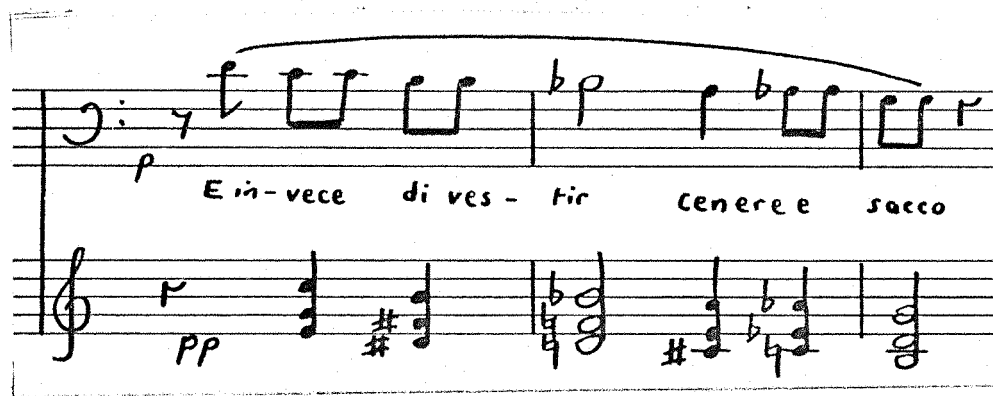
Ex. 7.



p. 133, bars 1-4.

In contrast to the melodic contours of the principal characters, Melitone's vocal line, with its frequent repetitions of one or two notes, gives musical life to Rivas's creation.¹ A particularly deft stroke is seen in the sermon in Act III where sliding chromatic chords perfectly capture the sanctimonious tone of the words:

Ex. 8.



p. 274, bars 12-13.

1. Although there are similar figures in opera buffa, Melitone was a new character-type for Verdi, and one which he was to use later in Falstaff.

Although the plot of La forza del destino and sometimes the text itself approximate to Rivas's play, the overall impression is quite distinct. The opera is constructed episodically and many of the scenes are tableau-like, whereas in the play the cumulative effect of the scenes is greater, as they follow logically, if somewhat improbably, and thus hasten the drama to its end. The climaxes of the opera are lyrical - the opening scene, the scene between Leonora and the Padre Guardiano, Leonora's serene death - whereas in the play the climaxes occur in the violently dramatic scenes. The opera is altogether more lyrical than the play, its harshness is subdued, and the audience's attention is turned towards the human reactions to destiny rather than to the force of destiny itself. Finally, no attempt is made to reproduce the Spanish atmosphere of the play.¹ The essentially Spanish "honour" theme is of much less significance in the opera, and Verdi's music at no point suggests Andalusian folk music.

After supervising the Madrid production of La forza del destino, Verdi toured Andalusia, but he was to write no more operas based on Spanish literature. He did, however, consider at least four other Spanish plays as sources of operas: a play by Adelardo López de Ayala,² José Zorilla y Moral's El zapatero y el rey (1840-41), Calderón's A secreto agravio, secreta venganza (1636), and García Gutiérrez's El tesorero del rey (1864). Verdi worked for several months on this last play,³ which depicts the love of a Jewish girl for a Christian man. The child-parent relationship in conflict with romantic love - a theme common to all Verdi's "Spanish" operas - and a certain amount of patriotic fervour are aspects

1. The Seguidilla in Act II is not Spanish in sound.

2. Mentioned by B. F. Sedwick, op. cit., p. 129. It is not known which play Verdi had in mind.

3. In a letter to Vincenzo Torelli, dated September 9, 1857, Verdi mentions his plans for this opera. See Franz Werfel and Paul Stefan, Verdi, the Man in his Letters (New York, 1942), p. 211.

of the drama which would have commended the work to the composer.

Although he does not appear to have been interested in other fields of Spanish culture, no composer of operas has made greater use of Spanish drama than Verdi.

Verdi's interest in Spanish literature does not appear to have been shared by other Italian composers of the nineteenth century.¹ During the present century, however, a number of Italian operas based on Spanish literature have been written, in addition to a few in which the setting and characters only are Spanish.² Of the operas based on Spanish literature there are only two versions of the Don Juan theme³ and one adaptation of Don Quixote.⁴ The remainder, with two exceptions,⁵ use Spanish works not previously treated by composers.

In 1921 Anima Allegra, a three-act opera by Franco Vittadini, was produced in Rome. The libretto, by G. Adami and L. Motta, was based on the play, El genio alegre (1906), by the brothers Joaquín and Serafín Álvarez Quintero. The play depicts the conflict between the past, with its inflexible pride and its religiosity bordering on the Pharisaical, and the present, which is shown as generous, youthful and gay. It is the

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1. Antonio Smareglia's opera, Preziosa, (Milan, 1879), which depicts a gypsy girl and her two admirers, a student and a fellow-gypsy, bears a certain superficial resemblance to Cervantes's novel, La Gitanilla. No acknowledgement of the connection is made, however, and it is probable that the resemblance is coincidental.
 2. This latter category includes Lorenzo Filiasi's Manuel Menéndez (Milan, 1904), based on E. de Amici's novel of the same title, and set in Seville in the year 1600.
 3. See Appendix and p. 278.
 4. Viz., Vito Frazzi's Don Chisciotte (Florence, 1952).
 5. Viz., Zandonai's La farsa amorosa and Cremesini's Il capello a tre punte. See below, pp. 51 and 61.

conflict between, on the one hand, the elderly marchioness, Doña Sacramento, and her servant, Don Eligio, and, on the other, her son, Julio, and his cousin, Consolación. The conflict is similar to that found in Lorca's La casa de Bernarda Alba, but here it is treated in a fairly light-hearted manner, and the play ends not in tragedy but in the rapprochement of the older and the younger generations. The costumbrista element in this work is important, as it was in Rivas's Don Álvaro, and here it is seen in the references to a gypsy wedding, in the Andalusian accent with which most of the characters speak, and in the Andalusian song with which the play ends.¹ On a symbolic level, as Bueno has suggested,² the marchioness's house may represent the Spanish nation as a whole, and the symbolic value of some of the names³ would support this view. But the play is in no way didactic, and must finally be judged solely as an entertainment. As such it is successful, despite a degree of sentimentality and a rather weak Third Act.

The personages in El genio alegre are not detailed character-studies but strongly contrasted character-sketches. They act not so much upon each other as upon the scene itself, their entries casting light or shadow according to their personalities. Thus when Doña Sacramento first appears and begins to scold the servant, Ambrosio, the atmosphere immediately becomes gloomy. As Lucío enters, singing, the scene once again becomes cheerful, until he is cut short by the marchioness's words: "Esta casa, Lucío, no es una casa como las demás: es una casa seria".⁴ When Julio appears he brings an air of gaiety to the

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1. See A. González Climent, Andalucía en los Quintero (Madrid, 1956), pp. 149-152.
 2. Manuel Bueno, Teatro español contemporáneo (Madrid, 1909), p. 227.
 3. Apart from the obviously symbolic names, Sacramento and Consolación, the names of several other characters suggest summer, brightness and gaiety: e.g., Rosita, Julio, Lucío, Pandereta and Salud.
 4. S. y J. Álvarez Quintero, Obras Completas (Madrid, 1954), II, p. 1634.

"Angelus" scene. He is no more affected by his mother's admonitions than she is by his philosophy, which he expresses thus: "Si la vida es alegre, como creo, ¿por qué entristecerla? Y si es triste, como piensas tú, ¿no es humano alegrarla un poco?"¹ The climax of the First Act is the arrival of Consolación, "como el sol por las claraboyas de un castillo en ruinas". She is the central figure in the play and the only one whose presence is able to change the attitudes of the marchioness and Don Eligio.

In the Second Act we see the reaction of Doña Sacramento and Don Eligio to Consolación's gaiety and worldliness. They are scandalised to learn that she has attended a gypsy wedding and that it was she and her friends who set the church bells ringing. Then follows a delicately handled conversation between the cousins in which they cautiously reveal their affection for each other. The act ends with Consolación helping the servants to decorate the patio with flowers, watched by Doña Sacramento who slowly begins to smile. The Last Act is weak because it is too predictable and contains no important development in the plot. The audience now knows that Consolación has won the marchioness's approval, and could guess that the cousins will declare their mutual love. Only Don Eligio's approval remains to be won, and although the scene in which this is achieved contains some humorous dialogue, the outcome of this, too, is predictable.

As a play El genio alegre must stand or fall on the strength of its dialogue, for there are few incidents in it which one could call dramatic² and no significant development takes place in any of the characters. Also the conflict between age and youth is weakened by the fact that neither Doña Sacramento nor Don Eligio is portrayed as villainous. They do not condemn or curse the younger characters; they merely censure them. The

1. Op. cit., p. 1641.

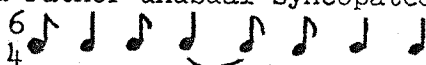
2. This is particularly true of the Second Act, in which almost all the important incidents, including Consolación's visit to the gypsy camp and her bell-ringing, are reported in conversation and not seen on the stage.

credibility of the change which takes place in them is largely dependent upon the audience's acceptance of Consolación as a convincing character. The authors therefore make her initial entry a memorable one. She is given a very enthusiastic reception by the servants, and she is described in the stage directions as "fuerte, ágil, inquieta, revoltosa, llena de salud, de alegría"; [ella] "lleva el sol en el alma y en los ojos".¹ A clear distinction is made between her attitude to the marchioness and Julio's attitude in order to indicate why she succeeded where her cousin failed. Julio shows no affection for Doña Sacramento; his attitude is deliberately provocative, notably in the scene in which he denigrates the portraits of his ancestors. Consolación, on the other hand, is respectful and affectionate towards her, even to the extent of flattering her by saying that she looks younger.

El genio alegre is not obviously suitable material for an opera. The play is lacking in both dramatic and comic incidents. The wit lies in the dialogue rather than in the situations or in the characters themselves. No great depth of emotion is shown, and there seem to be few opportunities for music to enhance the atmosphere of the play. Aware of these difficulties, the librettists made one important departure from the Spanish play by setting the Second Act in the gypsy camp and thus dramatising the incidents which, in the play, are merely narrated by Consolación. This act becomes a colourful, animated costumbrista scene, in which Consuelo (Consolación) persuades Pedro (Julio) to give away all his money as a present for the gypsy bride. The act is, however, inessential to the development of the play, but it provides an opportunity for some pseudo-Spanish music, including a gypsy chorus,² punctuated by exclamations

1. Op. cit., p. 1644.

2. This chorus has a rather unusual syncopated rhythm:



of ¡anda! ¡ay! and ¡olé!, and two Spanish dances: a Panderos and a Malagueña. The latter dance, with its suggestion of the Phrygian mode at cadences and its alternation of 6/8 and 3/4 measures, is more authentic in sound than the Panderos; it uses guitars, mandolins, drums and castanets. It begins thus:

Ex. 9.

The musical score for Ex. 9 consists of three systems of piano accompaniment. The first system has two staves (treble and bass clef) with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a forte (f) dynamic. The second system also has two staves with the same key signature. The third system has two staves, with the upper staff labeled 'castanets' and the lower staff labeled 'tamburo basco'. The music features characteristic Phrygian mode cadences and a mix of 6/8 and 3/4 measures.

Voc. sc. (Milan, 1920), p. 168, bars 8-17.

Apart from the alterations made in the Second Act, the action of the opera is very similar to that of the play, and the libretto is often a direct translation of the Spanish dialogue. Of the minor changes made, only two need be mentioned. The first occurs at the end of the First Act, when Consuelo overhears Lucio singing in the garden. In the opera she is made

to comment: "Credevo fosse Pedro", and these words suggest that even at this stage her affection for her cousin is deepening. The other change is the delaying of the decoration of the patio until the beginning of the Third Act, in order to avoid a change of scene at the end of Act II.

In addition to the "Spanish" music of Act II, there are several instances where the vocal line includes some of the characteristic inflections of Andalusian folk music, notably in Lucio's first few bars (Ex. 10), and in the gypsy's arabesque in the Second Act (Ex. 11).

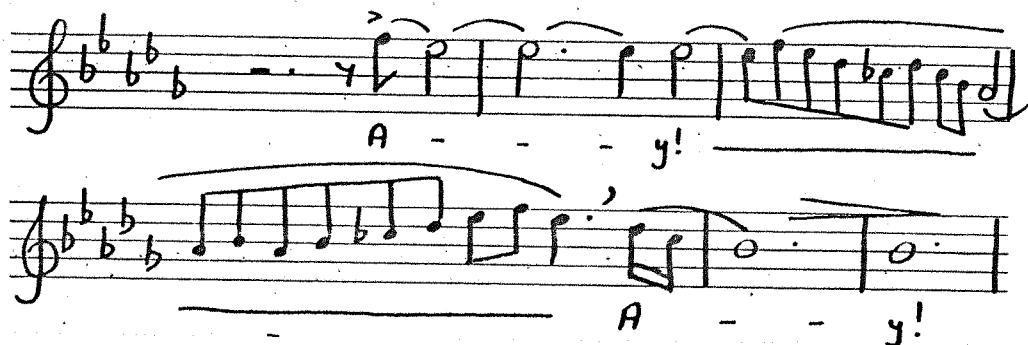
Ex. 10.



(At this point Lucio stops abruptly as he sees the marchioness).

p. 17, bars 5-11.

Ex. 11.



p. 98, bars 1-6.

The music of the opera is through-composed and there are no recurring themes. It is light, but only rarely does it become trivial.¹ Usually it is appropriate to the character or situation, although there are occasions when the music is at variance with the significance of the words.² The opera suffers most from its undramatic plot.

In 1933 Riccardo Zandonai's opera La farsa amorosa was produced in Rome.³ It is based on Pedro Antonio de Alarcón's novel El sombrero de tres picos (1874) which had previously been made into an opera by Hugo Wolf (1896), and into the famous ballet by Falla (1919).⁴ There is some similarity between Wolf's opera and Zandonai's, but no apparent influence

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1. Perhaps the weakest bars are the mawkish tune given to the violins and cellos in the "Angelus" scene.
 2. The light accompaniment in triplets detracts from the quasi-Biblical tone of Sacramento's words to Lucio: "Questa casa, Lucio, non lo scordare, è una casa tranquilla. E tu, per contro, passi il tuo giorno a ridere e cantare". (p. 21).
 3. Zandonai wrote an earlier "Spanish" opera: Conchita (Milan, 1911), based on La femme et le pontin by Pierre Louys. The action takes place in Seville.
 4. In addition to these works, it is possible that there are two operettas derived from the same source, both written during Alarcón's lifetime, one by a French composer, the other by a Belgian. See P. A. de Alarcón, El sombrero de tres picos, trans. H. F. Turner (London, 1959), p. 1.

of Falla's ballet. Alarcón's story, which has its origins in Spanish folk-lore,¹ shows how a miller succeeds in publicly humiliating the local corregidor, or chief magistrate, who had been paying court to the miller's wife. In El sombrero, as Mazzora has said,² Alarcón shows a reaction against the prosaic realism of his day. The novel is a combination of realism and poetry, and in it Alarcón tries to achieve verisimilitude with regard to the characters' actions rather than an exact reproduction of detail.³ The novel lacks psychological penetration, but the characters, though not developed in depth, speak and act in a manner that is entirely credible. The three main personages each represent an idea: Lucas - ugliness, Frasquita - beauty, the Corregidor - decrepit sensuality, yet each has another side to his or her character. Lucas, though ugly, has good moral qualities and shrewd intelligence. Frasquita's beauty is to some extent offset by her unusually large body: "tenía más de dos varas de estatura, y era recia a proporción".⁴ Indeed, her size and strength add to the comedy, for the Corregidor is depicted as old and weak and is in fact pushed over by Frasquita at one point. Yet even he is not wholly grotesque; in his youth, he had been "muy agradable y acepto a las mujeres".⁵ The characters are those of pure, not satirical, comedy.

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1. For a detailed account of Alarcón's sources, see: A. Bonilla y San Martín, "Los orígenes de El sombrero de tres picos", Revue Hispanique, XIII (1905), 5-17.
 2. R. A. Mazzora, "Dramatic variations on the themes of El sombrero de tres picos, La zapatera prodigiosa and Una viuda difícil", Hispania, XLI (1958), 186-189.
 3. Chasca summarises Alarcón's treatment of reality thus: "El autor sí ha utilizado ciertos elementos de la realidad, alterado otros, para crear una realidad ideal de espíritu festivo, de sabor arcaico, y de costumbrismo pintoresco. Éste es un realismo selectivo cuyo fin es lograr un verisimilismo más bien que un verismo en la representación del ambiente". Edmund de Chasca, "La forma cómica en El sombrero de tres picos", Hispania, XXXVI (1953), 284.
 4. El sombrero de tres picos, ed. Chasca (Boston, 1952), p. 14.
 5. El sombrero, p. 23.

The costumbrista element in El sombrero is very important and, particularly in the early chapters, much space is given to descriptions of the appearance and customs of the inhabitants of Alarcón's patria chica. These descriptions, despite their appeal, especially to non-Spanish readers, are not essential to the dramatic action of the novel. Moreover, with regard to the peasants, these descriptions are idealised and, as Gaos has pointed out,¹ there is a certain "menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea" in the novel. This comparison of village life with the court life, of which the Corregidor is a representative, and the numerous allusions to political events, give the novel a traditional character. The main theme, too, is the traditional Spanish theme of honour, but in this work it is given comic treatment. Nevertheless, the theme itself is a serious one, and much of the tension is derived from an apparent vacillation between comedy and tragedy. Twice Lucas is compared to Othello.² In order to avoid a tragic ending, however, it is essential that Lucas's dishonour should not be real,³ and also that he should not be blinded by his passion when he seeks revenge. His discovery of the Corregidor's clothes is in fact the climax of the novel, because the method of revenge which he then chooses will decide whether or not the denouement will be a tragic one, since if he kills the Corregidor he will bring disaster upon himself. The comedy lies in the fact that the reader, unlike the protagonist, knows that Frasquita is innocent, and can therefore appreciate the absurdity of the situation.

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1. Vicente Gaos, Temas y problemas de la literatura española (Madrid, 1959), p. 197n.
 2. In Chapter 7 he is described as "un Otelio murciano con alpargatas y montera, en el primer acto de una tragedia posible". When he returns to the mill (Chapter 20), he is again compared to Othello.
 3. As Gaos has said, adultery would be for a Spaniard too serious a subject for comedy. (V. Gaos, op. cit., p. 192).

The fact that there have been as many as six musical versions of El sombrero is indicative of the appeal of that work to composers. The novel has a convincing plot and comprises a number of both comic and dramatic situations. Although music does not play any part in the novel, reference is made to the musical quality of two of the characters' voices.¹ Zandonai's librettist, Antonio Rossato, while remaining fairly close to Alarcón's plot, avoids the sometimes excessive speed of the action in the German opera, caused by the frequency of scene changes.² Zandonai makes a number of alterations to the Spanish tale. The names are changed, and also the time and place, from Andalusia in 1805 to Lombardy in 1630,³ though there are no apparent reasons for these changes. The opera consists of three acts, the first and last being divided into two quadri which are separated by an intermezzo scenico.

In the First Act a crowd of winemakers, guests of Renzo (Lucas) and Lucia (Frasquita), ridicule the age and deformity of Don Ferrante, who is known as Il Podestà. The men bow in mock homage to the absent mayor, singing:

Ex. 12.



Voc. sc. (Milan, 1933), p. 35, bars 5-9.

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1. Frasquita's voice "tenía los tonos del más extenso y melodioso instrumento", and her laughter was "tan alegre y argentina que parecía un repique de Sábado de Gloria" (Chapter 4). In contrast, the Corregidor's toothless mouth emitted "un sonido flojo y sibilante" (Chapter 11).
 2. Wolf's opera is discussed in Chapter 3.
 3. In 1630 Lombardy was under Spanish rule.

When the guests have departed, Renzo and Lucia exchange endearments, to the accompaniment of a wordless chorus offstage. They see the familiar figure of Don Ferrante approaching, wearing his three-cornered hat. While Renzo is hiding, Don Ferrante declares his love to Lucia, but he is interrupted by the braying of Renzo's ass. He leaves, swearing vengeance, and the first quadro ends with a repetition of the winemakers' song and the peasants' love-duet. The intermezzo consists of a torch-dance for the winemakers, and is followed by a comic scene in Don Ferrante's office, in which the latter rehearses before his subordinates the techniques by which he hopes to seduce Lucia.

In the Second Act Zandonai tries to produce the atmosphere of domestic felicity which Wolf achieved in Der Corregidor. Renzo and Lucia sing a popular song - a melody which, though simple and tonal, does not conflict with Zandonai's dissonant harmony elsewhere:

Ex. 13.

Disse il padre, disse il padre alla fan-ciul - -

-la: guarda ben, guarda ben, chi sul fieno, chi sul

fieno si tras-tul - - la trova il serpe col ve-

-len, trova il serpe col ve-len, guarda ben, guarda ben.

Spingarda, one of Don Ferrante's subordinates, arrives to arrest Renzo. The latter bravely retorts: "La giustizia del Re? Torna domani!", and the opening bars of the above song are heard in the orchestra, emphasising Renzo's defiance. As in the novel, the action at this point takes a tragic turn, and there is menace in Renzo's words as he is led away: "Ma se si gioca sul l'onore mio, ti dò parola che a qualcuno domani io, proprio io, pianto un falchetto in gola". For a moment Lucia remains alone, while the orchestra is heard playing in an ominous undertone the theme associated with Don Ferrante.¹

Ex. 14.



P. 164, bar 13.

This theme, with its characteristic harmonisation in parallel seconds and sixths, was heard previously at the beginning of Act I and at Don Ferrante's first appearance. It is the only character-theme in the opera, and it is used in the manner of Verdi rather than in that of Wagner, that is to say it does not undergo any subtle transformation. Here, as at the corresponding point in Wolf's opera, the Corregidor's theme announces that character's arrival. Lucia complains of the fate of the "povera gente che lavora e che, soffrendo, tace",² and expresses her delight in the simple

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1. In Wolf's opera this moment is expanded into a very fine scene in which Frasquita expresses her love for Lucas and her fear of the Corregidor.
 2. There is a suggestion of the sentiment of Wozzeck's "wie arme Leute" in her words.

Ex. 15 (b)

Beginning of Lucia's aria:

The musical score is written for voice and piano. The key signature has one sharp (F#), indicating G major. The time signature is not explicitly shown but is 4/4. The vocal line begins with a half note G4, followed by a quarter rest, then a series of eighth and sixteenth notes. The piano accompaniment starts with a half note G3, followed by a quarter rest, then a series of eighth and sixteenth notes. The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

Pas - soi miei di tranquil - la in questa casa limpida e ser -
- e - na dove l'a - mo e bene - detto da Di - o so -
- miglia a quella lampada che brill - a e il - lumina la cena.

Lucia's aria is followed by a bolero - the only specific example of "Spanish" music in the opera, in which Don Ferrante, in a frenzy of passion, attempts to win Lucia's affection. At the climax of this movement he loses his balance, falls and remains motionless.¹ Lucia calls his servant, Frulla, who carries his master up to bed. The stage is empty for a short while, during which the orchestra takes up the "folk tune" again (Ex. 13).

The climatic scene in which Renzo discovers Don Ferrante's clothes and decides to avenge himself is the most dramatic moment in La farsa amorosa, although it is less powerful than the corresponding scene in

1. This incident takes the place of the Corregidor falling into the mill-pond, since in the opera there is no mention of the fact that Renzo and his wife are millers.

Wolf's opera, in which the Corregidor's theme conflicts with the miller's. As in the novel, one's attention is focused on each article of the Corregidor's clothing,¹ and, while Renzo is enumerating them, Don Ferrante's theme is heard in the orchestra, gradually becoming more insistent:²

Ex. 16.



p. 200, bars 10-20.

Renzo puts on Don Ferrante's clothes and departs, the act ending with the latter, now dressed as a peasant and accompanied by his servants and Lucia, setting off in the direction of his house.

The Third Act opens in an atmosphere of tense anticipation, which is heightened by the quiet reiteration of Don Ferrante's theme in the orchestra. The Corregidor's servants inform Donna Mercedes that the house is locked up for the night. Renzo appears, but the servants take him for their master, and when they have gone, Renzo sets off for Donna Mercedes's room, singing "La Podestessa è bella". During the scenic

1. See V. Gaos, op. cit., p. 187.

2. In Wolf's opera, too, the Corregidor's theme ends with an augmented triad.

intermezzo which follows, Don Ferrante arrives, calls to his servants to unlock the door and is given the reply that their master has gone to bed with his wife. Meanwhile an offstage chorus derides Don Ferrante in music which recalls the mock homage of Act I (Ex. 12). The final quadro is treated as a fairly conventional opera buffa finale, consisting of ensembles for the principal characters alternating with choral passages. Although this scene serves the same purpose as the Final Act of Wolf's opera - that of clearing up the misunderstanding between Renzo and Lucia - Zandonai's finale is less perfunctory than Wolf's, and in the later work the audience is spared much of the tedious explanatory narrative. Mercedes, whose serene presence dominates this scene, humiliates her husband by letting him believe that Renzo has dishonoured him. Again the opera seems to veer towards a tragic ending, as Renzo and Lucia lament what appears to be the end of their happiness together, while the chorus, in Verdian style, sing "Notte inferno! Notte di pianto!" At this point the two asses rush in, and Lucia recalls that she had heard one of them braying while she was riding in the direction of Don Ferrante's house.¹ This confirms for her the truth of Renzo's explanation, and with the couple once again united, the opera ends with general rejoicing.²

The libretto of La farsa amorosa is more skilfully constructed than is the libretto of Wolf's opera. The Italian opera, unlike the German, does not attempt to include all the incidents narrated in the novel, but concentrates on those scenes which are most adaptable to opera. But although Zandonai makes a number of minor deviations from the Spanish work, he

1. See El sombrero, chapter 19.

2. The opera begins and ends in C major, as does Wolf's Der Corregidor.

presents more faithfully than Wolf the spirit of Alarcón's novel. There is a degree of patronising sentimentality in Alarcón's attitude to the miller and his wife, which finds a counterpart in the somewhat contrived simplicity of the song, "Disse il padre" (Ex. 13). Also Zandonai's opera, like the novel, never comes as close to a tragic denouement as does Der Corregidor. Musically, however, Wolf's opera is very much superior, and its use of Leitmotive gives its characters greater individuality and makes the opera a more unified work than La farsa amorosa.

At Bergamo in 1959 another Italian opera based on El sombrero was performed: Marino Cremesini's Il cappello a tre punte, with libretto by Raffaello Melani. Melani has followed the plot of the Spanish novel very closely, but, unlike Wolf's librettist, he wisely omits some of the minor incidents such as the drinking scene after the alcalde has arrested Lucas, and the scene in which the miller and his wife ride past during the night without recognising each other. He does, however, invent a scene between Lucas and the Corregidora which develops the latter's character. She shows anger at Lucas's insolent remarks, striking him when he sings "Dente per dente è il monito, così letto per letto", and she is compassionate towards Fraschita. The relationship between the miller and his wife is unchanged, as the following quotations show:

Luca: Son molto brutto; e un uomo con la gobba.

Fraschita: A me piace moltissimo.

Luca: Davvero!...

Allora quella del cor ti piacerà anche più, perchè è più grande.

Fraschita: Ne saresti geloso?

Luca: Dio ne liberi! (Libretto (Florence, n. d.), I, ii).

Luca and Fraschita (duet): Amor fido e giocondo è il nostro amore!

Vogliami bene e ridi!

Ridi di tutto il mondo! (I, viii).

Il cappello reproduces faithfully the tone of Alarcón's novel, but it

lacks the subtle characterisation and the dramatic power of Der Corregidor.

In 1938, five years after the first performance of La farsa amorosa, an opera by Felice Lattuada entitled La caverna di Salamanca¹ was produced at Genoa. The libretto, by Valentino Piccoli, is an adaptation of an entremés (interlude) by Cervantes. The following year Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari wrote an opera entitled La dama boba,² the libretto, by Ghisalberti, being an adaptation of the play of that name by Lope de Vega (1613). The choice of play does not appear to indicate an interest in Spanish literature on the part of Wolf-Ferrari; Lope's play, with its natural characterisation and humorous, tender, even sentimental plot, is not unlike the adaptations and imitations of Goldoni's commedie which the composer frequently used in other operas. The plot of La dama boba is, in comparison with many other plays of the period, a fairly simple one, and there is no important sub-plot. The central characters are two sisters: Nise, an intellectual somewhat reminiscent of Moreto's Doña Diana, and Finea, the dama boba of the title. The former is courted by Laurencio, the latter by Liseo. Before long, however, their affections change; Liseo, disillusioned by Finea's low intelligence, turns his attention to Nise, while Laurencio is attracted by Finea's large dowry. From this situation are derived numerous complications caused by mistaken intentions, some resulting in comic scenes, others in lyrical scenes.

The male characters in the play are unremarkable, but the two sisters are admirably portrayed and form a strong contrast one with the other. Nise's discourse on poetry, for example, is immediately followed by Finea's elementary reading lesson. And, in the Second Act, Nise's jealousy of her sister is juxtaposed with Finea's innocent credulity with regard to Laurencio's scheming. The contrast between the sisters is one of the

1. This work has apparently not been published.

2. The Italian title, La ragazza sciocca, is seldom used.

chief sources of dramatic conflict in the play. Of considerable interest, too, is the transition in Finea from boba to discreta, brought about by her love for Laurencio, and the ingenuity with which she pretends to relapse into ignorance in order to discourage Liseo's attentions. Indeed, the question of the exact nature and extent of Finea's simplicity is a source of comedy. Referring to Liseo, her first suitor, Finea scandalises her sister by saying:

Mi cama pienso que sobra para los dos [i.e. herself and Liseo].

Nise: ¿Tú no ves
que no están hechas las bodas?

Finea: Pues ¿qué importa? (Obras de Lope de Vega (Madrid, 1929), XI, 601).

And in the Second Act, she says in front of witnesses:

Yo doy palabra
de ser esposa y mujer
de Laurencio, (p. 615)

having been persuaded by Laurencio that this is a remedy for jealousy. There is an attractive quality in her naivety, and, although she is a comic figure, nowhere does Lope treat her unsympathetically.

Of the other characters little need be said. Miseno, a friend of Finea's father, and Leandro, Duardo and Feniso, caballeros, are subordinate in the plot, as are the servants. Finea's reading-master and dancing-master, though they provide good comic scenes, are also minor figures.

Finea's dancing-lesson and a scene in the Last Act are the only instances where music is used. This is not to suggest that the play is unsuited to operatic treatment. The characterisation of the two sisters might well be enhanced by music, particularly Finea's amusingly naive remarks. Musical expression could also be given to Nise's jealousy, and to the many comic scenes. The plot of Wolf-Ferrari's opera is almost identical to that of Lope de Vega's play, even in unimportant details, and the libretto is at times a verbatim translation of the Spanish text.

Neither is there any change in the dramatis personae, except for the omission of two minor characters, Leandro and Feniso. The first three scenes of the play are omitted, and, after the Sinfonia, the opera commences with Nise weeping as she writes a letter to Lorenzo. By contrast, this is followed by Finea's reading lesson. The simplicity of the lesson is emphasised by the accompaniment figure, consisting of five notes:

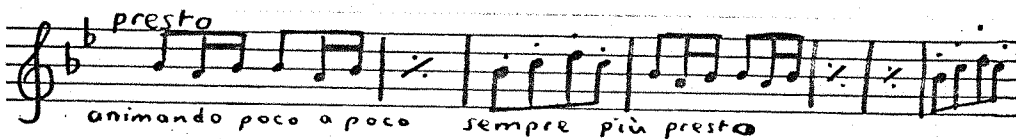
Ex. 17.



Voc. sc. (Milan, 1938), p. 30, bars 10-15.

This figure increases in speed as the maestro becomes more and more exasperated, and it reaches a climax at his presto outburst: "Dunque, signora: se vostro padre mi regalasse quanto possiede, chnnn! più lezione no vidarò" (p. 34). A similar comic effect is obtained through music in the dancing-lesson scene in the Second Act where, after a fairly rigid 6/8 tune depicting Finea's awkward movement, "il maestro suona indiavolatamente il suo violino":

Ex. 18.



Music is used to enhance the comedy also in the scene in which Pedro courts Clara. The situation and the words are parallel to Lorenzo's courting of Finea. The music, too, is similar, and Pedro's words, "Amor? Pazzia, furore", spoken in reply to Clara's "Ch'è amore?", are an exaggeration, in pseudo-Verdian style, of Lorenzo's reply to the same question. At times the dialogue is in itself comic and requires no musical enhancement, as in the following quotation:

Finea: Questa del matrimonio mi quadra.

Lorenzo: (E importa a me.)

Finea: E mi porterà a casa sua? E miterrà con sè?

Lorenzo: Sissignora [sic].

Finea: E ciò è ben fatto?

Lorenzo: Molto ben fatto, anche vostro padre fece così con vostra madre.

Finea: Sì?

Lorenzo: E da loro nasceste.

Finea: Io? Così? (pp. 74-75).

The quality of the music is uneven. The characterisation of the two sisters in music is good. Nise's passionate arias¹ contrast well with Finea's rapid recitative-like passages, of which the following quotation, sung when she is punished by her reading-master, is a good example:

Ex. 19.

Strillando

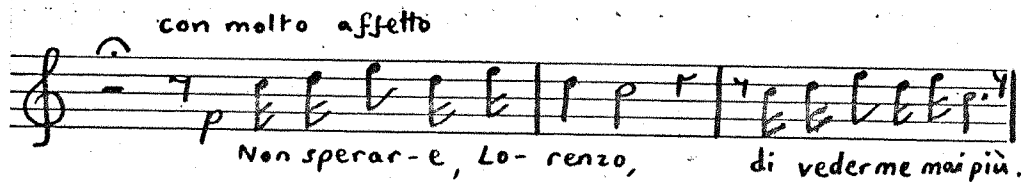
La pal - meta! La pal - meta! la bracchetta sulla
mano, che mi brucia come il pepe! Bella scienza!

p. 33, bars 12-15.

1. e.g. "No, traditor! Lasciami!" from Act II.

A recurrent motif associated with Finea's love for Lorenzo emphasises the simplicity of her character:

Ex. 20.



p. 160, bars 1-3.

Much of the music, however, is mediocre. Wolf-Ferrari's harmonic vocabulary is limited in this work. He relies heavily on conventional diminished-seventh chords at climaxes, notably when Nise accuses Lorenzo of perfidy in the Second Act. His use of the chorus, too, is unimaginative, and the melodramatic curse in the same act is both unoriginal and inappropriate. Despite some good musical characterisation and some felicitous comic scenes, La dama boba did not equal the fame of other operas by Wolf-Ferrari.

Of much greater interest is Gian Francesco Malipiero's¹ La vita è sogno (Breslau, 1943), based on Calderón's great play, La vida es sueño (1635). Despite the poetic beauty of this work and its long familiarity outside Spain, Malipiero's opera is the only Italian musical version of it. The play has deeply impressed most readers, but it has been misunderstood by some, notably Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo,² who objected

1. Malipiero also wrote an opera set in Spain at the time of Velázquez: Donna Urraca, based on Merimée's Le ciel et l'enfer.

2. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Calderón y su teatro (Madrid, 1910).

to the sub-plot and to what he considered to be the excessively rapid conversion of the prince, Segismundo. Arturo Farinelli¹ also saw a contradiction between the sceptical thesis, "Life is a dream", and the religious thesis that good works are necessary for salvation. These criticisms have been confuted by Edward M. Wilson,² who has shown that the title does not mean that all life is a dream and hence man has no power to choose the good, but that worldly values have only a dreamlike reality. "The word 'sueño' applies, not to the fact that one is, but to what one is."³ Far from implying that life is meaningless, Calderón shows that virtue and vice earn their rewards.⁴ Pride comes before a fall; confusion, as in a dream, between what is permanent and what is transient, brings a rude awakening. This is seen in Clarín, King Basilio, Astolfo, the rebel soldier, and a servant, in all of whom Segismundo's adventures are in some way reflected. In contrast, Rosaura and her father, Clotaldo, recognise that worldly values are confusing and untrustworthy; they act prudently and virtuously and do not fall like the others.

The action of the play is two-fold; the main plot shows a man's conversion from uncontrolled violence and pride to generosity and self-domination, the sub-plot the clearing of a woman's honour. These two issues are shown by Wilson to be interdependent. It is Segismundo who

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1. Arturo Farinelli, La vita è un sogno. Parte seconda (Torino, 1916), pp. 283-284.
 2. Edward M. Wilson, "On La vida es sueño", in Critical Essays on the Theatre of Calderón, ed. B. W. Wardropper (New York, 1965), pp. 63-89.
 3. Wilson, art. cit., p. 75.
 4. The theological ideas implicit in this play are discussed by Everett W. Hesse in "Calderón's Concept of the Perfect Prince in La vida es sueño", in Wardropper, op. cit., pp. 114-133.

redeems Rosaura's honour by uniting her in marriage to her former suitor, Astolfo, and it is this sacrificial act of the prince which provides proof of his conversion. In greater detail A. E. Sloman¹ has shown that the fortunes of Segismundo and Rosaura are inextricably linked throughout the play. When Segismundo is returned to his prison after his violent behaviour in the palace, he is taught by Clotaldo to believe that his visit to the palace was unreal. But he refuses to believe that his encounter there with Rosaura was unreal:

De todos era señor,
y de todos me vengaba.
Sólo a una mujer amaba;
que fue verdad, creo yo,
en que todo se acabó
y esto solo no se acaba. (II, 2132-37)²

Rosaura alone can convince him of the reality of his palace experiences. She is therefore the means as well as the proof of his conversion, and the prominence given to her by Calderón is fully justified.

Much of the play's beauty derives from the dramatic effect to which its imagery is put. The symbolic use of light and darkness is a good example. Attention is drawn to the darkness of the prison in the opening scene, and in the Second Act Segismundo associates Rosaura with light:

¿Cómo quieres dejar des a manera
a oscuras mi sentido? (1625-26).

Anagrammatically, too, she is associated with light, as William M. Whitby has pointed out.³ The second chain of linked imagery is less common outside Golden-Age literature. It concerns the confusion of the elements,

1. A. E. Sloman, "The Structure of Calderón's La vida es sueño", in Wardropper, op. cit., pp. 90-100.

2. Quotations are from A. E. Sloman's edition of the play (Manchester, 1961).

3. The letters of her name, rearranged, spell auroras; dawns. William M. Whitby, "Rosaura's Role in the Structure of La vida es sueño", p. 107, n., in Wardropper, op. cit., pp. 101-113.

symbolising the disorder in society. In the First Act Rosaura, a woman, is seen dressed as a man, while Segismundo, a prince, is dressed in animal skins. Rosaura's internal confusion is expressed in her words:

Inmóvil bulto soy de fuego y hielo. (74)

The violence of nature reaches a climax in the king's description of the portents which heralded his son's birth; the clouds rained stones and there was an eclipse of the sun. In the Second Act this is paralleled by the human violence of Segismundo's actions. Only in the Final Act is order restored, after Segismundo has been acknowledged as a prince and Rosaura, now without a sword and dressed as a woman, has been accepted by Astolfo.

Malipiero's opera shows a great respect for Calderón's play, even though the composer has found it necessary to make a number of alterations. The libretto is for the most part a translation of the Spanish words, but the dialogue and speeches are very much reduced in length. The names of two characters are changed: Astolfo to Arias and Rosaura to Diana. The opera is more vague than the play with regard to time and place,¹ and in keeping with this neither the king nor the prince is named. A chorus of courtiers and townsfolk is included, and a group of dancers are added to the cast. The First Act opens in an atmosphere of desolation. The first theme, which is the most important of the Leitmotive and which recurs many times throughout the opera, emphasises the Prince's seemingly hopeless situation by its initial falling phrase followed by a rise of a diminished fourth, and by the subsequent diminution of the theme

1. "Senza luogo nè tempo in un mundo di fantasia."

as if thrown away in despair:

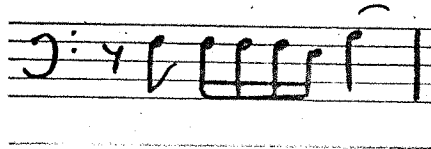
Ex. 21.



Voc. sc. (Milan, 1942), p. 1, bars 1-8.

This theme is followed by an agitated rhythmic figure, which is developed both rhythmically and melodically during this scene:

Ex. 22.




p. 1, bar 14.

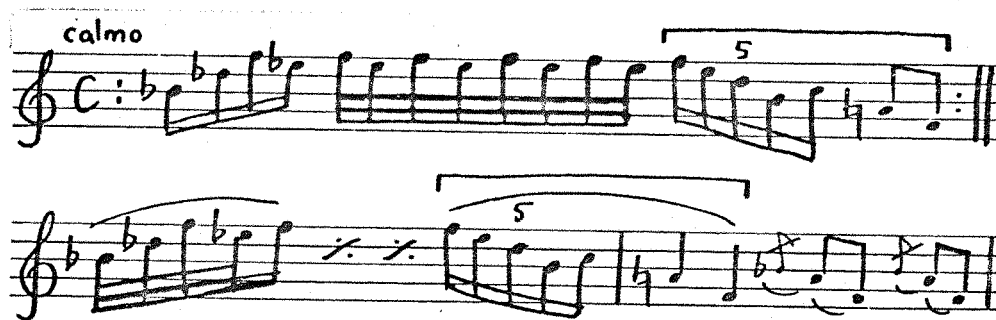
After this brief orchestral introduction the curtain rises, showing the Prince in chains outside the fortress. The scene is described exactly as in the play, but with one important deviation: Diana in the opera is not dressed as a man. Her opening words, sung in arioso style, are very close to the Spanish text:

Impetuoso ippogrifo
rapido come il vento,
perchè lampo senza fiamma.

Hipogrifo violento
que corraste parejas con el viento,
¿dónde rayo sin llama, (I, 1-3).

She hears the Prince lamenting his lack of freedom, while the orchestra repeats music heard in the introduction. This lament includes a very moving speech in which he compares his captivity with the freedom enjoyed by a bird, a wild beast and a fish, representing three of the elements - air, earth and water - respectively (123-152). In setting these words Malipiero shows his characteristic fidelity to the Spanish text and his economic use of thematic material, and the result is a cohesive musical paragraph which unobtrusively emphasises the significance of the words. The music is unified by the development of a simple theme which includes three descending notes followed by a fall of a third, indicated thus . The first stanza begins "L'uccello nasce" ("Nace el ave"), and the bird is represented by the following orchestral passage:

Ex. 23.



p. 10, bars 124-127.

The stanza ends with the following quasi-refrain:

Ex. 24.



ed io chehoun anima son prigioniero

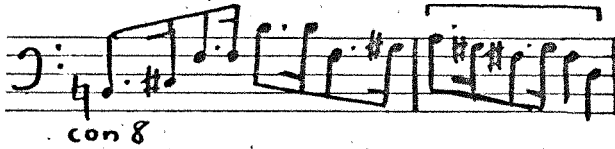
p. 11, bars 133-135.

This is based on the Spanish words:

gy teniendo yo más alma,
tengo menos libertad? (I, 131-2).

In the next stanza, "La fiera nasce", the theme is transformed by a dotted rhythm, representing the wild beast:

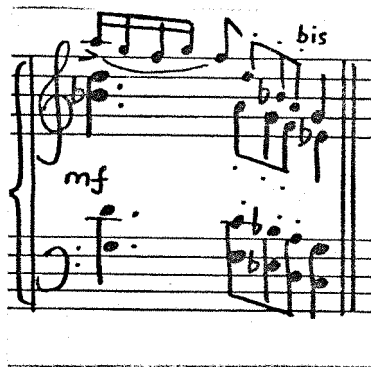
Ex. 25.



p. 11, bars 136-137.

The refrain, "ed io che ho ben altri istinti, sono prigioniero", is sung to the same music as the first refrain, but transposed a tone higher, as his grief is now more intense. In the final stanza¹ the theme suggests the motion of a fish (Ex. 26), and the refrain is heard for the last time, a semi-tone higher than before.

Ex. 26.



p. 12, bar 146.

After the Prince's lament, the first two themes are heard again,

1. The final stanza in the play, "Nace el arroyo" (153), is omitted.

as he becomes angry at being overheard. Diana's presence, however, begins to have a tranquilising effect on him, and he sings "tu sola che hai dominata la mia collera" against a chordal background of unequivocal A-flat major tonality. Then, as in the play, Clotaldo appears and arrests Diana and her servant. In the orchestral interlude which follows the theme associated with the Prince (Ex. 21), is developed. The second scene takes place in the palace. Trumpets and drums announce the King, who makes his entry to a fairly tonal march. Malipiero, wishing to avoid any semblance of a grandiose operatic procession, specifies that the King's acompañamiento referred to in the play should not exceed ten persons. The King tells the court of the portents which heralded his son's birth and of his doubts concerning the wisdom of the precautionary actions he took.

The Second Act shows a room in the palace. The Prince is asleep, guarded by Clotaldo and the King. In the early part of this act Malipiero sensibly manipulates Calderón's play to meet the different requirements of music-drama. The dialogue in which Clotaldo tells the King how he has brought the Prince drugged to the palace is omitted as being inessential and unoperatic. Instead the composer turns his attention to the "músicos, cantando", who attend the Prince. He appears to be anxious to avoid the idea of a hidden "atmospheric" chorus, such as is found in many nineteenth-century operas. This chorus consists of court musicians, whose presence is justified by the text of the play. They enter with their music copies in their hands and group themselves around the Prince. Since Calderón does not specify what they sing, Malipiero has composed three madrigali, the first pastoral, the second amorous and the third heroic, which are linked by a short phrase which occurs both during and between the madrigals. Rhythmic chordal passages alternate with simple imitative counterpoint to create an authentic madrigalian sound which avoids deliberate archaism, in the following example by

doubling the tune in the bass part:

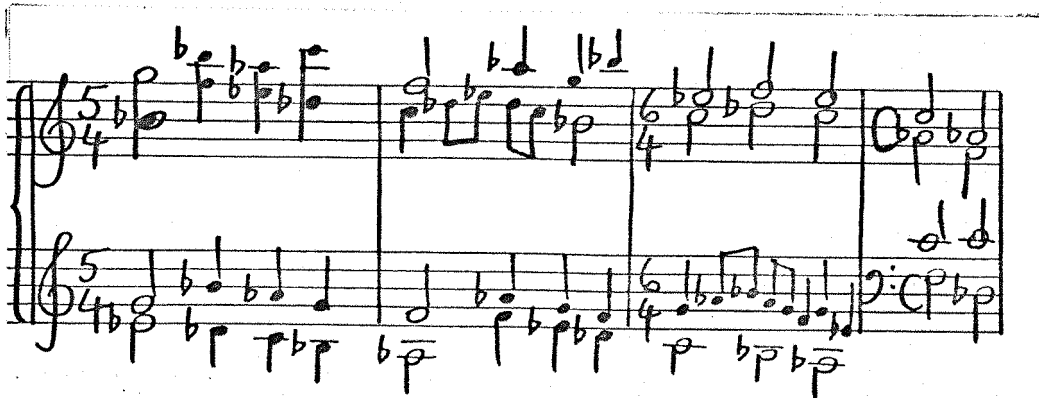
Ex. 27.



p. 59, bars 4-5.

The remainder of the Second Act follows fairly closely the action of the play. The Prince, on learning his identity, becomes violently angry, first with Clotaldo, then with Arias and finally with the King. The main theme of the opera (Ex. 21), is frequently heard in the orchestra, and at one point is worked into the vocal line, as the King says to his son: "E pensa, che tutto ciò che vedi forse non è che un sogno". When Diana enters one is reminded of her effect on the Prince, for the orchestra repeats the calm A-flat music which had accompanied his words in Act I, "tu sola che hai dominata la mia collera":

Ex. 28.



p. 79, bars 821-824.

The Prince recognises Diana and is overwhelmed by her beauty. His ever-increasing desire is represented by a rising phrase reiterated almost incessantly by the orchestra:

Ex. 29.

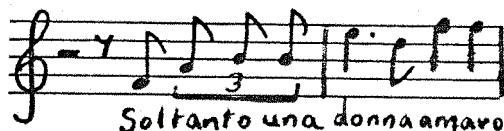


p. 80, bar 830.

Unable to control his passion, the Prince threatens both Clotaldo and the King when they try to intervene to save Diana.

After a long introduction to the Third Act, during which the second and third madrigals are heard, sung off-stage, the Prince is seen outside his prison, once again in chains. In a dream he speaks of his eventual triumph. Later he tells Clotaldo of his "dream" of being a Prince. As he mentions Diana, the "desire" motif is used in the vocal line, its rising notes suggesting hope and contrasting with the gloomy descent of the main theme:

Ex. 30.



p. 104, bars 1114-15.

An effective solution is found to the problem of representing the battle between the Prince's followers and the King's. A crowd of soldiers and

civilians enter to proclaim the Prince as their heir to the throne. Over their chorus, consisting of vowel sounds interspersed with solo cries to suggest the progress of the battle, the Prince sings: "No, non voglio dipendere dai capricci del destino", ending triumphantly with the words: "ora so questa mia vita è un sogno", sung to the principal theme of the opera. This is the climax of the work, for at this point the Prince's conversion is seen.¹ When Clotaldo appears, proof is given of the conversion as the Prince controls his anger with the words: "Ma no - forse è ancora un sogno". A shortened version of the Prince's concluding speech then follows:

Se è detto, 'una fiera ti abranerà!²
rivegliaresti un leone che dorme? (pp. 129-130).

Then, as the Prince kneels before his father, the chorus sing:

Venti, benigni, venti
del sol temperate i raggi ardenti
spargete un odorato nembo
che se la vita è sogno,
sogno può esser vita. (pp. 132-134).

Although the plot of the opera approximates closely to that of the play, and even textually the two works are very similar, yet Malipiero has found it necessary greatly to simplify Calderón's play. All our attention is focused on the Prince and his struggle for freedom and for recognition as the rightful heir. The most important deviation from the

1. The main climax in the play does not occur until the very end of the Final Act, when the demands of poetic justice are met and Segismundo gives conclusive proof of his conversion by marrying Rosaura to Astolfo.

2. Cf. Si a cualquier hombre dijese:
'Alguna fiera inhumana
te dará muerte', ¿escogiera
buen remedio en despertallas
cuando estuviesen durmiendo? (III, 3187-90).

original is the omission of the subplot dealing with Rosaura's honour. In the opera Diana does not appear dressed as a man, neither is there any suggestion that she is related to Clotaldo or in love with Arias. Consequently her rôle is much less important, since she is no longer instrumental in effecting the Prince's conversion, neither does she provide proof of it. Also the theme of poetic justice is not emphasised in the opera. Musically the work is consistent and is unified by the use of recurrent themes. There is no overall tonality, but individual passages tend to gravitate towards a temporary key centre.

In May 1949, Goffredo Petrassi's opera, Il cordovano, was performed at La Scala, Milan. Like Lattuada's La caverna di Salamanca, performed eleven years earlier, it is based on an interlude by Cervantes, in this case the Entremés del viejo celoso (1615), the plot of which closely resembles that of a later Cervantine work, El celoso extremeño.¹ As the play begins Doña Lorenza is seen complaining of her unhappy life. Her husband, Cañizares, her senior by many years, though generous to her in material things, allows her no freedom as he suffers from an extremely jealous temperament. The absurd precautions which he takes to safeguard his honour are paralleled in the later novel.² Hortigosa, a neighbour, persuades her to allow a young man to be secreted into her bedroom. Cristina, Lorenza's niece, also encourages her in this deception. In the next scene Cañizares appears, telling a friend of his unhappiness caused by his jealous fears. The repeated references to his fear of

1. See p. 93.

2. Lorenza: "No me clauara el las ventanas, cerrara las puertas, visitara a todas horas la casa, desterrara della los gatos y los perros, solamente porque tienen nombre de varon." The Interludes of Cervantes, ed. S. Griswold Morley (Princetown, New Jersey, 1948), p. 196.

Hortigosa¹ increase the tension of the plot during this scene. Hortigosa arrives and tries to persuade Cañizares to buy a tapestry. She holds it up for him to examine it, thereby enabling a young man to enter unnoticed. A quarrel then takes place between husband and wife, which ends in Lorenza's locking herself in her room. After a while she calls to her husband, telling him of the pleasure which her lover is giving her. Cristina, who appears to derive vicarious enjoyment from her aunt's pleasure, facetiously tells Cañizares to scold his wife. His increasing anger is gently mocked by her words: "¡Jesús, y que locuras, y que niñerías!" Cañizares, who cannot believe that his wife is in fact deceiving him, at last forces the door open. Lorenza throws water in his face, allowing her lover to escape unseen. Further quarrelling brings the constable on to the scene, but husband and wife are finally reconciled, and a group of musicians arrive and sing:

las riñas de por San Juan,
todo el año paz nos dan. (p. 216).

The theme of the play is deception, and the work is amusing in its frivolous treatment of adultery. Cañizares takes his wife's trick as a poor joke and does not realise that he has in fact been deceived. Although the structure of this work is similar to that of El celoso extremeño, there are two important differences. In the novel adultery is not committed and there is a serious moralistic tone. In the play, although it may be argued that Cañizares is punished for his excessive jealousy, Lorenza, who by Golden-Age standards, is guilty of a worse crime, goes unpunished. As Morley has said,² she is weaker in character than her husband, and her weakness allows her to be tempted by her

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1. Cañizares: "¡Hortigosa, y vezina? ¡Dios sea conmigo!" and: "El nombre de vezina me turba y sobresalta" and: "¡Nombre fatal para mí es el de vezina!"
 2. S. Griswold Morley, op. cit., p. x.

cynical neighbour.¹ As the play progresses, however, her submission to her husband decreases, and this comes to a climax when, having deceived him, she throws water in his face. In a play such as this moral judgments are not pertinent, and the concluding dance may, as Casaldueiro suggests, be intended to celebrate the triumph of youth over old age, and "la victoria del ingenio sobre el espíritu receloso y despótico".²

The humour avoids verbal subtleties, bordering on farce at the lover's entry and even on slap-stick at the point where Lorenza throws water at her husband. Also, since the function of the entremeses was to provide light entertainment between the acts of a longer and more serious drama, the emphasis is on character-types rather than on individualisation. The character of Cristina merits closer scrutiny, however, for she is more clearly defined than the other characters. More complex than the conventional soubrette, she shows an adolescent curiosity about sex during the scene in which Lorenza is in her room with her lover, but in the opening scene she appears to be considerably more worldly than her aunt, as she persuades the latter to accept a lover and also asks Hortigosa to bring her a "frailecico con quien yo me huelgue". She is also harsher than Lorenza in her condemnation of Cañizares and even suggests killing him. Although her part is inessential to the working out of the plot, she makes an important contribution to the comedy, and it is in fact she who has the final word

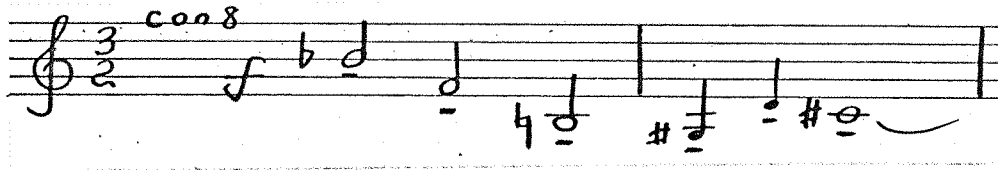
Mas, si mi vezina me huviera traydo mi fraylezico,
yo la tuuiera por mejor vezina. (p. 216)

Apart from the text of the trio in the fifth scene, the libretto, by Eugenio Moritale, is a verbatim translation of Cervantes's play. Petrassi

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1. The neighbour is the counterpart of the "dueña" in El celoso extremeño, who was severely criticised by Cervantes.
 2. J. Casaldueiro, Sentido y forma del teatro de Cervantes (Madrid, 1951), p. 225.

has merely divided the text into six scenes. The music is mainly through-composed, but there are a few repeated passages and also a motto theme, which appears in numerous melodic and rhythmic transformations. This motto theme, consisting of six notes, is used to open the work:

Ex. 31.



Voc. sc. (Milan, 1949), bars 1-2.

It is not an illustrative Leitmotiv; its use is similar to that of the motto theme in Malipiero's La vita è sogno. It appears again at the end of the first scene, where, sung fortissimo and in unison by Lorenza and Cristina to the words "è un malvagio, uno stregone, è un vecchio infine", it appears several times in Cañizares's part, notably when he quotes the Latin proverb "Amicus usque ad aras", and in its inverted form it is used to open this scene. The opera ends with a combination of the two versions: the original version on the trombones and the inverted form on the trumpets.

As Weissmann has shown,¹ Il cordovano is a compromise between the continuity of Wagnerian music-drama and the more static "number-opera". For the most part the music is continuous, but a few concerted passages are to be found, especially in the latter half of the work, such as the trio in scene v. The harmonic language is dissonant, but serial technique is not used, and there are passages in which, for a short period, a

1. John Weissman, Goffredo Petrassi (Milan, 1957), pp. 30-32.
John Weissman, "Goffredo Petrassi", The Score, III (June, 1950), 49-62.

key centre is suggested. For the vocal lines a flexible declamatory style is used, which is transformed into expressive coloratura for the lyrical lines and into animated recitativo secco for conversation.

Cervantes's character-types Petrassi matches by stylisation of the vocal parts. A clear distinction is made in the music between the three women. The low-pitched contralto notes of Hortigosa, as she sings of the delights offered by a young lover, produce a sinister effect. The rapid patter of Cristina's part emphasises her youthful vivacity, and contrasts markedly with Lorenza's serio-comic complaints.

Compare the following examples:

Ex. 32 (a).



bars 26-27.

Ex. 32 (b).



(bars 126-129.

A sympathetic view of Cañizares in the play is possible,¹ but Petrassi

1. See S. Griswold Morley, op. cit., p. x.

does not take this view, treating him as an object of ridicule. His absurdity is emphasised in his vocal line, which includes the frequent use of falsetto notes¹ and rapid coloratura passages.² Cristina, in scene i, mimics his voice.

Despite the textual fidelity to Cervantes's play, the opera lacks the quasi-improvisatory deftness of the Spanish work. Music inevitably slows the pace of the drama, and this is particularly noticeable in the first scene, in which there is no action, merely conversation. The differentiation in the music between the main characters is apt, but the sometimes quite complex contrapuntal texture of the music does not really seem appropriate to the subject-matter.³

No Spanish writer since Calderón has had as great an influence on opera as Federico García Lorca. Since his death in 1936 at least nine operas based on his plays have been composed,⁴ in addition to numerous musical settings of some of his poems.⁵ One of the chief reasons for the attraction of Lorca's plays for opera composers is that, like Calderón, he made extensive use of music in his theatre. Don Perlimplín

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1. For example, as he sings "Amicus usque ad aras".
 2. A notable example of this is the descending chromatic scale spanning two octaves at the end of his outburst, "al timore mi dispero, e a disperarmi vivo in gran disgusto" (bar 407).
 3. Towards the end of the first scene there is a strict canon at one bar's distance between Lorenza and Cristina, and a canon at the half bar between Hortigosa and the orchestra in scene iv, beginning "Signora del' anima mia".
 4. See Appendix and pp. 87, 159-173 and 240-246. The scores of two Lorcan operas by the Spanish composer, Federico Elizalde, have not been located. The works are Don Perlimplín and Títeres de Cachiporra.
 5. e.g. by Hermann Reutter and Luigi Nono. A setting by Juan José Castro of the poem, La casada infiel, may be seen in the Hispanic Council Library, London (M 1687 /11 178/). Nono has also composed a ballet based on Don Perlimplín.

(1952), by Vittorio Rieti, is possibly the earliest opera inspired by Lorca's drama.

Lorca's El amor de Don Perlimplín con Belisa en su jardín was completed in 1928 but, owing to censorship, was not performed until 1933. The central theme of the play is "the conflict of the flesh and the spirit, with the soul triumphant over the body through sacrifice and death".¹ The play has similarities of theme and situation to La zapatera prodigiosa.²

Don Perlimplín

is more highly stylised than La zapatera, however, as the subtitle, "Aleluya erótica", suggests, and in it the real world of Don Perlimplín and Belisa and the fantastic world of sprites overlap. This stylisation is emphasised by the repetition, during the prologue and first scene, of the opening lines of the play, quasi refrain:

¿Sí?

Sí.

¿Por qué sí? etc.

It is emphasised visually, too, by the paper birds, the six doors in the bedroom, the sprites, Perlimplín's gilded horns, and by the "perspectivas... equivocadas deliciosamente" in the second scene. Against this background of unreality the action of the play is set: Don Perlimplín's self-sacrifice in order to make Belisa capable of love.

Francisco García Lorca, the dramatist's brother, has referred to the importance of music in Don Perlimplín.³ With the exception of Bodas de

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1. Federico García Lorca, Five Plays, Comedies and Tragicomedies, trans. J. Graham-Lujan and R. L. O'Connell (London, 1965), Introduction by Francisco García Lorca, p. 8.
 2. Castro has written an opera based on this play. See Sir G. Grove, Dictionary, II, 117.
 3. loc. cit. "The cast is reduced to four characters, who interweave their voices in a kind of concerto grosso for four instruments. Maybe none of Lorca's plays shows with more poetic evidence the musical influence in his theatre."

sangre, in no other play by Lorca does music play so integral a part.

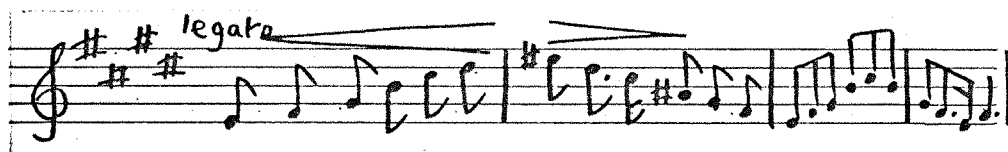
Piano music, presumably by an eighteenth-century composer, is required at the beginning and end of the Prologue, and Belisa's song is sung to piano accompaniment. Guitars introduce the first scene, and later, as the sprites appear, "con dulce tono de sueño, suenan flautas". Bells are heard as day breaks and again at the end of the play, and in the final scene a sweet and sensual serenade is heard. The use of flutes to accompany the appearance of the sprites, as the action passes from the real to the unreal world, is comparable with the use of violins in the woodcutter scene in Bodas de sangre. In that work, however, Lorca states that the violins represent the forest, that is they have a symbolic significance, as the beggar-woman also has. In Don Perlimplín the music is used solely to enhance the atmosphere; it has no explicit symbolic purpose.

Rieti's opera is a rather disappointing work. It attempts to do more than merely provide incidental music for the Spanish play, yet Rieti appears to lack Fortner's and Maderna's ability to transform literary ideas into appropriate musical idiom. The music is for the most part tonal, and the harmony is unimaginative, as the following example shows:
Ex. 33.



drama than in the earlier scenes. Rieti builds this scene on two distinct elements: Belisa's love and Perlimplín's death. The first of these is expressed in Belisa's aria, sung offstage, which begins thus: "Por las orillas del río se está la noche mojando". The unexpected key-change in the second bar saves from banality what is a very simple melodic line.

Ex. 36.



p. 154, bars 14-17.

A three-part female chorus, also offstage, repeats her lines. This section is brought to a climax with the words: "¡Noche mía de menta y lapislázuli!" At this point a menacing tune over an agitated rhythm is heard in the orchestra, preparing the audience for Perlimplín's death. The opera ends with a repetition of Belisa's theme, played quietly and slowly.

Rieti's Don Perlimplín has been performed in the United States and in Paris. Eaton sees the work as an example of "modernisation of the traditional Italian opera".¹ Rieti has in fact taken elements from Italian opera of several periods: eighteenth-century recitativo secco, nineteenth-century operetta (Ex. 35), and particularly in the final scene, fin de siècle techniques as used by Puccini. Such diversity of styles does not make for a unified work, nor is it in keeping with the refined lyricism of Lorca's play.

1. Quaintaince Eaton, Opera Production (Minneapolis, 1961), p. 179.

A much more imaginative treatment of Lorca's play is found in Bruno Maderna's Don Perlimplin ovvero il trionfo dell' amore e dell' immaginazione (Milan, 1961). In his substitution of musical for literary ideas he goes further than either Rieti or Fortner. Maderna's work is a radio opera; it is not intended for dramatic performance. A male speaker "in funzione di coro" is therefore included, and he describes the scene and action where necessary. Apart from Belisa's three short songs, all the dialogue involving her, Marcolfa and the Sprites is spoken. The words of Don Perlimplino and Belisa's mother are not uttered at all. They are represented musically by a solo flute and a saxophone quartet respectively. The gentle, questioning phrases of the flute (Ex. 37), and the somewhat grotesque sound of four saxophones,¹ playing in "Tempo di Rag", depict most aptly Lorca's two characters.

Ex. 37.

The image shows a handwritten musical score for two instruments: a flute (labeled 'Perlimplino (flute)') and a saxophone quartet (labeled 'marcolfa.'). The score is written on two staves. The flute part begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The saxophone part begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (Bb). The lyrics are in Italian and include: 'marcolfa. sì. Perchè sì.', '[sì?]', '[Perchè sì?]', '[E se io ti dicesse di no?]', 'marcolfa. (aspra) No?', and '[No] (il più dolce poss.)'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'f' (forte) and 'p' (piano).

Voc. sc. (Milan, 1961), p. 12, bars 51-54.

1. In the play the Mother wears a grotesque wig.

Maderna's music is fragmentary, and his orchestration, like Fortner's, is exceedingly delicate. Both composers make occasional use of serial technique, but unlike Fortner, Maderna includes improvisation, and several sections consist of a montage of fragments selected by the players from the music of the introduction. The composed instrumental movements include three "Blues", the last of which is subtitled "Dark rapture crawl". An impassioned climax is reached at the end of this movement, during which rhythmic chords are played by strings, col legno, combined with mandolin, electric guitar, marimba and vibraphone. Over this Belisa recites her final soliloquy:

Notte mia, notte di menta e di lapislazzuli...

Belisa's sung passages consist of her opening "Amore", (Ex. 38), first heard unaccompanied and then with a light instrumental background, and a canzone in the third quadro.

Ex. 38.

Tempo di Rag.

A - - mo - re A - - mo -
re - A - - mo - - re
A - mo - (o) - - (o) - re -

p. 15, bars 1-16.

Rieti at this point had written a vocal cadenza strongly influenced by nineteenth-century operetta. Fortner's "Amore" is a languorous phrase, embellished with eighteenth-century ornaments, in keeping with the letter of Lorca's play. Maderna's "Tempo di Rag" is stylistically less incongruous than it might at first seem. The sustained notes and the syncopated rhythm express admirably Belisa's abandonment to sexual passion.

And there is a parallel between Maderna's somewhat arch use of Rag-time in the nineteen sixties and Lorca's evocation of the eighteenth century. The canzone consists of three superimposed melodic strands, all sung by the same voice. The form provides for some imitative counterpoint, but Maderna wisely avoids writing in strict canon. The subtlety of the musical effect may be compared with Rieti's setting of the same words (Ex. 36).

Ex. 39.

Sulle rive del fiume la notte si sta bagnan - do —

Sulle rive del

la

Nel petto di Be - li - sa d'amo - - re

fiu - me —

notte si sta ba - gnan - do.

muoio - noi ra - - mi. I

d'amo - re muoio noi ra - - mi.

d'a - mo - re muoio noi ra - mi.

Maderna's Don Perlimplin shows far greater originality than Rieti's,
but it lacks the coherent structure of Fortner's opera.

Chapter 2

BRITAIN and AMERICA

Operas in English based on Spanish literary works are considerably less numerous than those with the same basis written to Italian, French and German texts. The reason for this is not that there has been less interest in Spanish culture in England than in other countries, but that native opera has never established itself in England to the extent to which it has in Italy, France and Germany. It is perhaps surprising that in a country which, during the Elizabethan Era, excelled in both drama and music, opera - the fusion of these two arts - should have failed to establish itself. Dent suggests¹ that the reason for this is that spoken drama was already far too highly developed for its musical counterpart to be accepted as an equivalent. With a few notable exceptions,² early English essays in music-drama therefore tend to approximate to drama with extended incidental music rather than to true opera.

The taste for exotic plots can be seen very early in the history of English music-drama, and plots which had a Spanish or South American setting were popular. In 1658 an entertainment called an "opera" was given at the Drury Lane Theatre in London, entitled The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru, with words by Sir William Davenant and music by Matthew Locke. This work, which almost certainly would have had political motivation,³ was not so much an opera as an informative "lecture-recital",⁴

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1. E. J. Dent, The Foundations of English Opera (Cambridge, 1928), p. 3.
 2. e.g. Blow's Venus and Adonis (1684) and Purcell's Dido and Aeneas (1689).
 3. From 1655 to 1659 Admiral Robert Blake was conducting naval war against Spain.
 4. E. J. Dent, op. cit., p. 74.

consisting of six scenes, each comprising an instrumental movement, an explanatory speech in verse, and a song. Of greater significance are the four lyric dramas with a Spanish setting for which Purcell composed some of the incidental music. They are The Libertine (Thomas Shadwell), The Spanish Fryer or the Double Discovery (John Dryden), The Conquest of Granada and The Comical History of Don Quixote (both plays by Thomas D'Urfey). These works come closer to genuine opera than do Davenant's dramas, but they still maintain for the most part a distinction between actors and singers. They also show what was then the characteristic reluctance of the English to concede much importance to the musical element, but rather to regard it as a diversion or addition to the play, not a means of enhancing the dramatic expression and the characterisation. Of these four works only The Comical History of Don Quixote¹ is based on a Spanish literary work.

After Purcell's death in 1695 there was no-one in England to succeed him in the field of lyric drama, and, even if there had been, it is unlikely that English opera would have established itself, for, in eighteenth-century England just as in eighteenth-century Spain, the lyric stage was to be dominated by Italian opera.² The effect of foreign domination on the abortive attempts to create English opera were so devastating that in 1711 Joseph Addison could write: "... our English Musick is quite rooted out, and nothing yet planted in its stead".³ Italian

1. See below, pp. 250-251.

2. The history of opera in England is, in several respects, similar to that in Spain. Both countries had excelled in music and in drama in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and in both countries during that period the leading dramatists had made great use of music in their plays. But during the first half of the eighteenth century the musical scene in England and Spain was dominated by Italian opera, and native opera remained dormant until the musical revival which came about in both countries in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

3. The Spectator, No. 18, Wednesday, March 21, 1711.

opera, however, came under much fiercer attack in England than in Spain, notably by Addison himself, and its popularity in England experienced a swifter decline. By the second quarter of the century ballad opera had appeared, which both ridiculed Italian opera and also originated a national brand of comic opera. In its comic and usually amorous plots and its attractive but often trivial musical "humbers", ballad opera resembled its Spanish counterpart, the zarzuela.¹

As this new English opera increased in popularity, so its subject-matter was expanded, notably by Stephen Storace, William Shield and Charles Dibdin, to include tales of adventure, popularised supernatural elements² and tales set in foreign countries. Charles Dibdin is deservedly the best-known English composer of operas of his time. Born in Southampton, he later settled in London, where his versatility as composer, poet, playwright, novelist and actor-singer secured his fame. Some of his comic operas retain the strong penchant for parody which had characterised the earlier ballad operas. His best works show a sure instinct for dramatic and comic effect, and an attempt to use music to heighten the effect at climaxes and to add depth in the characterisation.

Among Dibdin's best works is his comic opera The Padlock (London, 1768). The libretto, by Isaac Bickerstaffe, is based on Cervantes's Exemplary Novel, El celoso extremeño (1613). The novel tells of an hidalgo from Extremadura, called Felipe de Carrizales, who, having squandered his inheritance, embarks for the Indies and there makes his fortune, returning to Seville years later, an old man now but wealthy and somewhat wiser than before. He determines to marry so as to have an heir but is fearful because he knows that he is a very jealous man. The

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1. For a detailed description of English opera at this time see D. J. Grout, A Short History of Opera (Columbia, 1965), pp. 135-148, 261-263.
 2. e.g. Storace's The Haunted Tower (1789) and three Don Giovanni operas all written in 1817, including one by Dibdin (see Chapter 7).

greater part of the story shows how he takes absurd precautions to safeguard his wife's chastity, but how, in spite of these precautions, a young man named Loaysa gains entry into the house by prevailing upon the servants, appealing to the music-loving black eunuch and to the sexually frustrated dueña. He succeeds finally in placing Leonora in a compromising situation but is discovered by Carrizales. The denouement is unexpected, for Carrizales, instead of taking revenge, blames himself and the age-gap between himself and his very young wife, and he recommends her to marry Loaysa after his death. She is grief-stricken, however, and decides to enter a convent.

The novel has disadvantages as well as advantages for the librettist. Certainly the plot is well constructed, and the tension is sustained throughout as one sees Loaysa's cunning bringing him nearer and nearer to success. Only at the very end, with Carrizales's unexpected clemency, is the tension relaxed. There is a strong dramatic conflict, not only on the physical plane between Loaysa's cunning manoeuvres to gain entry and Carrizales's precautions, but also, on a symbolic level, between the evil force of adulterous passion (Loaysa) and the constancy of marital fidelity (Leonora). The latter conflict adds force to the moral content of the work, more explicit here than in some other of Cervantes's Novelas Ejemplares. Moral and social criticism - part of the "exemplary" aspect of this novel¹ - is for the most part undisguised. The author dwells at some length on the practice of embarking for the Indies to make one's fortune,² and on the moral laxity of Loaysa and the dueña. And at the end of the novel he points the moral that one cannot trust locks and walls because the will remains free. Laying aside the moralising reflec-

1. The novels were intended to be exemplary both morally and stylistically. See J. Casalduero, Sentido y forma de las Novelas Ejemplares (Buenos Aires, 1943).

2. Used variously in Cervantes's time to illustrate national greed and indolence.

tions, the novel has much to recommend it as the basis for an opera. Incidents such as the guitar lesson given to the eunuch by Loaysa, the dancing scene inside the house and the moving death-bed scene are eminently suitable for operatic treatment. There are only a few elements in Cervantes's novel, however, to suggest a comic treatment of the story, and the sad, though not tragic ending seems to preclude a light-hearted approach.

Nevertheless, it was a light-hearted approach which Bickerstaffe and Dibdin chose, and by changing some aspects of the story they produced a comic opera which, while remaining surprisingly faithful to the original in some details,¹ creates a totally different atmosphere from that of Cervantes's novel. First there are a few minor changes. The slave-girls and Leonora's parents are not included in Bickerstaffe's dramatis personae, but he does include two scholars, friends of Leonora's young admirer. The black eunuch is given a name - Mungo - and the dueña and the other two men are called by different names in the opera: Marialonso is called Ursula, Carrizales is called Don Diego, and Loaysa, Leander. As one would expect, the moralising sections are omitted and also the introductory sections dealing with Carrizales's early life and his stay in the Indies. The latter omission does mean that in the opera the central figure is less developed, for Cervantes had used the early part of the novel to show the reader Carrizales's folly and weakness even as a young man.

The action of the opera begins with Don Diego deliberating whether or not to marry. His jealous nature and the precautions he takes to safeguard his honour are summed up in his first song, the light-hearted tone of which is typical of the whole work:

1. Compare for example Don Diego's reference to the age-gap (II, 11) with the corresponding speech of Carrizales. Novelas Ejemplares, ed. Francisco Rodríguez Marín (Madrid, 1962), II, 166-167.

Thoughts to council - let me see -
Hum, to be or not to be
A husband, is the question.
A cuckold! Must that follow?
Say what men will,
Wedlock's a pill
Bitter to swallow and hard of digestion.

But fear makes the danger seem double:
Say, Hymen, what mischief can trouble
My peace, should I venture to try you?
My doors shall be lock'd,
My windows be block'd;
No male in my house,
Not so much as a mouse;
Then horns,¹ horns, I defy you.

It is important to note that Don Diego is not yet married to Leonora, and in fact does not marry her. This deviation from the original story completely changes the moral situation, and it puts the character of Leander in a better light. Cervantes's attitude to Loaysa's adulterous scheme is unequivocal; there is no question of his being regarded as a hero. Leander in the opera is a much more sympathetic character. It is not impossible to regard him as a forerunner of the nineteenth-century troubadour-lover,² a parallel emphasised by the fact that he courts Leonora by singing and playing the guitar. This view would tend to cast Don Diego in the rôle of the rival whose love is unrequited, instead of that of a husband whose honour is threatened, and this idea is strengthened first by Leonora's reluctance to marry Don Diego, as to do so means confinement and loss of freedom, and second by the fact that the only love-duet is between herself and Leander. Thus Don Diego is portrayed as a rather foolish old man who is finally brought to realise that his affection for a young girl is impossible, and who therefore gives in graciously and without too much heart-ache to a more suitable candidate.

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1. The voice part is here echoed by French horns, surely an intentional musical pun, for the horns had not been used before in this passage.
 2. There is a superficial similarity between his situation and that of Manrico in Il trovatore.

Having made Leander's schemes no longer immoral, and having avoided the dramatic necessity for Don Diego's death, Bickerstaffe then proceeds to change slightly the character of Leonora and the dueña. As there is now no strong force of evil in the drama, Leonora's role as the upholder of virtue is unnecessary. Consequently she shows less reserve in the opera, and although she makes Leander swear that he will retire at her command, as in the novel, she is eager to be alone with him a little while later. It must be admitted, however, that the removal of the conflict between good and evil weakens the dramatic impetus of the opera.¹ The dueña in Cervantes's novel is criticised no less forcibly than Loaysa. She is portrayed as a frustrated spinster who agrees to persuade Leonora to yield to Loaysa's advances on the condition that he in return gratifies her own amorous desire. What was a rather sordid arrangement in the novel is turned to comic effect in the opera. Ursula is a widow, not a spinster, and although she is obviously attracted to Leander,² her relationship with him is regarded as no more than harmless flirtation. Her unwanted presence when the lovers meet in Act II, scene ii, suggests that she is rather envious of her young mistress's conquest.

It is through the character of Mungo that most of the humorous effects are achieved. This part was played by Dibdin himself at the first performance. He makes his first appearance in Act I, scene iii, when his grumbling about hard work is quickly changed to praise for his master when the latter comes within hearing. The humorous conversation which follows between Mungo and Ursula gives us, in very few words, a vivid impression of the bantering relationship which exists between them:

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1. Even if we view Don Diego as an obtrusive rival, there is nothing to suggest that he can be regarded as an evil element in the opera.
 2. Ursula (to Leander) ...for I love you, I assure you.

Leander (aside) The old beldam grows amorous. (I, iii).

Ursula (from window, overhearing the guitar): What lewd noise is that?

Mungo: Lewd you self, no lewd here; play away, never mind her!

And in Act II, scene ii, in a scene which is a delightful mixture of comedy and suspense, Mungo, totally drunk and unaware of what he is saying, reveals to his irate master all that has happened in his absence regarding Leonora.

The plot construction shows a sensible compression of incidents to suit the theatrical medium. Loaysa's preliminary visits and gradual persuasion of the eunuch are condensed into a conversation between Leander and the two scholars. But other alterations produce a less dramatic effect than in the original plot. The fact that Don Diego is away from home instead of being asleep inside the house weakens the tension in the scene in which the lovers meet. It also cuts out the dramatic false alarm, caused in the novel when a servant, who is left on guard, suddenly thinks Carrizales is stirring. And Don Diego's discovery of the lovers is far less dramatic than the corresponding incident in the novel, in which Carrizales discovers them asleep and is so overcome with shock and grief that he creeps back to his room, unable to take any further action. That scene, however, could hardly have been used to effect a happy ending. The Padlock, though a fairly free adaptation of Cervantes's El celoso extremeño, is a well constructed work of considerable charm.

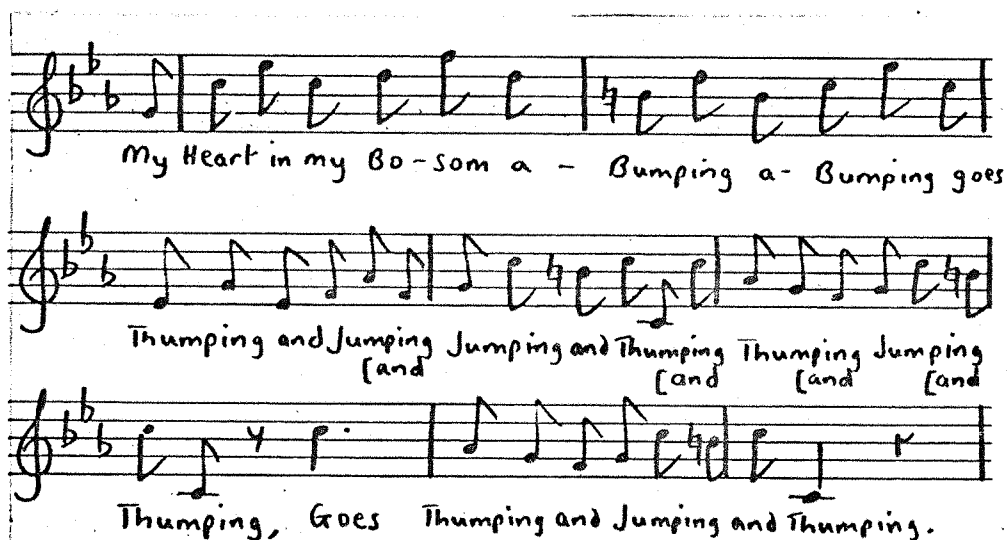
When considering the extent to which the music enhances the drama it must be remembered that even as late as this (1768), the music was regarded as an addition, not as a means of dramatic expression. There are sixteen musical numbers in The Padlock, including an Italian-style overture. Most of the songs are fast and gay with figured-bass accompaniment, in a style appropriate enough for Leander and Leonora, but perhaps less well-suited to the jealous sexagenarian, Don Diego. Leonora's

rapid coloratura passages emphasise her youthful vivacity, while Leander is given two rather sentimental love songs. No attempt is made to characterise Don Diego in the music, but one of his songs is a delightful parody of the Handelian rage-aria, in a minor key and marked presto:

Oh, wherefore this terrible flurry?
My spirits are all in a hurry.
And above and below
From my top to my toe,
Are running about hurry scurry.

It ends with a reiteration of the words: "bumping and jumping and thumping":

Ex. 40.



Voc. sc. (London, 1768), p. 34, bars 15-22.

The music is simple and light-hearted, but, unlike much English comic opera of the nineteenth century, it is never banal or precious.

Seven years after the first performance of The Padlock a book was published in London which was to do much to arouse interest in Spain and Spanish culture: Richard Twiss's Travels through Portugal and Spain in 1772 and 1773 (London, 1775). This book was followed in the first half of the nineteenth century by a number of similar books, all written in English by people who had travelled much in Spain, and many of the

attitudes adopted by Twiss to the things he saw and heard in Spain are very similar to those of later authors. In particular one notices the strong anti-Catholic sentiment, the horror expressed at Spanish cruelty, seen in bullfighting, the treatment of criminals and above all in anything reminiscent of the Inquisition, and the references to dangers from bandits. On the positive side Twiss shows an appreciation of Spanish literature, and he helps to acquaint his readers with contemporary literary works. He refers to "the fury and ardour for dancing with which the Spaniards are possessed",¹ and his book contains what must be one of the earliest eye-witness accounts in English of Spanish dancing.

Two years after the publication of Twiss's book, Samuel Arnold composed music for the opera The Spanish Barber (London, 1777), believed to be the earliest musical version of The Barber of Seville.² He followed it in 1782 by another opera set in Spain, The Castle of Andalusia, and in 1790 by an opera set in Spanish America: New Spain.³ One cannot of course assume that these operas were in any way connected with the publication of Twiss's Travels, but together with that book they indicate a growing interest in England in Spanish culture which was to continue until the middle of the nineteenth century.

During the first half of the nineteenth century the British public were made increasingly aware of Spain and her culture. In addition to political involvement,⁴ these fifty years saw the publication of four important books in English on Spain, an influx of Spanish refugees, including some notable musicians and men of letters, but unlike France and Italy during that period, very few operas with a Spanish setting. It was

1. Richard Twiss, op. cit., p. 156.

2. It predates Paisiello's opera by five years and Rossini's by thirty-nine.

3. None of these operas are based on Spanish literature.

4. See W. C. Atkinson, A History of Spain and Portugal (London, 1960), pp. 257-318.

undoubtedly the darkest period in the history of English lyric drama. The fact that in the year 1817 three operas on the Don Juan legend were performed in London - all three burlesques or adaptations of Mozart's Don Giovanni, which had its first London performance that year - attests to the lack of originality among opera composers at that time.¹

In 1822 Blanco-White,² a former Spanish priest then residing in England, published his Letters from Spain. Like Twiss's Travels they present a first-hand account of Spanish life, but what was merely scepticism in Twiss with regard to Catholic Church practice is bitter invective and scorn in Blanco-White. In spite of his patriotism where Spain's sovereignty is threatened, the picture he paints of his native country is basically an unattractive one. There is none of the "romantic" fascination for Spain found in descriptions by Merimée, Hans Andersen and Ford, nor does he show much interest in literature or music. But if Blanco-White did nothing to encourage interest in Spanish music and literature, there were a considerable number of his compatriots who came to England during the years 1823-1834 who did help to arouse interest in Spanish culture.³ Among them was José Melchor Gomis, the composer of several operas with a Spanish setting, some to libretti by fellow-emigrados. Gomis came to London in 1826 where he gave music lessons and published a large number of short Spanish pieces such as boleros, but his influence on opera was felt more in Paris, where most of his dramatic works were produced. There were also several Spanish guitarists who settled in England at this time who, like Sors a generation earlier, helped to popularise the guitar in England.

1. The composers of these operas were Dibdin, Bishop and Moncrieff. See below, Chapter 6. Bishop also wrote an opera called "Cortez or the Conquest of Mexico" (1823).

2. The majority of these emigrés were refugees from the anti-liberal persecutions in Spain during Ferdinand VII's reign. See Vicente Llorens Castillo, Liberales y románticos (Mexico, 1954).

By the middle of the nineteenth century, when travel in Spain had become more popular, there was a changing attitude to Spain on the part of writers. Still the anti-catholicism persisted, though, with the exception of George Borrow,¹ this was less virulent than before. But there was a more sympathetic appreciation of Spanish customs and also a greater interest in the Spaniards themselves. Borrow's study of Spanish gypsies is an obvious example, and Beckford, who was particularly interested in Spanish music, wrote: "no music is more inspiring than the Spanish".² Richard Ford's Handbook,³ which for many years was the standard guide to Spain, gives a much more conventionally "romantic" portrait of Spain, and its quasi-oriental customs and its wild music and dancing. It is Ford's image of Spain which one finds most often in operas with a Spanish setting.

There do not appear to have been any Spanish-influenced operas in English after the three Don Giovanni pastiches of 1817 until 1845.⁴ But in the same year that Ford published his Handbook (1845), two operas on Spanish subjects were performed, both by Irish composers. Vincent Wallace's Maritana,⁵ "a grand opera in three acts", with libretto by Edward Fitzball, is set in the Madrid of Charles II and contains operatic

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1. See George Borrow, The Zincoli (London, 1841) and The Bible in Spain (London, 1843).
 2. William Beckford, Italy with Sketches of Spain and Portugal (London, 1834), p. 373.
 3. Richard Ford: A Handbook for Travellers in Spain and Readers at Home (London, 1845).
 4. Weber's Preciosa, based on Cervantes's La Gitanilla, however, was performed in London in 1825, and in 1844 Michael Costa's Italian opera, Don Carlos was performed there.
 5. It is based, like Massenet's Don C  zar de Bazan (1872), not on a Spanish work, but on a French play of that name by d'Ennery and Pinel Dumanoir.

clichés such as a gypsy chorus and a church scene in which the "Angelus" is sung. Of greater significance, since it is based on Spanish literature, is Balfe's¹ opera, L'étoile de Seville (London, 1845), with libretto by Hippolite Lucas, based on Lope de Vega's² play, La estrella de Sevilla.

The play is a combination of the historical drama with the comedia de capa y espada. The action takes place during the reign of Sancho IV of Castile (1284-1295), but the social conventions, particularly those related to the code of honour, belong to the author's own time, the first half of the seventeenth century. The play is one of action rather than of subtle characterisation. It portrays a strong conflict of loyalties and contains some highly dramatic scenes. It is in fact very suitable material for an opera. The plot - a fairly simple one - shows how the king, having tried by direct and indirect means to seduce Estrella, the "star of Seville", eventually gains entry to her house, but he is discovered and threatened by Busto Tabera, who is her brother and guardian. The king then employs Sancho Ortiz, who is secretly betrothed to Estrella, to kill Busto, which he does with much misgiving, but, when apprehended for his crime, he refuses to reveal the king's guilt. The king finally confesses that he instigated Busto's death. The lovers, although now free to marry, feel unable to do so and part.

Like so many Golden-Age plays, the chief theme is that of honour. The author sets out to condemn the cruel aspects of the traditional code of honour and also to uphold the belief that it is incumbent upon all men to act honourably, and particularly upon the king, who should set an

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1. According to W. A. Barrett, Balfe's The Bohemian Girl is also based on a Spanish work, Cervantes's La Gitanilla. The story, however, was a common one then, and there is nothing in the opera to merit a comparison between these two works. See W. A. Barrett, Balfe: His Life and Work (London, 1882), p. 155.
 2. It is doubtful whether the play is in fact by Lope. For an account of its authorship, see the introduction to H. Thomas's edition of the play (Oxford, 1930). See also J. L. Brooks, "La estrella de Sevilla: 'admirable y famosa tragedia'", Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, XXXII (1955), 8-20, and S. Griswold Morley and Courtney Bruerton, Cronología de las comedias de Lope de Vega (Madrid, 1968), pp. 463-465.

example. Criticism of the code of honour is most explicit in the allegorical scene in Act III in which Sancho imagines he is in hell, where "el tirano honor" is juxtaposed with the more obvious vices, pride and ambition. It is out of this sense of honour that the dramatic conflicts in the play arise; the obligations of honour are seen to be at variance with natural inclinations. And so Sancho is torn between love for Estrella and friendship with Busto on the one hand, and duty to the king on the other. Estrella, despite her feelings for Sancho as a lover, is honour-bound to reject him as her brother's murderer. Even the king is divided between amorous passion and the duty which he recognises but finds hard to fulfil. Only Busto finds a satisfactory via media, for although he shows great respect and submission before the king in Act I, when his own personal honour is at stake he is prepared to challenge the king and, by pretending not to recognise him, he cleverly contrives to teach the king a lesson in honour (Act II).¹ So important is this theme of honour that, to play it down by attributing each character's actions to his natural inclinations instead of to his sense of honour would be to make those actions appear ludicrous and unreasonable.

The opera shows a romantic treatment of the play, with several sentimental additions which weaken the dramatic structure of the plot by creating incidents which are inessential to the central action and which relax the tension of the drama. For instance Zaida, Busto's Moorish slave-girl, is provided with a lover, and consequently love-duets which only slacken the pace of the drama. Sancho in the opera gains Estrella's hand by victory in a tournament, an event which gives opportunity for chorus and ballet movements but which is dramatically less convincing than the clandestine betrothal in the play.² The change in relationship

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1. One is reminded of a similar situation in Lope's Peribáñez, in which a peasant in defence of true honour defies the accepted conventions of honour by killing his lawful master, the Comendador.
 2. A telling stroke of dramatic irony is also lost by this change for, in the play, Sancho asks that his only reward for his action might be the king's permission to marry the girl he loves.

between Busto and Estrelle from brother to that of father may be seen as an attempt to bring up to date the idea of honour. It was perhaps more understandable to the nineteenth-century listener for the father to be the defender of the family honour rather than the brother. Also, in the play, Sancho's crime was committed solely out of a sense of duty to the king, whereas in the opera the librettist gives him an additional motive - friendship - by making him and the king former comrades in battle. There are many references to honour in the opera, particularly in dialogues between Sancho and the king, but as the motivating force behind the action it is less strong than in the play.

The opera differs widely from the play in its construction. In the play the physical climax comes early, at the point where Sancho kills Busto in the Second Act. This is preceded by a chain of events which includes the king's attempt to bribe Busto with a higher rank and Busto's opposition to the king when he discovers him in his house. The Third Act is less tense than the other two since the main action is over, but it is necessary for the restoration of social order, achieved by the king's admission of his part in the crime and by Sancho's release from prison.¹ In the early part of the opera the librettist and composer are concerned with making a visual rather than a dramatic impact. Consequently much of the music consists of a triumphal march heralding the king's approach and chorus and ballet movements representing the fête during which Sancho's tournament takes place. The first genuinely dramatic scene is the one in which Busto challenges the king. The second is the scene of Busto's murder. The remaining scenes are dramatically very weak, action being replaced by sentimental lyricism. Most of the Final Act of the play is omitted, including the prison scene, and the opera ends with Estrelle and Sancho joining hands, united, in Tristan-like

1. H. Thomas (op. cit., Introduction), describes this as the "spiritual climax" of the play.

fashion, only in death. The music of the opera is unremarkable. It does not add any emotional depth but tends rather to transform the not very subtle characters of the play into the far less subtle stereotyped figures to be found in many nineteenth-century operas.

Despite the fact that many foreign operas were performed in London during the nineteenth century, British composers showed very little interest in that medium, preferring to write choral and symphonic works. Most composers who did turn their attention to the stage preferred operetta to grand opera. Unlike their contemporaries in Europe, British composers were not, generally speaking, attracted to exotic subjects, and compared with French composers, they produced very few operas with a Spanish background. Even if one includes the twentieth century, the number of English operas based on Spanish literature is still small. These include Macfarren's An adventure of Don Quixote¹ (1846), Robert Reece's operatic extravaganza, Don Giovanni in Venice, (1860?), Frederick Clay's Don Quichotte (1876), Eugene Goossens's Don Juan de Mañara² (1937), all performed in London, and an unperformed opera by an American composer, Hale Smith, entitled Blood Wedding, based on García Lorca's Bodas de sangre.³

When Dr. Johnson called an opera an "exotic and irrational entertainment" he was unconsciously speaking for a great number of his compatriots in future generations as well as in his own. The majority of British and American composers have not found opera the most natural medium of expression, nor has the exotic appeal of Spain been as strong in them as in composers of other countries.

1. See below, pp. 257-258.

2. See below, pp. 278-279.

3. In addition to these operas there are two works in which the setting only is Spanish: Lavenue's Loretta, a Tale from Seville (London, 1846), and Escorial by the American composer, Marvin Levy (New York, 1958). There is also an opera with a libretto by Federico García Lorca's brother, Francisco, entitled The Wind Remains (1943), with music by the American composer, Paul F. Bowles.

Chapter 3

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

Generally speaking, opera has been a less popular genre amongst German composers than amongst Italian and therefore it is not surprising that there are far fewer Spanish-influenced works by German composers than by Italian. Native opera in Germany was late in developing and lacked even that short-lived glory in the seventeenth century which England and Spain had known. Schutz's Dafne (1627) is thought to be the first German opera,¹ but this work had few immediate successors. With the opening of a public theatre in Brunswick in 1690 came the demand for foreign opera, above all Italian, which was to stifle attempts to produce serious German opera for over a century. In the same year the first known Spanish-influenced work was produced in Hamburg: Philipp Johann Förrtsch's Der irrende Ritter, Don Quixote de la Mancia. The next two "Spanish" operas also take Don Quixote as their subject. The first of these is by Daniel Gottlieb Treu (1727), the second by Ignaz Jacob Holzbauer (c.1755). Both Treu and Holzbauer were conductors of Italian opera and almost certainly their operas would have been in the Italian style. At least two more Quixote operas were produced in Germany during the eighteenth century. They are by Hubatschek (1790), and Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf (1795). Other "Spanish" operas produced in Germany during that century include Karl Heinrich Graun's Montezuma (Berlin, 1775), J. Kaffka's Die Zigeuner (Breslau, 1778) which, according to Espinós,² is based on Cervantes's La Gitanilla, and Bernhard Anselm Weber's Inés de Castro (1790).

1. See D. J. Grout, op.cit., p.149.

2. Victor Espinós, El "Quijote" en la música (Barcelona, 1947), p.67.

The awakening interest in Spanish culture in nineteenth-century Germany was a by-product of the Romantic Movement. Many German writers found in Spanish mores and literature an echo of their own aspirations. The ideal of collectivism, seen in Herder's and Schiller's vision of the organic unity of mankind, was in part responsible for the return of a number of German romanticists to Roman Catholicism; of which Spain, the country of the Counter-reformation, became a symbol. The increasing sense of national pride, of which Fichte's Reden an die deutsche Nation of 1804 is an early example, also had its counterpart in Spanish literature. In the first half of the nineteenth century a number of German translations were made of Spanish Golden-Age works, especially of Calderón's plays.¹ There was also a tendency amongst German writers to idolise literary personages such as Don Quixote and Don Juan, making them symbols of romantic ideals.²

One of the earliest nineteenth-century operas dealing with a Spanish subject is Ferdinand Fränzl's Carlo Fioras, oder der Stimme in der Sierra Morena (Munich, 1810). Of greater interest to musicians is Josef Kupelweiser's three-act play, Fierrabras, for which Schubert wrote the music in 1823³ The play is a free adaptation of Calderón's La puente de Mantible, taken from

1. A. W. Schlegel's translations of Calderón's dramas and Eichendorff's translations of his Autos are probably the most well-known examples. Translations of Calderón were also made by Grier, and the poet Herder made a study of Spanish ballads.
2. The influence of Tieck's preoccupation with the character of Don Quixote can be seen in his representation of eccentrics in his works. E. T. A. Hoffmann's commentary on Mozart's Don Giovanni, entitled Don Juan, eine fabelhafte Begebenheit (1813), shows a romantic view of the Spanish nobleman. Hoffman also wrote a short story entitled The Latest Adventures of the Dog Berganza, inspired by Cervantes's Exemplary Novel, El coloquio de los perros.
3. The music was not performed in Schubert's lifetime. The first stage performance took place in 1897 at Carlsruhe, the music revised by F. Mottl and the words revised by O. Neitzel.

A. W. Schlegel's Spanisches Theater. Schubert also wrote music for three other plays with a Spanish setting: Albert Stadler's Fernando (1815), Mayrhofer's Die Freunde von Salamanca (1815), and Alfonso und Estrella (1821-22), none of which was successful. In 1821 two operas based on the legend of El Cid were produced: Johann Caspar Aiblinger's Rodrigo und Zimene (Milan) based on Corneille's play, and Jacob Karl Wagner's Chimène (Darmstadt), but these too were unsuccessful. In the same year Carl Maria von Weber wrote the music for P. A. Wolff's Preciosa, described by the author as a "romantisches Schauspiel mit Musik". The play is a very free dramatisation of Cervantes's La Gitanilla. The music is light, sometimes trivial, but is of interest in its attempt to re-create an authentic Spanish atmosphere, being one of the earliest operas to try to achieve this. The gypsy march, which recurs several times in the opera, is said in the score to be based on an authentic Spanish melody:

Ex.41.



Voc.sc. (Berlin 1840), p.3., bars 16-19.

A Spanish rhythm, the bolero, is also used in the overture.¹ In addition to Preciosa, Weber laid plans for two other works with a Spanish setting. The first, a light opera entitled Die Drei Pintos, based on Der Brautkampf

1. 3/4

Weber's son, in his biography of the composer, states that the latter became interested in Spain at this time and read books on the gypsy way of life. He also relates an incident in which the composer heard some Spanish soldiers singing national songs. See Max Maria von Weber, Carl Maria von Weber, trans. J. Palgrave Simpson (London 1865), II, 176.

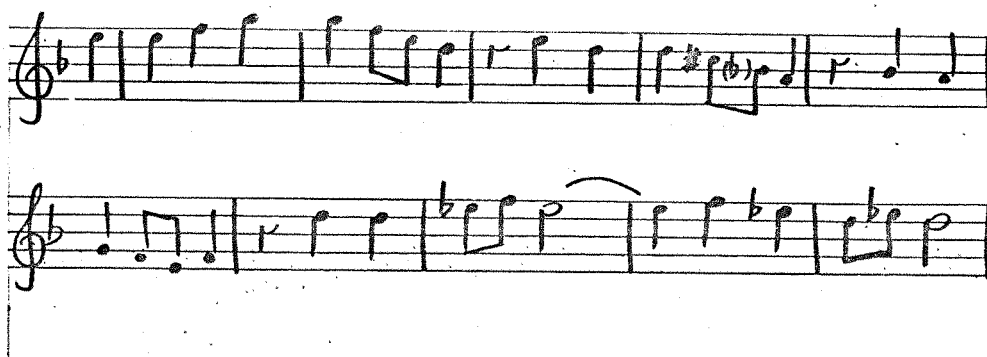
by C. L. Seidel, was left incomplete at his death. The second, a projected grand opera based on the legend of El Cid, was apparently not even begun, although the dramatist Friedrich Kind had been persuaded to draw up a dramatic plan for the work.

It was on one of Kind's plays that K.J. Braun von Braunthal based the libretto of Konradin Kreutzer's opera Das Nachtlager von Granada (Vienna, 1934), which enjoyed considerably more success than most Spanish-influenced works of the first half of the nineteenth century, being performed in several European countries and translated into nine languages. Kreutzer's work is one of several nineteenth-century German operas in which the characters and often the locales are Spanish, but which are not based on Spanish literature.¹ One of the more interesting of these works is Franz von Suppé's Doña Juanita, which is set in San Sebastián in 1796. The plot is unremarkable, an admixture of love intrigues and political conspiracies, but the music, like that of Preciosa, shows an attempt to produce a Spanish atmosphere. The introduction to the First Act, marked "allegretto brillante alla spagnuola", is in bolero rhythm, and at one point the orchestra suggests the strumming of a guitar.² Also the vocal line is occasionally reminiscent of Spanish folksong, as in the following example, which uses the flattened supertonic, characteristic of Andalusian folk melody:

1. Other operas of this type are listed in the Appendix.

2. Full sc. (Brussels, 1880), p.39.

Ex. 42.



p.69, bar 4 - p.70, bar 6.

Amongst German operas based either directly or indirectly on a Spanish literary work, the most common subjects in the nineteenth century were Don Quixote and El Cid.¹ Of operas based on El Cid, the best known is that by Peter Cornelius, a disciple of Wagner and Liszt. His Der Cid was produced unsuccessfully at Weimar in 1865. Cornelius's letters reveal his admiration for Spanish literature, some of which he read in the original language.² The opera, for which the composer wrote his own libretto, is based on two literary versions: Guillén de Castro's Las mocedades del Cid (1618) and Herder's poem, Der Cid (1805). Of the former Cornelius wrote in a letter to his sister: "Auch den Cid von dem herrlichen Valenzianer, Guillen de Castro, las ich in München, ein Stück von Shakespeareschem Geist, welchem Corneille warlich eine Allongeperücke aufgesetzt hat."³ And in a letter to Köhler he refers to the play as "eine kerniges herzvolles Drama."⁴ In addition to these two versions and Corneille's Le Cid, it is possible that he would have known the Poema de Mio Cid and some of the romances dealing with the Cid's exploits.

1. See Appendix.

2. In a letter to Reinhold Köhler (Vienna, 1863), he says: "Überhaupt habe ich mein liebes Spanisch wieder besser kultiviert". Cornelius, Literarische Werke (Leipzig, 1904), I, 113.

3. Cornelius, op.cit., I, 777.

4. id.. I. 733



There are very considerable differences in subject-matter between the medieval poem and Castro's play. Menéndez Pidal has shown that parts of the Poema keep close to historical events. The tone is sober and realistic, and there is a lack of exaggeration and of romantic and supernatural embellishments. Religious sentiment and the idealisation of the hero are used with restraint. Castro's play, however, which is the earliest known dramatisation of the Cid's life, is based not so much on the Poema as on the later romances, which deviate from historical fact and introduce the theme of romantic love between Rodrigo and Ximena and, in some cases, accredit the hero with supernatural powers. One such romance, in particular, influenced Castro. It is entitled Rodrigo o las mocedades del Cid, and tells how Rodrigo killed Ximena's father in a duel, thereby introducing the love-honour conflict in Ximena. At the beginning of the Poema the Cid is shown as a pater-familias of fairly humble rank. The climax of his career is reached when his daughters are married to the Infantes of Navarre and Aragon, thereby connecting him with the royal houses of Spain. The theme of the Poema, then, is the triumph of a fairly ordinary caballero through his own efforts. The theme of Castro's play, however, is, as Casaldueiro has said¹ the conflict between love and honour - a theme of frequent occurrence in Golden-Age literature.

Castro's play is divided into two parts. The first part ends with the marriage of El Cid and Ximena, and it is on this part that Cornelius's opera is based. The play begins in an atmosphere of discord with the enmity between the two fathers, Don Diego and Count Lozano, and it ends in

1. See J. Casaldueiro, Estudios sobre el teatro español (Madrid, 1962), pp.45-71.

harmony with the union of their children, Rodrigo and Ximena. Casaldueiro has shown that the two components of the main theme, love and honour, are interrelated. Thus when Rodrigo wins a victory for Castile, which brings him military honour, he also gains Ximena. The play has two subsidiary themes: the conflict between old age and youth and the sword-of-Mударra theme,¹ which also has to do with age. The first two characters to appear are Don Diego and the king, both men old and weak. Don Diego's weakness is seen in his inability to avenge his own honour, and it is symbolised by his broken stick. The king's weakness is seen in the Second Act as his rather lame attempt to console Ximena:

Tú, Ximena, ten por cierto
tu consuelo en mi rigor

is met by her angry retort:

¡Haz justicia! (II, 11219 - 21).²

There are many references in the play to the sword, which is used to symbolise three stages in man's life. In Act I it represents the impatience of adolescence as the young Don Sancho, envying Rodrigo, says to the king:

Padre, ¿y cuando podré yo
ponerme una espada al lado? (I, 92 - 93).

When Rodrigo decides to avenge his father's honour, he addresses the ancient sword of Mudarra:

Bien sé que te correrás
de venir a mi poder,
mas no te podrás correr
de verme echar paso atrás. (I, 574 - 577).

Here the sword represents the determination of youth. Finally, as Don Diego pathetically contemplates avenging his own honour, he says:

¡En ti, en ti, espada valiente,
ha de fundarse mi honor! (I, 380 - 381).

1. For a detailed exposition of the sword-symbolism in the play, see Pedro Salinas, "La espada y los tiempos de la vida en Las mocedades del Cid", Modern Language Notes, LVII (1942) 568-573.

2. Guillén de Castro, Las mocedades del Cid, ed. Eduardo Juliá Martínez (Zaragoza, 1940).

The love-theme is introduced early in the First Act, even before the count has insulted Don Diego. The spiritual quality of Ximena's love is emphasised by the juxtaposition of her expressions of admiration for Rodrigo with those of the queen and the infanta Doña Urraca:

Ximena. Que es galán
- y que sus ojos le dan [Aparte]
al alma sabrosa pena - (I, 17 - 19).

Ximena. ¡Rodrigo me lleva el alma! - [Aparte.]

Urraca. ¡Bien me parece Rodrigo! - [Aparte.] (I, 128 - 129).

Urraca. Yo trocara [Aparte.]
con el respeto el amor. (I, 696 - 697).

Reyna. ¡Qué bien las armas te están!
¡Bien te asientan! (I, 20 - 21).

A comparison between Ximena and Urraca throws into relief the former's sense of honour, which is even stronger than her love. She resolves to avenge her father's honour herself if necessary:

Tengo valor,
y havré de matar muriendo.
Seguiréle hasta vengarme. (II, 238 - 240).

When Rodrigo offers her his life, however, she is unable to strike the blow (II, 321 - 323). By contrast, Urraca's jealousy and frustration render her less dignified than her rival, as the closing lines of Act II show:

Ximena. ¡Ay, enemigo adorado! - [Aparte.]
Rodrigo. ¡Oh, amor, en tu Sol me yelo! - [Aparte.]
Urraca. ¡Oh, amor, en celos me abraso! - [Aparte.] (II, 953-955)

As in the romances, Castro emphasises the Cid's religious fervour. The righteousness of his cause is illustrated by a scene in which Moors, calling on Mohammed, are contrasted with Christians. His charity is seen in the scene in which he entertains St Lazarus, disguised as a leper, who makes the legendary prophecy:

los humanos te han de ver
después de muerto vencer. (III, 520-521).

Castro, relying on the romances, not on the Poema, gives an idealised portrait of the Cid. Herder, though his main source is the romances, gives a more complete

account of the hero's life and includes Alvar Fañez and incidents from the Poema such as the trick played on the two Jews, Raquel and Vidas, which Castro had omitted. The theme of romantic love is more important for the German writer than for the Spanish, and the character of the heroine is more sentimentalised and less forceful in Herder's poem.¹ Cornelius, though he conserves the love theme, re-affirms Chimene's sense of honour and her desire for vengeance in music which leaves in no doubt the strength of her character. When the King appears to be taking no action to avenge her, her outburst is more violent than Castro's words, "¡Haz justicia!":

Dein ist die Rache, dein die Macht, gemordet
war mein Vater mir! . . . Ich bin nicht Weib, bin
Kind nicht mehr, bin nur ein lauter Racheschrei!

Voc. sc. (Munich, 1891), pp.20 - 21.

Later, in the Second Act, she imagines that Rodrigo has been wounded, and that she is dying as a consequence of sucking the poison from his wound. This thought gives rise to the bitter exclamation: "Weh' dir mein Vater! Weh! Dein Mörder lebt!" This scene leads to what is one of the most dramatic climaxes in the opera: Chimene's prayer, a scene which is the composer's own invention. She sings a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, commenting on each section, and as she reaches the word "forgive" she is overcome by a thirst for vengeance:

1. See J. J. A. Bertrand, "Herder et le Cid", Bulletin Hispanique, XXIII (1921), 180-210.

Ex.43

Handwritten musical score for Ex.43, featuring three staves of music in G major (one sharp). The first staff begins with a treble clef, key signature of one sharp, and a 'PP' dynamic marking. The lyrics 'Vergib die Schuld wie ich dem Feind ver-' are written below the notes. The second staff starts with an 'Allegro' tempo marking and a common time signature 'C'. The lyrics '- ge - be!' and 'Ver - ge - be?' are written below. The third staff begins with a triplet of eighth notes, followed by a quarter note and a half note. The lyrics '[She stands up.]' and 'Verge - ben kann ich nicht den Mord!' are written below. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings like 'f' and 'pp'.

p.84, bars 9 - 19.

The text of this soliloquy shows the confused state of Chimene's mind, torn between love, hatred and religious fervour.¹ Herder had emphasised Chimene's love for Rodrigo by placing their marriage early in his poem instead of reserving it for the final climax, Cornelius, on the other hand, emphasises her bitterness towards him as her father's murderer.

As in Castro's play there are several references to the sword of Mudarra. For Cornelius it is a symbol of the patriotism of the Spaniards, to which much importance is given in the opera. The chorus, whose function is musical

1. Chimène: (Vater unser, der du im Himmel bist!) Die Lippe die dich nennt, genest vom Grame, du Unnennbarer, heilig ist dein Name! In deinem Reich sind alle Seelen gleich, da herrschet Freide - zu uns komm' dein Reich! Hier herrschet Streit, ach und unsäglich Weh! in dieser Brust - Dein Wille, Herr, gescheh! und willst du nicht, dass mich erlöst der Tod, gib deines Friedens täglich Himmelsbrod! Wo ich gefehlt, sieh', wie ich büssend bebe! Vergib die Schuld, wie ich dem Feind vergebe! Vergebe?! Vergeben kann ich nicht den Mord, der Ruf nach Rache töne fort, vernichte mich in deinem Zorn, O Gott, dass deiner Gnade Born dies Herz verschmäh't doch muss ich fliehen dein Gebet, zum letztenmal hör noch die Lippe die dich fleht. Lass in dem Kampfe mich bestehn! Erlöse mich! lass mich vergehn! (pp.82 - 86).

rather than dramatic, is frequently used to express patriotic sentiments, as at the end of the First Act: "Das Vaterland ist in Gefahr - Freiheit oder Tod!" Cornelius also emphasises the religious sentiments of the play and gives an important part to Luyn Calvo, a bishop. In the scene which follows Chimene's prayer Calvo entreats the heroine to renounce her plans for revenge, in words which are an echo of the Beatitudes, ending thus:

Selig, die dem Feind vergeben, denn sie ruh'n in Gottes
Schoss! . . . O selig, die de tragen Leid! Selig! (pp.94-95).

At every turn one sees the influence of Wagner on Cornelius's Der Cid: in the subject-matter, the harmony, the orchestration and in the text. No attempt is made to create a Spanish atmosphere. The work suffers from a dearth of dramatic action in spite of a few very dramatic incidents. Cornelius's chief preoccupation was not, like Herder's, with love, nor, like Castro's, with honour, but with Chimene's inner struggle to subjugate her inability to forgive and her thirst for revenge to her love for Rodrigo, an emotion which she is unwilling to admit. The success of Cornelius's adaptation of the Cid legend is to a large extent dependent on the character of the heroine, for it is in her that the main dramatic conflict is found.

Although there have been fewer Spanish-influenced operas created in Germany than in Italy, German opera-composers have tended to show a greater interest in Spanish literature than have Italian composers, and this interest is illustrated by the diversity of Spanish works used. Operas based on Don Quixote and Don Juan are proportionately fewer, whereas adaptations of lesser-known Spanish literary works are more common in Germany. In view of the popularisation of Calderón's plays through the translations by Schlegel and others, there are, predictably, more operas based on Calderón's works than on those of any other author, although at least two of them predate

Schlegel's translations.¹ In addition, plays by Lope de Vega, Tirso, Moreto and Cervantes have been adapted as operas in Germany, but there have been only a few operas based on non-Golden-Age works. These include adaptations of short novels by Pedro Antonio de Alarcón and, in recent years, adaptations of some of the plays of García Lorca,² and a musical version of a novel by Esteban Montejo.³

The popularity of Calderón's plays in Germany is attested to by the numerous performances and adaptations of his works from the seventeenth century onwards, many of which made extensive use of music.⁴ In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries German interest in Calderón was generally confined to his more serious works, such as La vida es sueño and El mayor encanto, amor. In the nineteenth century composers and writers began to show an appreciation of the lighter comedias, an interest which resulted in a number of comic operas based on these plays.

La dama duende is an excellent example of Calderón's comedias de capa y espada, though it is not obviously operatic material. Almost every possible complication, mistaken identity and misunderstanding of intention is explored to amusing effect, producing a number of delightfully comic situations. The verbal humour is concentrated in the gracioso, Cosme, who provides a contrast with the three male protagonists who, like Philip IV in the common saying, never allow themselves to smile in public.

1. See Appendix for operas based on Calderón's works. In 1841 Schumann considered using a play by Calderón; it is not known which one. In addition to operatic adaptations, several German composers wrote incidental music for Calderón's plays. In the nineteenth century the composers Draeseke and Klughardt, and in the twentieth century Krenek, wrote music for La vida es sueño, and the State Library, Berlin, possesses the unpublished music which Mendelssohn wrote for El príncipe constante.

2. See Appendix and below, pp. 159-173.

3. Viz., Henze, El Cimarrón (Aldeburgh, 1970).

4. See A. Farinelli, "Apuntes sobre Calderón y la música en Alemania", Cultura Española (1907), I, 119-160.

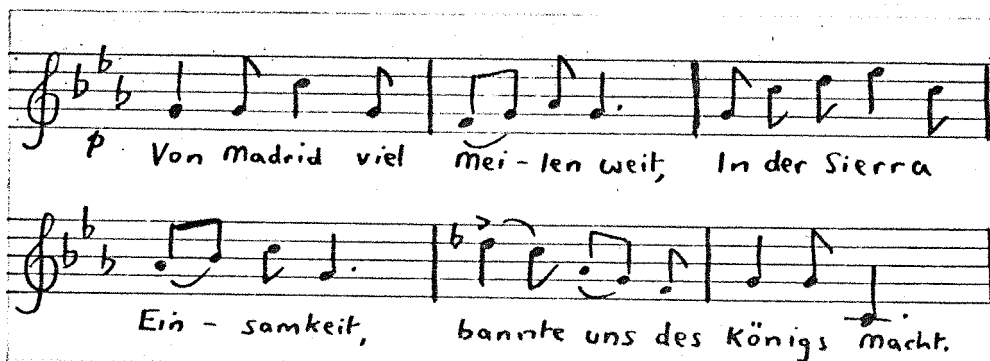
The gaiety of the female characters, on the other hand, makes an important contribution to the light-hearted atmosphere of the work. The form of the play is of course artificial, and its intrigues are worked out with almost mathematical precision; the language, too, is highly stylised, but it is possible to see in this a hint of mockery at the code of honour, particularly in the readiness with which Don Luis draws his sword. The play is not overtly didactic, but there is implied criticism of the tyrannous aspects of the honour code in the brothers' seclusion of Angela and in the attitude of Beatriz's father. There is also a gentle ridiculing of superstition, as is found in other of Calderón's plays,¹ in the rational explanation of the "spirits" in Don Manuel's room.

There are at least three German operas based on La dama duende (1629), all entitled Dame Kobold. The earliest of these, by Joachim Raff, was produced at Weimar in 1870. The play, unlike many by Calderón, does not require music. Furthermore, although its mixture of romantic and comic elements is frequently to be found in opera, much of the play's merit lies in the swiftness of its action, which allows little respite for musical elaboration in the form of arias. Raff's opera cannot be considered a successful adaptation. The libretto, freely adapted from Calderón by Paul Reber, follows the action of the play fairly closely but divides the text into separate movements, thereby destroying the continuity

1. e.g. El galán fantasma, El astrólogo fingido and El encanto sin encanto.

of the play. To a much greater extent than the play, the opera is centred on Don Juan's love for Angela, and this is expressed in sentimental arias such as the cavatina in Act I, scene vi. Calderón's verbal wit and ingenuity have no counterpart in Raff's music, which consists of facile duets with the parts often in parallel thirds, and undistinguished ariettes, usually ending with a vocal cadenza. One aria, however, merits citation: Angela's in Act I, scene vii, which expresses quite plausibly her feeling of loneliness and her love for Juan:

Ex. 44.



Voc. sc. (Berlin, 1870), p.108, bar 14 - p.109, bar 3.

In adapting Calderón's play, Raff omits some of the inessential characters but adds a chorus of students, who appear at the end of the first two acts, and a chorus of gypsies, who dance a "Divertissement im ungarischen Stile" in the Final Act. No attempt is made to suggest a Spanish locale; in Raff's Dame Kobold Calderón's play is used merely as the plot for an operetta.

Paul Felix Weingartner's Dame Kobold (Darmstadt, 1916), treats Calderón's play in a similar manner. As a composer Weingartner was an eclectic, and perhaps the chief fault of this opera is its lack of

individuality; he juxtaposes waltz melodies as found in Viennese operetta, opera buffa characters such as Cosme, and passages in which the harmony shows unmistakably Wagner's influence. The plot of the opera is very close to that of the play, and Weingartner restores the characters which Raff had omitted. Weingartner is also more successful in preserving the play's swiftness and continuity of action, since in the later opera the movements are embedded in a continuous musical texture. Raff's sequence of recitative-ariette is replaced by a more flexible arioso style which provides for the expression of a character's feelings without unnecessarily arresting the action. The vocal lines in general, particularly these of the female characters, are much lighter than in Raff's opera, and their rapid note-patterns and their avoidance of word-repetition emphasise the vivacity of Calderón's characters. The waltz-duet between Angela and Beatriz in the First Act, though similar to Raff's duets, has a certain elegance lacking in the earlier work:

Ex. 45.

Schränkchen, Schränk-chen fein —,

möch - test gern ein Kup - pler sein. —

Voc. sc. (Vienna, 1916), p.66 bars 1 - 8.

Indeed, the part-writing in the ensembles, despite its conventionality, evinces Weingartner's mastery of technique, the quartet beginning "Schöne Dame, willst du fragen"¹ being a good example. Effective use is also made of a three-part female chorus to enhance the atmosphere of the clandestine feast in the Third Act.

Weingartner's Dame Kobold, nearer in spirit to Calderón's play than is Raff's opera, nevertheless fails to reproduce the essentially Spanish atmosphere of the play. The work is a pastiche, composed of Italian, German and Viennese elements. No emphasis is laid on the code of honour, nor on the superstition implied by the duende of the title. Cosme, notably in his martial air, "Gott Bacchus",² is transformed from a gracioso to the basso buffo of Italian opera. Weingartner's mind, "steeped in the work of all the great masters, commands too many tools for its own individual work".³

El desdén con el desdén, by Agustín de Moreto y Cabaña, was written about a quarter of a century after La dama duende, and it differs considerably from the earlier work in both theme and plot structure. The theme - the triumph of love over intellectualism - was not new; examples of its use can be found in the plays of Lope de Vega.⁴ Since the lovers are

1. p.83.

2. p.75.

3. Sir G. Grove, Dictionary, IX, 244.

4. For a comparison of El desdén con el desdén with earlier plays, see R. L. Kennedy, The Dramatic Art of Moreto (Northampton, Mass., 1932), pp.161ff; M. Harlan, "The Relation of Moreto's El desdén con el desdén to Suggested Sources", Indiana University Studies, XI (1924), 1-9; A. Moreto, El desdén con el desdén, ed. Narcisse Alonso Cortés (Madrid, 1950), p.xvi.
See also Frank C. Casa, The Dramatic Craftsmanship of Moreto (Harvard, 1966).

confronted by internal obstacles there is no need for artificial intrigue through mistaken identity. The plot is therefore more straightforward than in the Calderón play, and more credible. Wardropper¹ has demonstrated the play's emancipation from theological reasoning.

The question of Diana's freewill is worked out in psychological, not theological terms. Also Moreto avoids a religious moral, which might have been deduced from Diana's downfall, by making the conqueror of her pride Carlos's pride. One could take this further, for not only is Diana's altivez not judged by religious standards, it is not judged by a moral or social code either.² Her frigidity is seen as offending only against the natural love-instincts of woman. Carlos accuses her of acting

contra el orden natural
del Amor. (181-182).³

When Diana finally recognises her inescapable obligation to love, she says:

Esto es justicia de Amor. (2665).

El desdén con el desdén is a completely secular comedy. It also contains a strong current of cynicism, sometimes bordering on the irreligious, which is put into the mouth of Polilla, the gracioso. He it is who manipulates the love affair, despite his profound scepticism concerning love, which he reduces to a physical level, at times going as far as what Wardropper calls a reversal of the a lo divino process:

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1. B. W. Wardropper, "Moreto's El desdén con el desdén: The Comedia Secularised", Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, XXXIV (1957), 1-9.
 2. There is very little evidence of the traditional code of honour in this play.
 3. El desdén con el desdén, ed. Narciso Alonso Cortés (Madrid, 1955).

Polilla. Llamó al Amor
Averroes hernia, un humor
que hila las tripas a un hombre. (794-796).

Polilla. Porque el que ama al ciego imita.

Carlos. ¿En que?

Polilla. En cantar la Pasión
por calles y por esquinas. (436-438).

The plot-structure is very taut. Carlos admits his love early in Act I, but it is not until the end of the Final Act that the lovers confess their love to each other. Throughout the play one sees the gradual wearing down of Diana's pride. The discreteo between the lovers is excellent, occasionally giving the audience hints of their true feelings for each other, as in the dance scene of Act II in which Diana says to Carlos:

Yo soy vuestra,
que tengo el nácar. Tomad. (1510-11).

The musicians emphasise the significance of her words:

Iras significa
el color de nácar;
el desdén no es ira; quien tiene iras ama. (1517-19).

The conflict between scorn and love is brought to a climax in the Third Act in which Diana, made jealous by Carlos's feigned love for Cintia, denigrates her mercilessly:

yo en Cintia no he hallado
ninguno desos extremos;
ni es agradable, ni hermosa,
ni discreta, y ese es yerro
de la pasión. (2423-27).

Not long after this she capitulates. She recognises the power of love:

Amor, la furia detén,
pues ya mi pecho has prostrado; (2613-14)

learns what it is to be scorned:

¿Que es quererle? ¿Tú de Carlos
amada, yo despreciada? (2710-11)

and finally confesses her love to Cintia, her rival:

Yo quiero, en fin, ya lo dije,
y a ti te lo he confesado,
a pesar de mi decor,
porque tienes en tu mano
el triunfo qu yo deseo. (2789-93).

This gradual but inevitable move towards the denouement, which is delayed by a "false" ending until the closing lines of the Final Act, is one of the best features of the play.

At least two adaptations of El desdén con el desdén were made in Germany during the nineteenth century: Donna Diana by C. A. West in 1819 and Trotz wider Trotz by Joseph Schreyvogel in 1843. It is on the earlier version that Reznicek's opera is based. As the subject of an opera Moreto's comedy has much to recommend it. The characters, particularly the heroine, are well defined. The lovers' humorous asides, notably in Act II, are well suited to musical treatment. And on two occasions music is an integral part of the drama: the dance scene in Act II in which musicians sing a Catalan song and later comment on the significance of the coloured ribbons, and at the end of the Second Act where Diana and her ladies are heard singing in the garden.

Emil Nikolaus von Reznicek's Donna Diana (Prague, 1894)¹ makes very few alterations to Moreto's comedy, beyond some truncation of dialogue and some name changes.² The text of the libretto frequently recalls the language of the play, as in Cesar's description of Diana: "Doch kälter nur und immer kälter ward Dianens Angesicht . . . Ein Marmorbild steht unbeweglich so im lärmenden Gewühl der Menge. Von der hohen Stirn schien

1. An earlier opera entitled Donna Diana, by Heinrich Hoffmann, was performed in Berlin in 1886. The source of Hoffmann's opera is not known.

2. Carlos is renamed Cesar in the opera, and Polilla Perin.

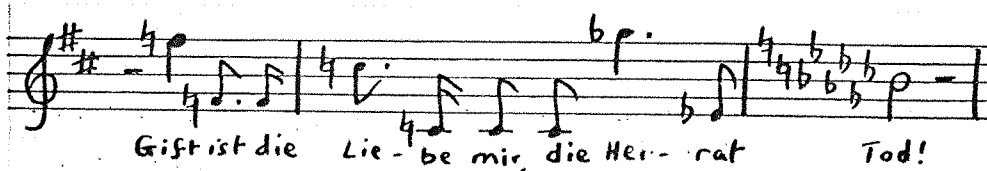
leichten Spott und Hohn auf mich herab zu blicken." (I, i). In general the play is well adapted to opera, although the ribbon scene (II, iii) is too prolonged in the opera and lacks the tension of the original. Also, as Diana discovers that she has chosen the same colour as Cesar, the trumpet fanfare which accompanies her exclamation emphasises somewhat unsubtly the significance of her choice. The duet in the next scene, however, restores the tension, since neither knows whether the other is joking or serious:

Cesar. Ist das nun Scherz oder Ernst?

The music of each act is continuous, and the opera is unified by the repetition of certain passages. For example, the woodwind scales with which the overture begins are used to good effect in Act I, scene ii, as Perin mocks his master's love-sickness, and the frivolous music in 3/16 time from the overture is used, aptly enough, to accompany Diana's rejection of her suitors (I,vi). Diana's character is well-defined in the opera. The superficial brilliance of much of her music in the first two acts emphasises her intellectualism and apparent rejection of love, while in the Final Act her dramatic asides, often accompanied by the suitably ominous sound of bass clarinet and lower strings, reveal the other side of her character. The dramatic tension of this act is well sustained and is achieved by contrasting gay, almost trivial music with Diana's serious asides. As her suitors sing the praises of other women, she remarks spitefully, "Noch einmal! Wie zierlich!" (III, ii). In the next scene she comments: "So liebt denn Alles und nur ich allein." The climax is reached in the fifth scene where, for the first time acknowledging the extent of her passion, she sings: "Ist dieses Feuer in der Brust die Liebe? - Nein, nimmer mehr! Ich kann, ich will's nicht glauben, den edlen Stolz, man soll ihn mir nicht rauben, dass ich unfähig bin gemeiner Triebe."

The "false" ending in the final scene, and Diana's words, "Es ist zu spät! O Himmel! Ich vergehe!" bring the opera almost to the point of tragedy, until the re-coupling of the characters secures a conventional ending. Though generally consistent, there is one flaw in Reznicek's treatment of Diana: her first entry, in Act I, is over-dramatised. Over a diminished-seventh chord, played by the strings, tremolando, she denounces love and marriage in almost Wagnerian tones:

Ex.46



Voc.sc. (Leipzig, 1895), p.22, bars 3-5.

and follows this with a prayer which is out of character, at least at this stage of the opera, and quite foreign to the spirit of Moreto's comedy.

Among the opera's best features is Reznicek's often very attractive and delicate orchestration, notably in the garden scene (II, vii). Effective use is made of the guitar, tambourine and castanets to suggest the Spanish locale, and several "Spanish National Melodies" are included, Donna Diana being one of the earliest German operas to do this. One in particular, with its tendency to cadence on the dominant, merits citation:

Ex. 47.

The image shows a handwritten musical score for Ex. 47, consisting of two systems of music. The first system features three staves: the top staff is labeled 'cor anglais' and contains a melodic line with various notes and rests; the middle staff is labeled 'harp' and contains a series of chords and single notes; the bottom staff is labeled 'viola' and contains a bass line. The second system continues the musical notation with similar instrumental parts, including a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a supporting line. The notation is in a historical style, likely from the 19th century, with various note values, rests, and dynamic markings.

p.96, bars 34-41.

Donna Diana, remembered now only by its overture, contains much music that is trivial. It is nevertheless a more skilful and attractive adaptation of a Spanish play than many other nineteenth-century operas.

Hugo Wolf's only completed opera is based on a Spanish novel which has undergone several musical adaptations: Alarcón's El sombrero de tres picos.¹ Although he never visited Spain, Wolf was greatly attracted to Spanish literature, as the Spanisches Liederbuch² shows. He first considered Alarcón's novel as a possible subject in September 1888, but in

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1. For an account of this novel, see above pp. 51-54. Fragments exist of an incomplete opera by Wolf, entitled Manuel Venegas, which is based on another novel by Alarcón, El niño de la bola. There is also an earlier opera with the same title and source, by Richard Franz Joseph Heuberger (Leipzig, 1889).
 2. The Spanisches Liederbuch, which includes translations of poems by Cervantes and Lope de Vega, is interesting in its portrayal of Spaniards as passionate and hot-blooded, distinct from the more domestic German characters of other songs. The revengeful heroine of Wehe der is a notable example of this.

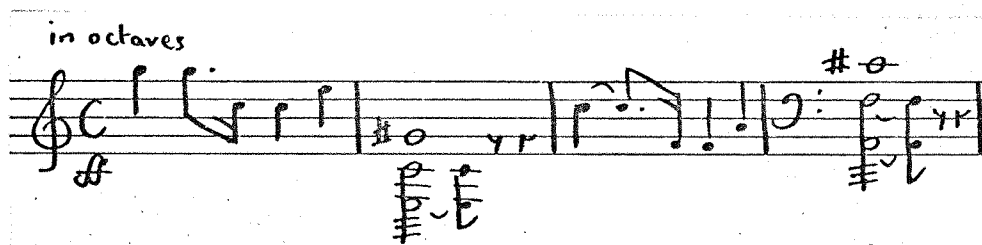
1890 he scornfully rejected Rosa Mayreder's libretto. Five years later, however, perhaps despairing of ever finding a suitable plot, he accepted the same libretto, and indeed showed great enthusiasm for it, out of all proportion to its merit. Confident of success, he worked on the score in a state of intense excitement, completing it in fourteen weeks. The work was first performed in Mannheim in 1896, but had only a succès d'estime, and has subsequently had few revivals.

Mayreder's libretto has been much maligned, but although its language is undistinguished it is intelligible and provides the composer with opportunities for both lyrical and dramatic music. In its action it follows Alarcón's novel very closely, and in this lies one of its most serious faults. The Spanish novel, which is not a long one, comprises a fairly large number of incidents which follow each other in rapid, consequential succession. There are frequent changes of scene and, having delineated the characters in the early chapters, the plot unfolds at a fast rate which allows very few pauses for reflection. In attempting to reproduce faithfully all the incidents of the novel, the opera leaves one with a feeling of restlessness; insufficient time is allowed for the audience to absorb the atmosphere of a particular scene before a change occurs, either of locale or of mood. An example of this can be found in the Second Act where, in a very short period of time, the Alcalde and his friends arrive, become drunk and then go to bed. Insignificant and even irrelevant incidents are included, such as the scene in which the miller and his wife pass without seeing each other - a scene which is both theatrically ineffective and unnecessary. Of these weaknesses Wolf does not appear to have been aware. As a song-writer he was accustomed to portraying characters in isolated moments of time, and in Der Corregidor the cumulative effect of the individual scenes is lacking. The songs show

that he had great powers of dramatic expression and the ability to portray characters in widely differing moods, but he remained essentially a miniaturist. His opera is remarkably untheatrical, showing a preference for subtlety to stage effect,¹ and it is pertinent to remark here his lack of interest in the staging of the work at rehearsals.

The music of Der Corregidor is considerably influenced by Wagner's Die Meistersinger, and Wolf himself acknowledged his indebtedness to Wagner in his opera. There is more than a superficial similarity between the two works. In both operas lyricism and drama, grotesque comedy and pathos are juxtaposed, and a genial atmosphere pervades both works. With regard to the music itself, Wagner's influence can be traced in the often declamatory style of the vocal lines, in the polyphonic texture of the orchestral writing, and in the symphonic treatment of the Leitmotive. It is in the use of Leitmotive that Wolf comes closest to Wagner's ideals. Each of the principal personages is characterised in the music by a short theme, and the subsequent transformations of these themes during the course of the work offer a penetrating psychological commentary on the action. The Corregidor's theme, with which the overture commences, emphasises both the dignity of his office and, in its unexpected fall of a minor sixth, the ludicrousness of his character.

Ex.48.

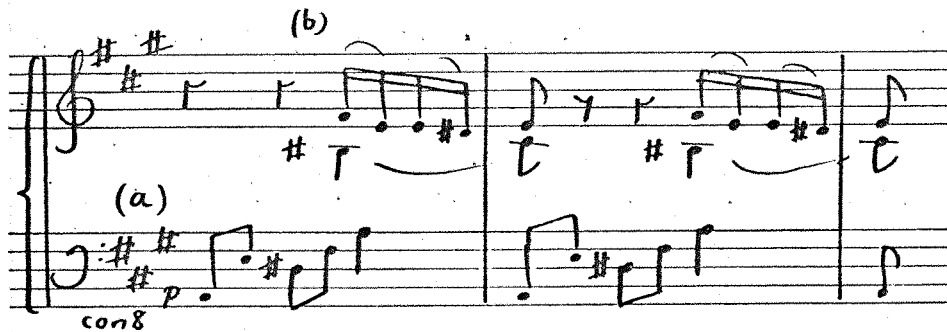


Voc.sc. (Mannheim, 1896), p.1, bars 1-4.

1. Notably in Lukas's monologue in Act III.

Lukas is represented by a rising theme in the bass (a), often used in conjunction with Frasquita's short motif (b):

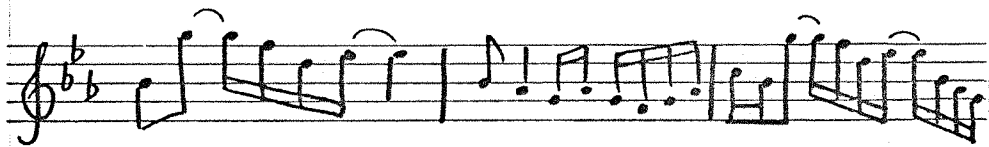
Ex. 49.



p.5, bars 1-2.

Conjugal affection, which, for Wolf, was the principal theme of Alarcón's novel, is symbolised by an "unending" melody, beginning thus:

Ex.50



p.14, bars 7-9.

The neighbour, who, in the opening scene, insinuates that the visitors to the mill come more on account of Frasquita's beauty than to taste Lukas's grapes, is represented by a short phrase, of which dramatic use is made later in the opera:

Ex. 51.



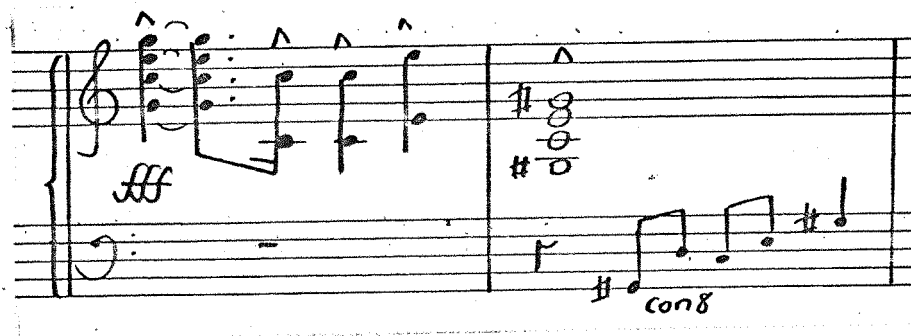
p.6, bar 6.

In addition to these Leitmotive, there are several recurrent themes not associated with a specific character. The Leitmotive themselves are used with great consistency, sometimes singly and sometimes in combination. Whenever a character appears or is mentioned in the text, the appropriate theme is played by the orchestra. Occasionally this practice tends towards monotony,¹ but in certain places it makes a highly significant contribution to the dramatic tension of a scene. The finest example occurs in Act III, when Lukas arrives at the mill and discovers the Corregidor's clothes. First the music of the love-duet is heard in the orchestra. Then, as Lukas expresses surprise at finding the door open and wonders who has called, the Corregidor's theme is heard, pianissimo at first but gradually becoming more insistent as Lukas's suspicions grow and he sings: "Aber nein, es ist nicht war!" A climax is reached as he catches sight of the Corregidor's clothes, and at this point their two themes are brought into direct conflict:

1. e.g. p.35, bar 9 - p.39, bar 8, during which there is scarcely a bar in which Lukas's theme is not heard in the bass parts.

but you don't mention why this is so in the dramatic context

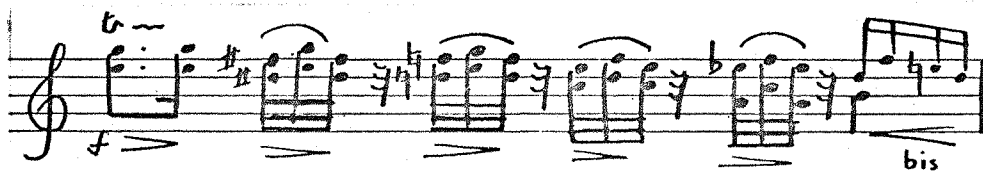
Ex. 52.



p.135, bars 8-9.

As Lukas's thoughts turn to revenge, his theme predominates, but it occurs to him that a blood-thirsty revenge would only bring disaster, and one can hear the derisive laughter of neighbours in the transformation of the neighbour's theme:

Ex. 53.



p.137, bar 2.

Opting for retaliation in kind, he puts on the Corregidor's clothes to the now triumphant accompaniment of his own theme. A further juxtaposition of the two themes as the Corregidor appears in night clothes contrasts the Corregidor's absurdity with Lukas's dignity:

Ex. 54.



p.141, bars 1-3.

In his use of Leitmotive Wolf showed himself to be a worthy disciple of Wagner, but the question arises whether Wolf's musical language is appropriate to the subject-matter. Alarcón's novel is an unpretentious work which achieves its effect by the simplest of means and is quite devoid of psychological character-study. The atmosphere which it creates is as Spanish as that in Don Quixote, and much of its popularity derives from its somewhat idealised portrayal of Spanish life. The first difference which one notices in the opera is that the composer, unlike the novelist, treats the subject-matter with complete seriousness. This is particularly apparent in the climax scene - Lukas's monologue, in which words and music assume tragic proportions. Even the inn scenes at the end of the Second Act are given fairly formal musical treatment; at one point a four-part canon is sung and this act ends with a drinking song of unequivocally German character. The humour found in the Spanish work has no place in the opera, a notable instance of this being in the relationship between Lukas and Frasquita, which is treated by Wolf with reverential awe and which finds its

most poetic expression in Act II, scene iii. In general Wolf makes very little attempt to suggest the Spanish locale in the music, but the Fandango in Act I is an important exception. Lower strings imitate the strumming of a guitar, and in the vocal line one glimpses momentarily the vivacious and provocative Frasquita of Alarcón's story:

Ex. 55.

The musical score for Example 55 consists of two systems. The first system features a vocal line in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower staff. The vocal line begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note G4 and a quarter note A4, with the syllables 'la la' underneath. The piano accompaniment starts with a piano (p) dynamic and features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes in the right hand and a similar pattern in the left hand. The second system continues the vocal line with a half note G4 and a quarter note A4, with the syllables 'la la la la la la' underneath. The piano accompaniment continues with the same rhythmic pattern, now with a crescendo hairpin.

p.20, bars 9-12.

Despite the swift succession of scenes in Der Corregidor, the overall impression is of a series of detailed miniatures rather than a chain of events leading to a dramatic climax. The incorporation of songs from the Spanisches Liederbuch strengthens this impression, for these songs halt the action and do not develop the drama. Neither are they wholly appropriate. In dem Schatten meiner Locken, sung by Frasquita to persuade the Corregidor that Lukas is asleep, has a superficial relevance to the dramatic situation in its refrain, "Weck ich ihn nun auf?", but it is essentially a serious song and ill-suited to Frasquita's coquettish mood. And, in the Second Act, the playful misogyny of the Corregidor's Herz, verzage nicht geschwind belies the villain's character.

As a dramatic work Der Corregidor has a number of defects, not the least being the weak last act, a large part of which consists of unnecessary explanations. The opera contains some of Wolf's finest music which gives the characters greater depth than they had in Alarcón's novel. Nevertheless the opera is too intimately fashioned to be fully effective in the theatre.

Urspruch's Das Unmöglichste von Allem (Carlsruhe, 1897), is an adaptation of Lope de Vega's El mayor imposible.¹ Lope's plot is uncomplicated. At a meeting of her literary academia, Queen Antonia declares that the greatest impossibility is to guard a woman from suitors against her will. Roberto disagrees, and he cites the ease with which he protects his sister, Diana. The Queen secretly requests Lisardo to prove him wrong by making love to Diana. With the aid of his servant, Ramón, Lisardo eventually gains access to Diana and wins her love. He is

1. See: W. H. Bohning, "Lope's El mayor imposible and Boisrobert's La folle gageure, Hispanic Review, XII (1944), 248-257.

discovered and is forced to leave. Roberto realises his mistake, but tries to arrange for his sister to marry Feniso. The Queen, however, on learning of the success of Lisardo's plan, gives her permission for him to marry Diana.

As the subject for an opera the play has much to recommend it. There is an abundance of comic action, chiefly centred on Ramón and his attempts to get his master inside Diana's house. The characters, though not developed in depth, do not lack interest, particularly in the case of the shrewd Queen and the two servants, Ramón and Celia. Also, several references are made to the use of music in the play. Urspruch's treatment is heavy-handed, however. Without alteration the play contains too many minor incidents to be used as an opera, but very little attempt is made to condense the plot, apart from the omission of a few minor characters. Urspruch transfers the action from Naples to Madrid, yet, with the exception of a few guitar chords, there is no suggestion of the Spanish locale. The orchestration and harmonic idiom are typical of the post-Wagnerian period, and the music of each act is continuous. Although Urspruch lacks originality, his music is often effective and shows a high degree of technical ability. Notable in this respect are the buffo aria, "Herr, ich hab' mich vorgesehn!", sung by Roberto's steward, Fulgencio, and Diana's lament over her brother's cruelty in Act I:

Ex. 56.

larghetto

[Diana] O lass' mich weinen! Heisse Klagen steigen aus
Her - zens tie - fstem Grund - em - por.

The part-writing in the ensembles, particularly in the quintet in Act II, scene x, shows Urspruch's skill, as does the subtle orchestration of parts of that scene. Nevertheless, the opera is too long and too serious, and Urspruch's music cannot be said to enhance the witty dialogue of Lope's play.

Paumgartner's Die Höhle von Salamanca (Dresden, 1923), is one of at least four operas based on Cervantes's entremés, La cueva de Salamanca.¹ The Spanish work was probably modelled on a short story by Bandello,² and it also resembles closely another of Cervantes's entremeses, El viejo celoso, in theme, plot and characterisation. The theme, found in several Cervantine works, is the deception of an old and rather foolish husband by his young, vivacious wife. As in El viejo celoso, this deception is partly engineered by a soubrette, named Cristina in both plays. Cervantes does not intend the audience to sympathise with the husband; as Casaldueiro has said,³ there is a marked contrast between the husband's movements and speech and the lightness, intelligence and humour of all the other characters. His deception may also be regarded as just punishment for his dabbling in spiritualism, for he says:

Y, por Dios, que no han de salir de mi casa hasta que me dexen enseñado en la ciencia y ciencias que enseñan en la cueva de Salamanca.⁴

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1. The other two are Peter von Winter, Der Bettelstudent oder das Donnerwetter (Munich, 1785), Felice Lattuada La caverna di Salamanca (Genoa, 1938), and Juan Gay, La cueva de Salamanca (Madrid, 1905).
 2. See W. L. Fichter, "La cueva de Salamanca de Cervantes y un cuento de Bandello", Revista de Filología Española (Homenaje a Dámaso Alonso), I (1960), 525-528.
 3. J. Casaldueiro, Sentido y forma del teatro de Cervantes (Madrid, 1951), pp. 219-222. See also R. de Balbín Lucas, "La construcción temática de los entremeses de Cervantes", Revista de Filología Española, XXXII (1948), 415-428.
 4. The Interludes of Cervantes, ed. S. Griswold Morley (Princeton, 1948), p. 188.

The gullible husband, the soubrette, the impecunious but inventive student and the verbose sacristan are traditional figures of Spanish drama. Cervantes portrays them clearly but not idiosyncratically. The plot, though very simple, succeeds in maintaining the tension of the play through the husband's unexpected decision to return home early and the women's fear that their deception will be uncovered. Several types of humour are to be found, including the purely verbal humour of the sacristan's verbosity, the quip at the expense of poets and dances, and the student's aside: "Fea noche, amargo rato, mala cena y peor amor!" (p.178). Effective use is also made of dramatic irony, for example, when the husband's friend praises the former's virtuous wife, and when Cristina says: "Vaya, señor, y no lleue pena de mi señora, porque la pienso persuadir de manera a que nos holguemos, que no imagine en la falta que vuesa merced le ha de hazer." (p.168). The situations are often amusing in themselves: the sacristan dancing, "con la sotana alzada y ceñida al cuerpo", and Leonarda's reluctance to open the door to her husband, which he takes as a sign of her prudence.

La cueva de Salamanca offers considerable scope for musical adaptation and is itself enhanced by singing and guitar playing. Paumgartner's opera makes only one significant alteration to Cervantes's play: the addition of an epilogue. The libretto, adapted by the composer from Adolph Friedrich von Schack's translation of 1845, for the most part corresponds exactly to the Spanish text. Paumgartner, like Weingartner, was a notable conductor, and Die Höhle, like Dame Kobold, is marked by eclecticism. Both works show a wide range of musical styles not altogether congruously juxtaposed, although in Paumgartner's opera this eclecticism is in keeping

with the stylisation and parody which the composer used to humorous effect. Die Hühle is divided into six scenes, each of which is given a title from absolute music¹ - a process which is used in Wozzeck, written two years later. But whereas in Berg's opera several vocal styles are embedded in a uniform harmonic language, Paumgartner makes no attempt to integrate the disparate idioms used. Thus one finds undisguised recitativo secco,² a Mozartian march (ex.57), late nineteenth-century chromatic harmony,³ and passages of quite harsh dissonance.

Ex.57.

Corraolano

Sechzig Ge-fechte, neunzehn Ba-tailen,

p marcato

hab' ich mit Gloire und Courage geliefert.

f

Voc.Sc. (Vienna, 1923), p.59, bars 12-15.

1. Viz. overture, intermezzo, andante con moto, scherzo, finale and epilogue.
2. This is sometimes accompanied by common chords on the piano, to be played in the eighteenth century by the conductor, as was the practice.
3. e.g. as Carraolano sings "Arm und elend, so kam ich denn hieher!" (p.64).

Sometimes the technique of parody is obvious and is used for its humorous effect. For example, Carraolano is first heard singing offstage to harp accompaniment - the music and the situation being an allusion to Manrico's first appearance in Il trovatore. The appearance of the two "devils" is accompanied by a funeral march, marked "mit Parodie", and later these characters chant, in parallel fifths, the words, "Holy St Lawrence, pray for us". The same scene also includes a completely tonal saraband in the style of Bach.

In his treatment of the characters Paumgartner succeeds in matching verbal with musical stylisation. Leonarda he portrays as a pseudo-tragic heroine, and her exaggerated and hypocritical exclamations of grief at her husband's departure are emphasised by wide leaps in her vocal line and directions such as "molto dolce ed espressivo". Christina's vivacity is expressed in fast, staccato patten and virtuosic cadenzas:

Ex.58.

dolce quasi cadenza

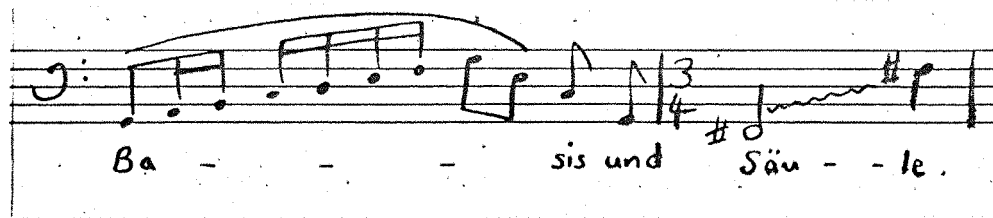
Wenn all-e Teufel so wie die - - se sind, so sollensie in

(schneidig)

Zu-kunft meine Freu - - - - - de sind.

The sacristan's verbal humour, too, is enhanced by an appropriately comic melodic line:

Ex.59.



p.73, bars 3-4.

With the exception of an occasional suggestion of bolero rhythm, however, there is nothing in the music to indicate the Spanish origin of the story.

The greatest weakness of Die Hühle is its inconsistent musical style. Paumgartner's characterisation through music is apt, and the opera contains some good comic-operatic situations, notably Pancracio's departure and the appearance of the devils. The epilogue is unnecessarily prolonged, however, and could with advantage have been omitted. Like Weingartner's Dame Kobold, it is the work of a composer who could write fluently in several styles, but who lacked a musical language of his own.

The year following the production of Die Hühle yet another Golden-Age play was adapted as an opera by a German composer: Walter Braunfels's Don Gil von dem grünen Hosen (Munich, 1924), based on Tirso de Molina's Don Gil de las calzas verdes. The play, written in 1615, has what has been described as "perhaps the most complex plot in Golden-Age drama".¹

1. G. E. Wade, "On Tirso's Don Gil", Modern Language Notes, LXXIV (1959)610. See also E. Hesse, "The nature of the complexity in Tirso's Don Gil", Hispania (Wallingford), XLV (1962), 384-394.

Indeed, almost every conceivable complication afforded by disguise, mistaken identity and confusion of names is exploited for comic effect. It is therefore perhaps surprising that a work which defies comprehension as a play should be chosen for an opera, in which medium there is every chance that the action will become even more confused, due to the fact that a sung text is often less intelligible than a spoken one. Yet Tirso's play is not merely a feat of ingenuity; it is a work of considerable poetic beauty and one which, beneath its highly stylised language and plot structure, offers a very realistic commentary on the nature of love.

The action is centred upon Juana, who, disguised as a man under the name of Don Gil, arrives in Madrid in pursuit of Martín, her former lover, who is also calling himself Don Gil. The sub-plot, if one can extricate it from the main action, concerns the love of Inés, who is loved both by Martín and by Don Juan, for Juana, whom she sees as a man. The complications are seemingly endless, and, particularly in the last act, which takes place at night, the resultant comic situations are delightfully contrived. Don Gil, who of course has no real identity, takes on a phantom quality in Act III. For Martín Don Gil is the ghost of Juana whom he had deserted, whereas for Juan, who is determined to kill "todos cuantos Giles me persigan"¹, Don Gil represents a rival for Inés's hand.

On a more realistic plane, one is struck by the self-interest of all four main characters, each of whom is motivated by love. Juan, perhaps the least culpable, pursues Inés in direct opposition to the latter's wishes

1. III, viii. References are to Tirso de Molina, Obras Dramáticas Completas (Madrid, 1946), I, 1713-62.

and, one may add, oblivious to her scorn. Inés who, in Act I, says to Juan:

Tú solamente has de ser
mi esposo; (I, iv),

rejects him while infatuated with Don Gil (i.e. Juana), but is very willing to accept him when she finally discovers that Don Gil is a woman.

Martín excuses his desertion of Juana with the words:

que el interés
y beldad de doña Inés
excusan la culpa mía. (II, ix),

though his uneasy conscience makes him think that Don Gil is Juana's ghost, sent to punish him. Juana rather unfeelingly allows Inés, and also Clara, to be deceived and to fall in love with her, justifying her actions on the grounds of love:

"Ya esta boba [Inés] está en la trampa.
Ya soy hombre, ya mujer,
Ya Don Gil, ya doña Elvira,
mas si amo, ¿qué no seré?" (II,v).

Tirso does not develop this theme of selfishness. Nevertheless the realism which it imparts to his characters is welcome in a comedy which is highly stylised and to some extent artificial.

Tirso's play has few specific references to music, the one exception being in Act I, where "músicos, tocando y cantando" are used to create the appropriate atmosphere for Inés's first meeting with Juana. The play does not, however, lack scenes which are potentially operatic. The scene mentioned above, the various protestations of affection, sincere and feigned, and the prolonged use of mistaken identity in the nocturnal Third Act¹ are obvious operatic material. The libretto, by Braunfels himself, deviates very little from Tirso's plot. Save the exclusion of a few minor details he makes no attempt to simplify the action, though he occasionally substitutes

1. This act, in which the confusion is made more plausible by the darkness, bears a slight resemblance to the Final Act of The Marriage of Figaro.

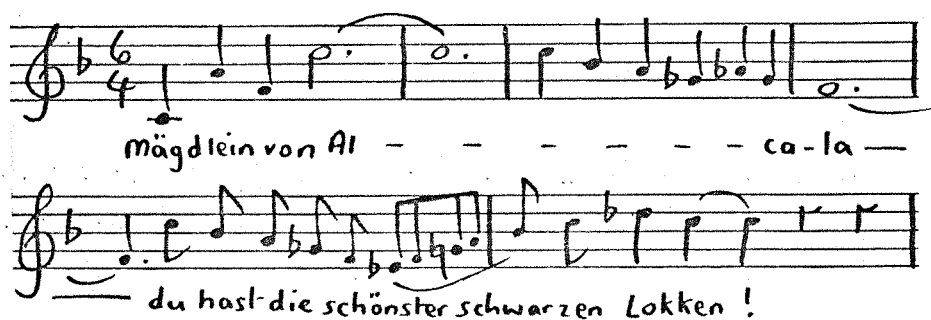
musical humour for the verbal humour of the Spanish text, for example in Act II, scene iii, in which the declaration of love for Clara by Juana, as Don Gil, is expressed in an exaggeratedly melismatic phrase. At times, too, Braunfels appears to be parodying the operatic styles of Verdi, notably at the end of Act II, scene i, where Inés accuses Manuel¹ of infidelity, against a background of diminished-seventh chords and tremolando strings.

Braunfels makes considerable use of the contrast between genuine and feigned expressions of love, treating the latter in an exaggerated manner with large vocal leaps and effusive melismas. Admittedly, much of the music is undistinguished. No distinction is made in the music between the characters, nor between Juana de hombre and de mujer,² and the First Act in particular contains much "padding" in the form of wordless choruses. The second scene of that act, however, includes one of the composer's most felicitous additions. The necessary but undramatic dialogue in which Manuel asks Pedro for the hand of his daughter, Inés, takes place in the opera against a vocal background provided by Inés, who, after some preliminary scales, sings an arietta by Pergolesi, followed by one by Paradisi. The idea is an imaginative one, though it must be admitted that the eighteenth-century ariettas chosen are congruous with neither the period of the play nor with Braunfels's own music. This idea, and the parody technique referred to above, are indicative of the eclecticism which Braunfels had in common with Weingartner and Paumgartner.

-
1. Manuel of the opera is Martin of the play, and Juan is here called Rodriguez.
 2. In the Third Act Caramanchell refers to this when he says: "das ist nicht mein Herr, denn mein Herr spricht im Sopran, und dieser da grunzt Bass."

Some attempt is made in Don Gil to suggest the Spanish setting of the work. The first scene includes a dance in bolero rhythm, and several melodies have a characteristically Spanish inflection, such as the Folksinger's song in Act II, which, later in the scene, is accompanied by a guitar:

Ex.60.



Voc.sc. (Vienna, 1923) p.203, bars 4-9.

The Zwischenspiel which precedes it is based on a Spanish theme taken from a collection entitled Música del Pueblo by Lázaro Nuñez Robres, and a saraband is played in Act I, scene iii. But in spite of a skilfully constructed libretto and some imaginative ideas, Braunfels's music has very little to add to the Spanish comedy. His touch is heavy and his music fails to match the gracia of Tirso's words.

Calderón's El mayor encanto, amor stands midway between a comedia with incidental music, such as El desdén con el desdén, and the zarzuela, Celos, aun del aire, matan. El mayor encanto, amor was written for the opening of the Buen Retiro palace in 1635.¹ Its subject - Ulysses and Circe - had been treated elsewhere in Golden-Age literature by Calderón

1. See N. D. Shergold, "The first performance of Calderón's El mayor encanto, amor", Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, XXXV (1958), 24-27; L. Rouanet, "Un autographe inédit de Calderón", Revue Hispanique, VI (1899), 196-200.

and others.¹ In another play² Calderón treats the subject allegorically; here, though the moral implications are capable of universal application,³ the author's chief concern is with the degradation of the protagonist himself. In the First Act Ulysses disregards the warnings of Antistes and Iris and believing that he will be able to free Circe's victims, he feigns love for her:

Hoy seré
de aquesta Esfinge el Edipo. (p.1606).⁴

In the Second Act he admits his love:

Circe. Hubiérame ofendido
si no supiera, Ulises, que es fingido.
Ulises (Aparte). A Júpiter plugiera! (p.1618),

and he gives further evidence of it by his reaction to the news of an attack by the Cyclops. The climax is reached in the Final Act when Ulysses admits his defeat:⁵

Tus encantos vencí, mas no tu llanto:
pudo el amor lo que ellos no han podido:
luego el amor es el mayor encanto. (p.1624).

This is followed by a fierce struggle between love and duty, at the end of which he emerges victorious:

Del mayor encanto, amor,
la razón me sacó libre. (p.1631).

The play does not have a sub-plot, but the fate of some of the secondary characters is used to parallel that of the main characters; thus Antistes's fate foreshadows the hero's. A comparison can also be made between Ulysses

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1. e.g. Lope de Vega, La Circe. For an account of Calderón's use of earlier plays, see A. E. Sloman, The Dramatic Craftsmanship of Calderón (Oxford, 1958), pp.128-158.
 2. The auto, Los encantos de la culpa.
 3. On the symbolic interpretation of this play, see W. G. Chapman, "Las comedias mitológicas de Calderón", Revista de Literatura, V (1954), 56.
 4. P. Calderón de la Barca, Obras Completas (Madrid, 1959), I, 1595-1633.
 5. Sloman has drawn attention to the cumulative effect of symbolic words

and Arsidas. The transformation of Clarín, the gracioso, into a monkey has symbolic value, too. His words:

¡Hombres monas! Presto habrá
otro más de vuestra especie (p.1617),

are followed by Ulysses's entrance, while the protagonist's redemption is accompanied by Clarín's restoration to human form. Calderón also juxtaposes the amor honesto of Lísidas and Flérída with the unworthy emotions of Ulysses, Arsidas and Circe.

El mayor encanto, amor makes lavish use of theatrical and musical effects, which might suggest the possibility of an operatic adaptation, though they would not necessarily facilitate the task of composer or librettist. A number of magical and supernatural effects are used during the play, and the ending is a spectacular one which includes a storm, a triumphal water-chariot, the destruction of Circe's palace by a volcano and finally a ballet of tritons and sirens. Singing and the music of shawms are used to accompany the appearance of Iris; musicians sing in Act II during the feast scene, warning Ulysses of his fate; and the protagonist's inner conflict is represented dramatically and symbolically by the Greek soldiers chanting "guerra" on one side of the stage, and on the other side, Circe's musicians singing:

¿Dónde vas, Ulises, si es
el mayor encanto amor? (p.1625).

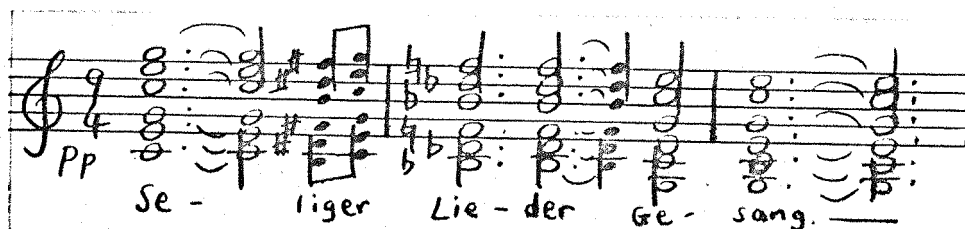
Calderón's influence in Germany, in particular on opera composers, has been of great importance,² and it is unlikely that Circe (Berlin, 1948),

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1. The singing of Circe's musicians, bearing in mind its adverse effect on the hero, may be regarded as an example of what Sage calls "música sensible", the kind of music which was censured by Calderón. See J. Sage, "Calderón y la música teatral", Bulletin Hispanique, LVIII (1956), 275-300.
 2. See K. R. Pietschmann, "Recepción e influencia de Calderón en el teatro alemán del siglo XIX", Clavileño, XXXV (1955), 15-25.

by Werner Egk, was the first operatic adaptation of Calderón's El mayor encanto, amor.¹ Faithful to Calderón's intentions, Egk conceives the work on a grand scale.² The cast is necessarily large, since he makes no significant alterations to the action or the text. The orchestra, too, is large and Egk's harmonic language increases the feeling of opulence which the work exudes.

The music of Circe is tonal; common chords, sometimes with an added sixth, are used extensively. Many opportunities are found for chorus passages, and these are invariably characterised by their full, sonorous texture, such as the six-part chorus of Ulysses's companions in the first scene. Later in the scene a similarly-spaced chorus of Circe's companions is heard, persuading Ulysses to stay:

Ex. 61.



Voc.sc. (Mainz, 1947), p.27, bars 4-6.

1. Farinelli mentions several earlier musical versions of the play, but since the Spanish work requires so much music, it is questionable whether these versions are operas or merely plays with incidental music. See A. Farinelli, "Apuntes sobre Calderón y la música en Alemania", Cultura Española, I (1907), 119-160.
2. This is also true of his earlier opera, Columbus (1933), which, in turn, resembles Milhaud's Christophe Colombe (1930).

The chromatically sliding chords of this chorus are continued in Circe's next aria, in which she tries to persuade Ulysses to drink her love-potion. The vocal line here, like several of Egk's melodies, is slightly nawkish and has more than a hint of Viennese operetta. It is not well suited to the character of Circe:

Ex. 62.

Trink den Becher, den ich reiche, auf den Gott der meinen Reiche
gütig dich hat zu - - ge führt! —

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system has a vocal line in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 4/4 time signature. The lyrics are "Trink den Becher, den ich reiche, auf den Gott der meinen Reiche". The piano accompaniment is in the same key and time, with a dynamic marking of *p*. The second system continues the vocal line with the lyrics "gütig dich hat zu - - ge führt! —". The piano accompaniment continues with a dynamic marking of *pp*. The score shows chromatic sliding chords in the piano part, particularly in the right hand.

p. 30, bars 1-4.

The inordinate length of some of the arias is a serious weakness.¹

Although both play and opera have a strong sense of dramatic conflict, the paucity of dramatic action in the latter work, made more obvious by the lengthy chorus passages and ballet movements, make the opera more static than Calderón's play. Since Egk's work contains much "padding" in the form of chorus and dance, one is less aware of the powerful force of love leading swiftly to Ulysses's moral defeat.

To compensate for this diminishing of the force of love, Egk gives the principal characters several love-duets. The first duet, "Kann ich hoffen ihn sie zu täuschen?" unites in a single phrase the attempt each is making to deceive the other. The second duet (scene ii), expresses their common fear of falling in love. This movement begins with Ulysses repeating short phrases sung first by Circe. He then repeats her phrases in canon, and finally they sing together: "Ihn sie vergessen ist unmöglich und vergebens ihn sie zu lieben!"² In the third scene Ulysses sings a serenade expressing his love, ending with the words: "Circe, ich liebe dich!" At the end of this scene, a climax is reached as they sing together a phrase which recalls the title of the Spanish play: "denn aller Zauber höchster ist die Liebe."

Musically, these duets are unremarkable. Indeed, the portrayal in music of some of the minor characters is more effective. The simplicity of the duet between Lybia and Asträa (ex.63), underlines the innocence

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1. Antistes's aria in scene i is particularly weak. It has a rigid form, ABAB, and its first section has a rather trite vocal line accompanied by alternating tonic and dominant-seventh chords.
 2. This method of gradually bringing two lovers closer together in music recalls Mozart's Don Giovanni-Zerlina duet.

of their love:

Ex. 63.

Lybia:

Asträa: Offen Wa-gen wir nicht nur zu glauben und zu

hoffen, auch zu lie - - - ben!

p.97, bars 2-7.

and, in the third scene, the nervous patter of Klarin contrasts well with the wide intervals and slow pace of Brutamonte's line. Good use is also made of the comic incidents, notably during the scene in which Klarin is transformed into an ape. Egk adds to the humour of this scene by the appearance of the two graciosos, Klarin and Leporell, playing a parody-version of a march heard earlier on a clarinet and a tuba.

It is at the dramatic climaxes that Egk's music is the most effective. The conflict between love and duty is represented, as in the play, by Ulysses's men on one side of the stage calling him to return, and Circe's companions on the other side, persuading him to stay. Against a percussive accompaniment and a march-like theme in the orchestra, the former cry: "Zu denn Waffen! Kampf und Ehre!" As Ulysses awakes, a six-part female chorus is heard, singing: "Bleibe, Ulyss, wo süsse Liebeslieder dich umwallen!" Its effect on the hero is seen in his vocal line, which changes from a marcato dotted rhythm to a subdued legato phrase. The opposing choruses alternate, the war-cries becoming more discordant, but

Ulysses is overcome by love. The music which accompanies the appearance of the ghost of Achilles is also very apt, though it achieves its effect by thoroughly conventional means, such as tremolando strings and the sudden alternation of forte and piano. In the final climax, as Circe attempts to prevent Ulysses from escaping by a thunderstorm, Egk returns to the music heard in the opening scene. The confusion on the stage is reinforced by bitonal harmonies in the orchestra, but the grandeur of this scene is somewhat diminished by a trivial tune sung to the words "Doch ein fremdes Schiff versank".

In Circe Egk has obviously done more than provide incidental music, yet it is difficult to regard the work as an operatic transformation of the Spanish play, since it shows no significant deviation from Calderón's plot or characters. Musically, the work is uneven; the statuesque effect, produced by the full texture of the chorus passages, is weakened by an often trivial melodic line in the arias and duets.

In the same year as Egk's Circe (1948), Hans Werner Henze composed his opera Das Wundertheater (Heidelberg, 1949), based on Cervantes's interlude, El retablo de las maravillas. The Spanish work is an excellent example of Cervantes's dramatic art, and Henze's opera shows how well-suited the entremeses are to operatic adaptation. The plot is a simple one, and the play relies on various types of humour for its effect. Like the two other Cervantine interludes discussed already, La cueva de Salamanca and El viejo celoso, the theme is deception, in this case not between husband and wife but between a theatre-manager (Chanfalla) and his audience. After a certain amount of malapropism and slap-stick humour, Chanfalla warns his audience that those who are illegitimate or who have Jewish blood will be unable to see the maravillas. The point is well taken; no-one in the audience wishes to

have in doubt either his legitimacy or his limpieza de sangre, and so each pretends to see the spectacles described by Chanfalla and each reacts accordingly. Only the Governor, in a humorous aside, voices his doubt:

Basta; que todos ven lo que yo no veo; pero al fin
aure de dezir que lo veo, por la negra honrilla.¹

The audience's reactions are in themselves a source of amusement. They show fear as Samson is "seen" pulling down the temple, as a bull "rushes in" and, later, as lions and bears "appear". The two girls scream as mice "run" across the stage. The final maravilla is the "appearance" of Herodias, with whom the mayor's nephew pretends to dance a saraband. The climax of the play is the arrival of a Quartermaster (Furrier de compañías), who demands billets for his soldiers. In spite of Chanfalla's protest that this last arrival is genuine, the spectators persist in believing that it is another of the maravillas, and when the Quartermaster angrily declares that he cannot see Herodias, they jeeringly call him a Jew and a bastard. The action ends with a brawl. Cervantes's main purpose in El retablo was simply to amuse. There is, however, in this work as in his other entremeses, an implicit moral. The greatest "marvel" is what Casaldueiro calls "la maravilla de la tontería".² The spectators are criticised by the author for stupidly pretending to believe what is unreal and for refusing to believe what is real.

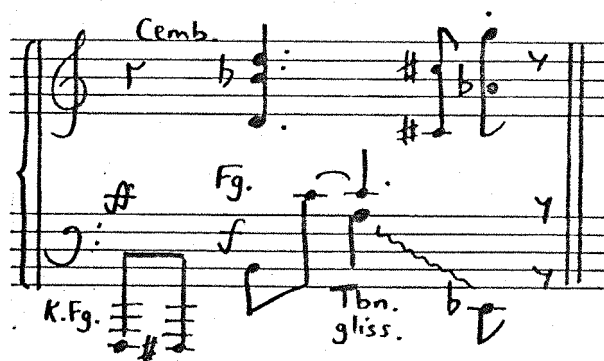
Henze does not give any attention to the moral of the play. Indeed, although his libretto, based on A. F. von Schack's translation of the

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1. The Interludes of Cervantes, ed. S. Griswold Morley (Princeton, 1948), p.154.
 2. J. Casaldueiro, Sentido y forma en el teatro de Cervantes (Madrid, 1951), p.218. See also: A. Cotarelo y Valledor, El teatro de Cervantes (Madrid, 1915), pp.571-591; M. Bataillon, "Ulenspiegel et le Retablo de las Maravillas de Cervantes", Homenaje a J. A. van Praag (Amsterdam, 1956), pp. 16-21.

entremés, is close to the Spanish text,¹ his overall conception of the drama differs greatly from that of Cervantes. The Spanish work is a light-hearted farce, and its personages, though caricatures, as evidenced by their names,² are nonetheless contemporary figures and unquestionably Spanish. Henze's work, on the other hand, is intentionally vague with regard to time and place,³ and he deliberately avoids the verisimilitude of Cervantes's play. He describes his work as an opera in one act for actors. There are no singing parts; the actors deliver their lines against an orchestral background. The stage presentation is highly stylised, seemingly to emphasise the unreality of the action. Six cubes, each a different colour, are placed in a straight line on the stage. On these cubes sit the spectators, the colours of their costumes corresponding to the colours of the cubes: the governor - red, Benito - yellow, Theresa, his daughter - orange, Repollo, his nephew, who dances with Herodias - violet, Juan - blue, Juana - light blue, Pedro - green. The Quartermaster is also dressed in green, Chanfalla and his wife in black, and the musician in either motley or grey. One additional character appears in the opera: a man wearing a robe and white wig, who is placed in a kind of pulpit and who operates a system of changing coloured flaps (Klappe).⁴

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1. The following quotation, which may be compared with the Spanish quotation above, is typical of the similarity between play and libretto:
Governor. Es hift nichts, sie haben's alle gesehen, während ich nichts gesehen habe. Aber am Ende muss ich mich doch auch sehen stellen, von wegen des leidigen Ehren punkts (scene xi).
 2. e.g. Benito Repollo (cabbage-head) and Juan Castrado (castrated John).
 3. Time: yesterday, today and tomorrow. Place: Spain and everywhere.
 4. The significance of this character is not clear from the score.

Henze's stylisation of the action is matched by his formal division of the music into twenty-one separate movements, each having a musical title.¹ After the opening Preludio a Capriccio is played by the woodwind, and against this the dialogue between Chanfalla and his wife is heard. During the next movement, Rondo I, the spectators arrive, and in the next, a Ballade in waltz-tempo, Chanfalla tells the audience of the maravillas which they are about to see. Another Rondo follows, and after it a Cantilène, termed "structural music", during which the light increases and the cubes are brought into place. There is then a Rezitativ, consisting of discords on the harpsichord and short wind phrases, and ending with a quasi-cadence: Ex. 64.

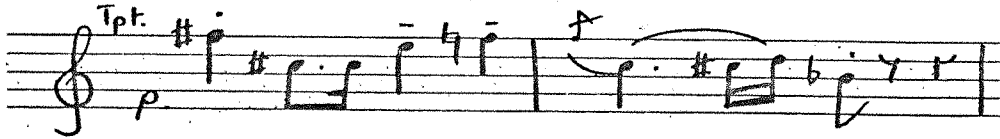


Voc.sc. (Mainz, 1964), p.33, bar 13.

In this movement, as in the Ballade, Henze's love of parody can clearly be seen. Other examples of musical parody occur in the Marche héroïque, which accompanies Samson's "appearance":

1. This technique recalls Berg's Wozzeck and Paumgartner's Die Höhle von Salamanca, See above, p.140.

Ex. 65.



p.36, bars 1-2.

and in the allusions to the musician's dull playing in the second Impromptu, where the musician, playing a doublebass on the stage, is represented by an ostinato figure, over which a solo violin plays a banal tune reminiscent of the Toreador Song from Carmen:

Ex. 66.

p.42, bars 8-10.

Cervantes, in El retablo, creates humour through slap-stick, through the dialogue and by satirising magic and superstitious beliefs. Henze, on the other hand, makes much use of incongruity and absurdity, and these characteristics are reflected in both the action and the music. As Geitel has indicated,¹ the majority of the movements make use of the twelve-note technique, although this sometimes abandoned in favour of quasi-tonal or polytonal music for the purpose of parody. The orchestra consists of twelve solo wind instruments, a harp, a harpsichord, strings and percussion, and the texture is often sparse, giving the work a chamber quality well-suited to the small dimensions of Cervantes's play. Unlike the play, Henze's opera is deliberately timeless, and this quality is emphasised musically by the juxtaposition of a saraband and jazz-rhythms in Herodias's dance-scenes, and dramatically by Chanfalla's unexpected action of lighting a cigarette before delivering his final speech. The work does not lack unity however. The unreality of the action is consistent. Even the Quartermaster's appearance is absurd, because he enters riding a hobby-horse. The dissonance of the harmonic language is also consistent, and the predominance of serial technique helps to unify the work.²

1. Klaus Geitel, Hans Werner Henze (Berlin, 1968), p.30.

2. In 1970 the first performance was given of Henze's El Cimarrón, based on Esteban Montejo's Biografía de un Cimarrón (Havana, 1966). The work is not an opera, but it consists of extracts from Montejo's novel recited and sung by a baritone, to a musical background provided by a flute, a guitar and percussion instruments. Henze's work is divided into fifteen sections, each relating an episode in the life of the Cimarrón or runaway slave. The composer describes the work as a "recital for four musicians" and says that it is "something between concert-music and theatre". Latin-American dance-rhythms are occasionally used, and a few tonal melodies occur, though the work is predominantly atonal. Although there is a superficial similarity in structure and musical language between El Cimarrón and Das Wundertheater, there is a marked difference between the deliberate incongruity of the opera and the seriousness of the politically engagé sentiments expressed in the later work.

Wolfgang Fortner's Bluthochzeit (Cologne, 1957) is one of several operas¹ based on García Lorca's Bodas de Sangre (1933). The play is a folk-tragedy based on fact² which tells how a bride flees with her former lover, and how the latter and the bridegroom kill each other in the ensuing fight. The central theme is fate which, working through its agents - physical passion and honour, finally results in death. This theme is pursued with the utmost vigour throughout the drama, and is emphasised by repeated hints at the impending tragedy and by a series of related images. The most important of these are blood and the knife. There are numerous allusions to both the fertility of life and to death, and the blood-imagery unites these two concepts. In the first cuadro the bridegroom's mother says: "la navaja, la navaja, malditas sean todas" (p.1172)³, and in the second cuadro the mother-in-law's lullaby refers to blood and a knife:

Las patas heridas,
las crines heladas,
dentro de los ojos
un puñal de plata.

. . .
La sangre corría
más fuerte que el agua. (p.1184).

In the forest scene (III,i), these two images are associated with the Moon, who says:

La luna deja un cuchillo
abandonado en el aire,

. . .
Pues esta noche tendrán
mis mejillas roja sangre. (p.1249).

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1. See Appendix. No trace has been found of the opera, Bodas de sangre, by the Argentine composer, Juan José Castro, mentioned in Kontrapunkte (Schriften zur deutschen Musik der Gegenwart), IV, 85. Nor has the opera of the same name by his compatriot, Alberto Evaristo Ginastera, been located. See p.41 of the note accompanying the recording of Szokolay's Blood Wedding (Qualiton LPX 1262-63).
 2. For the origin of the story, see R. Lima, The Theater of García Lorca (New York, 1963), p.188.
 3. Quotations from this play and from Lorca's El amor de Don Perlimplín con Belisa en su jardín are taken from Federico García Lorca, Obras Completas (Madrid, 1968).

And in the final scene, the mother makes a final reference to the knife:

Con un cuchillo,
con un cuchillito. (p.1272).

Each scene is dominated by a single idea, as Fortner discovered, and in four of the seven cuadros colour-symbolism is used. The mother's room in the first scene is yellow, the chief metaphor here being, as Barnes has shown,¹ the comparison of men to yellow wheat. In the next scene, set in Leonardo's house, various shades of red predominate. Of the forest scene Lorca says: "La escena adquiere un vivo resplandor azul" (p.1249). The intense white of the final scene imparts to it a sepulchral air of "un sentido monumental de iglesia. No habrá ni un gris, ni una sombra, ni siquiera lo preciso para la perspectiva" (p.1261). To the contrast of colour may be added the contrast between the lush vegetation of the forest and the aridity referred to in the other scenes.

With the exception of Leonardo the characters are not given proper names, although they are not mere symbols but are realistically and idiosyncratically portrayed. The mother is the most tragic figure, and it is she who suffers most, but it is the bride whose action precipitates the tragedy. There is a division of tragic interest between these two, although it is questionable whether this division constitutes a dramatic weakness, as Riley suggests.² At the climax of the play, which occurs in the forest scene, Lorca introduces symbolic and supernatural figures, yet without violating the unity of the work. The dramatist has prepared the audience for this scene by the accumulative effect of the death-imagery,

1. Robert Barnes, "The Fusion of Poetry and Drama in Blood Wedding", Modern Drama (Spring, 1960), p.397.

2. E. J. Riley, "Sobre Bodas de Sangre", Clavileño, VII (1951), 9.

suggesting that Man is not in complete control of his actions.

Also the two symbolic figures, the Moon and Death, appear in human form, as a woodcutter and a beggar-woman respectively. To this scene are added three wood-cutters, who are in sympathy with the lovers and who comment on their flight in the manner of the chorus in Greek tragedy. In this scene all the dramatic conflicts are resolved: between the mother and Leonardo's family on whom she seeks vengeance, between the bride and Leonardo, within the bride between passion and duty, between the bridegroom and his rival, and finally between Man and Fate. It is here that the physical and the spiritual realms meet. Lorca says of this scene: "Toda esta escena es violenta, llena de gran sensualidad" (p.1260). The atmosphere of this scene is greatly enhanced through the personification of the forest itself by two violins.¹ Music is required elsewhere in the play, notably as the wedding-guests arrive, and there are many lines which suggest musical setting, such as the lullaby, but in the forest scene the music is not merely incidental but has the symbolic purpose of representing the forest, that is the natural world.

Bluthochzeit arose out of an invitation to Fortner from Karlheinz Stroux to write incidental music for a performance of Lorca's play in Hamburg in 1953. This music, entitled Der Wald, became the germ-cell for the opera, completed four years later. The play had made a profound impression on the composer. "In Lorca's Text", he wrote, "finde ich das vorzüglichste, was einem Musiker zur Komposition angeboten werden kann! Ein, übliches Libretto, dessen Verfasser nach der Vertonung schielt, würde mich nicht reizen."² He saw the

1. "Se oyen lejanos dos violines que expresan el bosque" (p.1255).

2. Kontrapunkte, IV, 116.

play as "eine Art Libretto"¹ and he believed that music could greatly enhance the entire work.² Apart from some slight truncation of the dialogue³ he makes no alteration to Enrique Beck's German translation of the play. Lorca's seven cuadros Fortner groups into two acts, and he links each scene with the next by a Zwischenspiel.

Fortner uses a fairly large orchestra which includes a wide range of percussion instruments. Mandolins and guitars are also used and, during the wedding festivities, a group of instrumentalists appear on the stage. Stylistically the work is very varied; tonal and polytonal passages alternate with passages in strictly serial technique. Considerable diversity is seen, too, in the vocal parts. Spoken dialogue, rhythmically notated speech, Sprechstimme and arioso are used, sometimes all within a single scene.

Lorca's characters can be divided into two categories: the human characters and the semi-symbolic characters who appear in the forest scene. In the first category the female personages are given singing parts, whereas the Bridegroom and the Bride's Father have speaking parts. Of the second group only the Moon has a true singing part. The Mother, styled "dramatic soprano" in the dramatis personae and described by Herbert Eimert as "die Hauptfigur dieses Dramas",⁴ is given music which intensifies her vengeful and embittered nature through wide melodic intervals and sudden contrasts of dynamics. A particularly effective moment is her repetition of the words "Ich will nicht aufhören," (p.7), half-sung, half-spoken in rhythm with the timpani.

1. id., p.114.

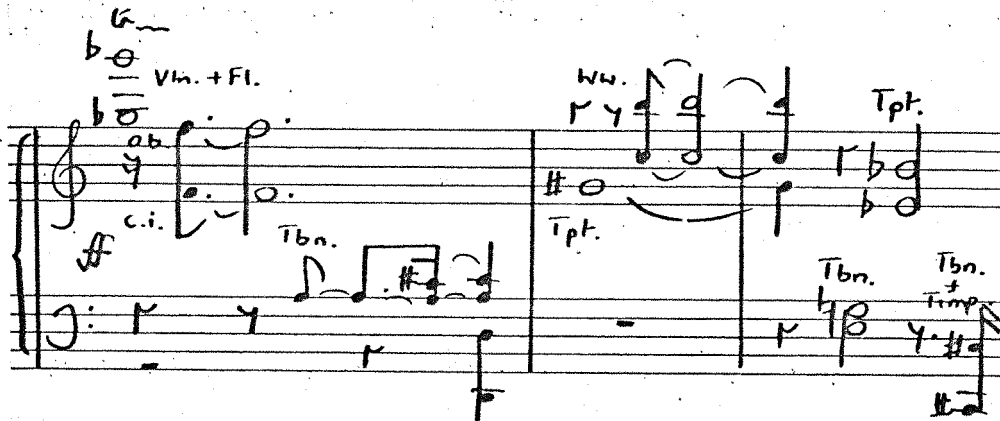
2. "Die Musik kann die Steigerung noch überbieten; sie kann die Tragödie zu Ende singen." (id., p.114).

3. e. g. in II, ii of the opera.

4. Kontrapunkte, IV, 76.

The first three bars of the orchestral introduction to scene i present the twelve-note row, which is to be the chief unifying element in the work:

Ex. 67.



Voc.sc. (Mainz, 1957), p.1, bars 1-3.

This is followed by a transposed inversion of the row, after which the music becomes freer. The second of the recurrent themes is unmistakably tonal. Its guitar accompaniment and the triplet figure at the half-cadence emphasise its Spanish quality:

Ex. 68.



p.3, bars 41-45.

The orchestral interlude between scenes i and ii introduce the slow, monotonous motion of the lullaby, which is the Grundfarbe of the second scene. The ostinato accompaniment-figure on guitar and mandolin, (Ex. 69a), and the repetitive melody of the lullaby itself produce a hypnotic effect and match admirably the sadness of Lorca's verse here:¹

Ex. 69.

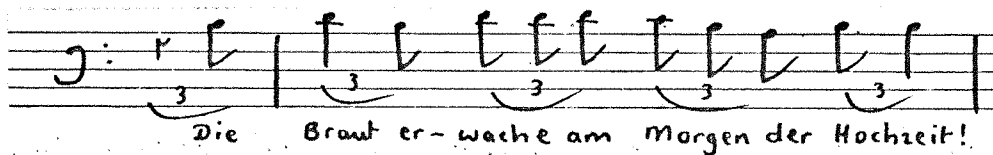


p.19, bars 24-29.

Leonardo's appearance has a disruptive effect on the mood of this scene, and his presence is marked by an agitated rhythm in the orchestra. The third scene increases the tension caused by Leonardo's entry. The cruel persistence of the Maid as she questions the Bride concerning Leonardo's visit the previous night is underlined by an ostinato figure consisting of a falling minor third and by a continuous percussion rhythm. The Zwischenspiel which follows is a theme with variations, the last of which, in bolero rhythm, anticipates the essentially Spanish atmosphere of the fourth scene, the Grundfarbe of which is the cante jondo. The Maid sings a very simple wedding canticle which is later taken up as a two-part canon by the guests:

1. Cf. Lorca's words: "Siempre había notado la aguda tristeza de las canciones de cuna de nuestro país." "Las nanas infantiles", Obras Completas, p.93.

Ex. 70.



p.69., bar 219.

Guitars and castanets are heard, and gradually Fortner builds up an elaborate musical texture by adding short, repeated rhythmic and melodic fragments. This is the closest the work comes to traditional operatic spectacle, and Fortner wisely resists any temptation to write formal Spanish dance-movements which would have weakened the dramatic structure of the work. In the first scene in Act II the wedding festivities are continued and a simple rustic dance is heard (Ex. 71), yet Fortner succeeds in maintaining the dramatic interest through the intense conversation between the Mother, the Father and the married couple. The dances in this scene have the function of incidental music as in the play:

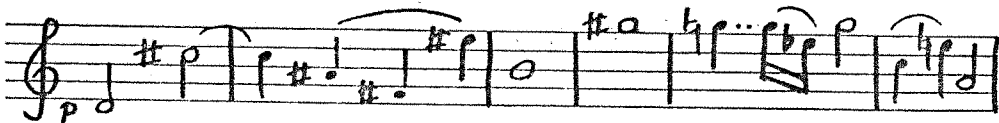
Ex. 71.



p.112., bars 96-99.

In Lorca's play there is a very dramatic contrast between the violent emotions which are brought to a climax at the end of scene v, and the serenity of the forest-scene, in which the poet juxtaposes the human and the symbolic characters. Fortner's music greatly enhances that contrast. The fifth scene ends with the guests' pursuit of the lovers, and the turbulent Zwischenspiel which follows continues the idea of flight by the reiteration of a rapid triplet figure. As the forest-scene begins this figure continues, played quietly on a muted snare-drum, and to it are added isolated notes on untuned percussion instruments, producing a sense of remoteness from the world of human emotions. Over this rhythmic accompaniment are heard the two violins specified by Lorca, here playing in canon at two bars distance a twelve-note melody which is a modified version of the row with which the opera began:

Ex. 72.



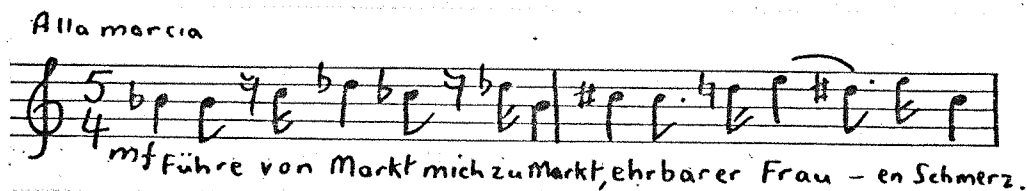
p.147, bars 33-38.

Canonic variations on the row follow, ending with a retrograde version. Against this musical background the speaking-voices of the three wood-cutters are heard. There is an abrupt return to the human tragedy at the arrival of the Bridegroom, and his entrance is marked by a repetition of the D-minor "Spanish" theme (Ex. 68). The emotional climax of the work is reached during the duet between Leonardo and the Bride. In the play the latter, torn between jubilation and despair and brought almost to the point of insanity, says:

Llévame de feria en feria,
 con las sábanas de la boda
 al aire como banderas. (p.1259).

Fortner, seizing on the metaphor "sábanas . . . como banderas" and the direction, "sarcástica", sets these words to a grotesque march in 5/4 time, accompanied by staccato discords and bass drum and cymbals:

Ex. 73.



p.184, bars 460-461.

A very quiet side-drum roll is heard, representing the approach of the pursuers, and it continues throughout the return of the violin canon after the lovers have fled. The music is cut short by screams off-stage, as in the play.¹ In the final scene, which follows without an orchestral interlude, the theme is death. The monotonous action of the two girls as they wind a skein of wool and their short, child-like lines are matched by music of extreme simplicity, the phrases sometimes consisting of only two notes. At the sight of the Bride the Mother gives vent to her suppressed hatred for the last time. The prevailing mood, however, is one of resignation, expressed in the Mother's quiet benediction, "Gebenedeit sei das Korn", and in the neighbours' liturgy, "Süsse Nägel, Süsses Kreuz", which is chanted over a twelve-note chord.

1. "Se oyen los dos violines. Bruscamente se oyen dos largos gritos desgarrados y se corta la música de los violines" (p.1261).

The music of Bluthochzeit intensifies Lorca's ideas while in no way misrepresenting them. The success of the opera prompted Fortner to adapt another of Lorca's plays in the same manner, El amor de Don Perlimplín con Belisa en su jardín (1933).¹ The libretto of In seinem Garten liebt Don Perlimplin Belisa (1962) is almost a verbatim translation of Lorca's play, again by Enrique Beck. As in his earlier opera, Fortner has endeavoured to remain completely faithful to both the text and the intentions of the Spanish dramatist. Like Bodas de sangre, Don Perlimplín makes extensive use of music,² which is surely one of the chief reasons why several composers have adapted these plays as operas. In both works one sees sensual love leading to death, but in Bodas this is brought about by supernatural forces over which the characters have very little control, whereas in Don Perlimplín the protagonist freely sacrifices his own life in order to liberate his wife from narcissism.

The music of Don Perlimplin shows a refinement of the techniques employed in Bluthochzeit. In keeping with the chamber quality of the play Fortner uses a smaller orchestra than in the earlier opera, and he produces an extremely light, transparent texture, rarely using all the instruments together. Serial technique is used more consistently here, and there are far fewer lapses into tonality than one finds in the earlier work. Rhythmic patterns are more complex and are less readily contained by a regular pulse. Also the melodic writing is, in general, more

1. See Appendix for other operas based on this play.

2. See p. 84.

fragmentary than in Bluthochzeit; this is particularly noticeable in the voice-parts, where the notes for a single word are frequently separated by rests (Ex.76). In order to achieve a sense of cohesion in the work Fortner makes use of repetition, either literal or implied.¹ The harpsichord interludes in the first scene and the consistent stylisation of the music of each of the four main characters also help to unify the work.

Fortner begins his opera with a chamber choir singing the words of the title. The syllables are dislocated and dispersed among the five voices, indicating that the action of the drama is to some extent disembodied, fantastic, as the costumes, the appearance of the sprites, and the "perspectivas . . . equivocadas deliciosamente"² show. The orchestral Vorspiel which follows has a texture similar to that of the choir, with isolated notes producing a thin curtain of sound and separating the sung title from the main action. The Prologue, which is the first acted scene in both play and opera, exemplifies Fortner's skilful organisation of musical material. In addition to the thematic connections between the repetitions of the refrain "Ja? Ja! Warum aber ja?" and the unifying quality of the harpsichord interludes, one finds instances of similarity of melodic outline between several phrases in the Prologue.³ Fortner completes this section with a repetition of the title sung by the chamber choir.

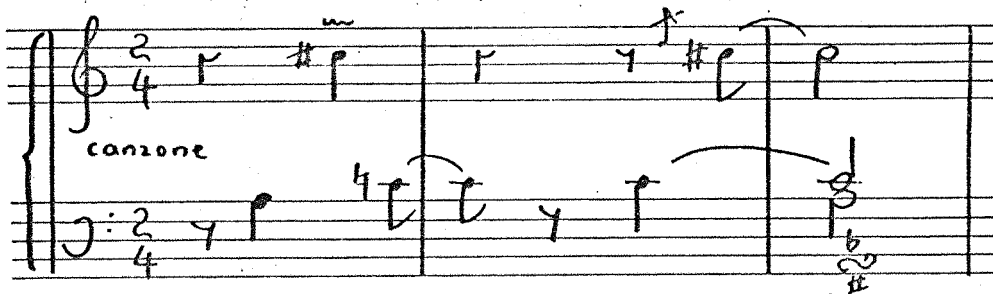
1. Compare bars 142ff with bars 325ff. Note also the repetition in the play of the quasi-refrain, "Sí? Sí. ¿Por qué sí?" which is emphasised in the music by the fact that the second time it occurs the music is an inversion of the melody used the first time.

2. Quadro 2, p.1001.

3. Cf. bars 279 and 282; bars 280 and 291.

A comparison between Rieti's Don Perlimplin and Fortner's shows far greater subtlety in the music of the German composer. This can be seen in their respective attempts to reproduce the eighteenth-century atmosphere indicated by Lorca. Rieti's technique may be regarded as imitative, Fortner's as suggestive. Fortner, writing in a non-tonal idiom, suggests rather than reproduces the sound of eighteenth-century music, and he does this chiefly through the use of ornamentation:

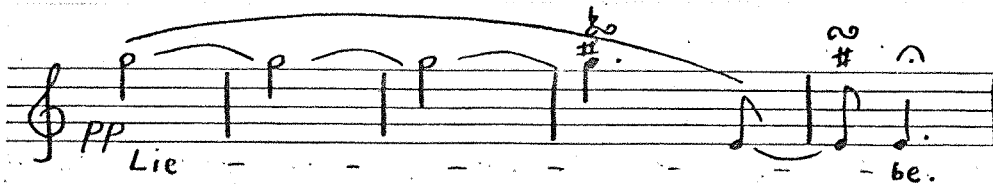
Ex. 74.



Voc.sc. (Mainz 1962), bars 130-132; cf. above, p.85.

Fortner's musical characterisation, too, is more effective than Rieti's. In the Italian opera only the character of Belisa is differentiated in the music. Her first utterance, Amor, reproduces her feeling of voluptuousness less adequately than does Fortner's languorous phrase (Ex. 75). Its wide intervals become a prominent characteristic of her music.

Ex. 75.



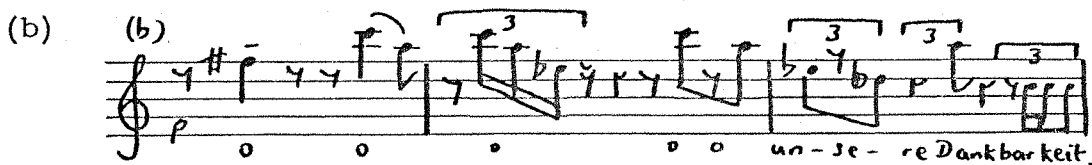
p.12, bars 156-160. Cf. above, p.85, Ex.34.

In depicting Belisa's mother, Fortner's music again comes closer to Lorca's intentions. In the play she appears wearing a wig with birds, ribbons and glass beads. Fortner makes her a coloratura soprano, not, as in Rieti's work, a contralto, and her shrill, disjointed vocal-line compliments her grotesque appearance:

Ex. 76.



p.19, bars 265-267.

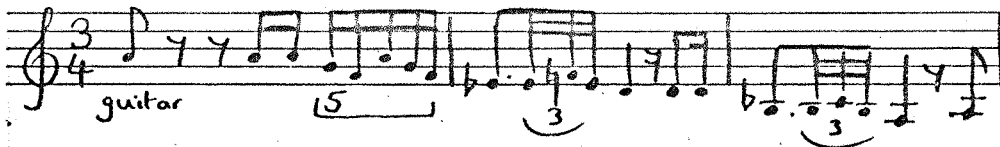


p.24, bars 306-308.

Linking the Prologue to the first Bild there is an orchestral interlude which includes a canon on a twelve-note theme between oboe and clarinet. This canon appears again during the dialogue between the two sprites in scene i, where it is played on two flutes, fulfilling Lorca's

direction: "Con dulce tono de sueño, suenan flautas" (p.993). There is an obvious parallel between this direction and Lorca's specification of two violins in Bodas de sangre; in both instances Fortner uses strict canon for two identical instruments. The sprites sometimes sing short answering phrases and sometimes sing together in thirds and sixths. Their music, marked "etwas naiv, wie ein Kinderlied singen", bears a superficial similarity to the corresponding music in Rieti's opera, as does the ostinato rhythm which accompanies Perlimplin as he questions Belisa. Both composers make use of ostinato figures in this scene to suggest Spanish dance-rhythms. Fortner includes also a Spanish-sounding theme in Phrygian D- minor, which he uses to accompany Belisa's second Canzone:

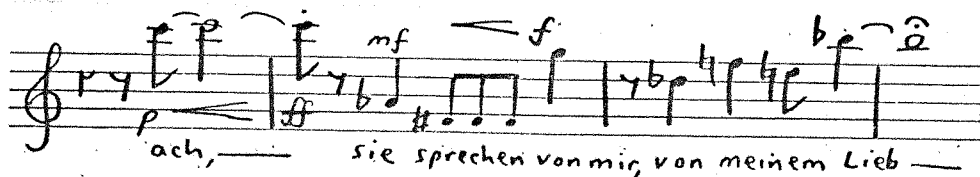
Ex. 77.



p.41, bars 534-536.

Between scenes i and ii there is an interlude in which the choir whisper the words: "Liebe Seele . . . Schwächlinge Tod", against an orchestral background of great delicacy. Fortner uses the rhythm of the bolero in the second scene and in the interlude which follows. During this scene Belisa's narcissistic love is brought to a climax as she sings of her unknown admirer who desires not her soul but her body:

Ex. 78.



p.100, bars 177-180.

In the final scene the serenade is sung by the chamber choir, as in Rieti's opera and as suggested by Lorca's Voces. At the climax of the drama, when the wounded Don Perlimplin enters, Fortner avoids a conventional "operatic" accompaniment such as Rieti uses, and while the protagonist is explaining the reason for his sacrifice, the orchestra remains silent. As in Bluthochzeit, one's attention is drawn to both Fortner's respect for Lorca's text and ideas and to the appropriateness of the German composer's music.

Chapter 4

FRANCE

There have been fewer operas based on Spanish literature by French than by Italian and German composers, despite the fact that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries France more than any other country was closely associated with Spain, both politically and culturally. The Peninsular War, which was fought during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, brought many Frenchmen to Spain, whereas the absolutist régime of Ferdinand VII which followed caused many Spanish liberal exiles¹ - the so-called afrancesados - to seek refuge on the other side of the Pyrenees. Among these were the dramatists Fernández de Moratín and the Duque de Rivas, the guitarist Fernando Sor and the composer José Melchior Gomis. These musicians helped to acquaint French audiences with the characteristics of popular Spanish music, a task which had been initiated by their compatriot, Manuel del Pópulo García. It is evident from the works of many nineteenth- and twentieth century French composers that pseudo-Spanish music enjoyed considerable popularity.

L. F. Hoffman² has analysed the very wide-spread, albeit often superficial, influence of Spain on French literature of the Romantic period.

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1. See V. Llorens Castillo, Liberales y románticos (Mexico, 1954).
 2. Léon-François Hoffmann, Romantique Espagne: L'image de l'Espagne en France entre 1800 et 1850 (Princeton and Paris, 1961). See also A. Farinelli, Le romantisme français et l'Espagne, vol. II of Nel mondo della poesia e della musica (Rome, 1940), and P. Hazard, "Ce que les lettres françaises doivent à l'Espagne", Revue de la littérature comparée, XVI (1936), 5-22.

Many writers helped to perpetuate the image of Spain as a country bedevilled by superstition, fanaticism and medieval customs, yet they showed admiration for the courage, patriotism and religious fervour of the Spanish people. Spaniards, and in particular Spanish women, were regarded by many as the embodiment of Romantic ideals. Works such as Hugo's Hernani, Merimée's Carmen, and Nodier's Inés de las Sierras, which is set in Catalonia, are representative of the popular image in Spain which persisted in France throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Compared with the German appraisal of Spain during the same period, the French attitude was somewhat superficial and idealised and, unlike the Germans, the French took very little account of Spanish literature. One finds, therefore, numerous French operas with a Spanish setting, but few operas based on a Spanish literary work, and even in these the source is sometimes adapted almost beyond recognition, as in Auber's Léocadie.¹

French opera started comparatively late, the earliest known example dating from about 1670. It developed independent of Italian traditions and was the only national opera to withstand Italian domination during the eighteenth century. Its earliest great composers, Lully, Rameau and Gluck, preserved its aristocratic qualities, and they used mainly mythological and pastoral subjects. Not until the establishment of opéra comique, which originated in the early eighteenth century,² was there any significant widening of the scope of the subject-matter to include realism, sentimental drama, comic intrigue and non-classical history. The years 1700 to 1780

1. See below, pp. 185-186.

2. For an account of the origins of opéra comique, see M. F. Robinson, Opera before Mozart (London, 1966), p.132 ff.

provide few examples of Spanish-influenced works, and these bear only a superficial resemblance to a Spanish literary work. References have been found to an opera by Le Tellier on the Don Juan theme, entitled Le festin de Pierre (1713)¹, Boismortier's opera-ballet, Don Quichotte chez la duchesse (1743), Philidor's Sancho Pança dans son île (1762)², and an opera based on Spanish history, Don Carlos (1780), by Duplessis.

Paralleling the Romantic Movement in French literature, with its predilection for exotic locales, one finds a far greater interest in Spain among French composers and librettists writing in the last two decades of the eighteenth century and during the nineteenth. Although in many operas of this period the setting and characters are Spanish,³ the majority of these works have no connection with Spanish literature. Among these one work is outstanding and is the culmination of Spanish-influenced opera in France, just as its source, Merimée's Carmen, crystallises the French image of Spain.⁴ The popularity of Bizet's Carmen (Paris, 1875) and the sometimes sentimentalised portrayal of the heroine have tended to blind audiences to the originality of this work and to make them forget that at its first performance it achieved a succès de scandale scarcely equalled by that of Stravinsky's Rite of Spring. Carmen was condemned by the majority of critics as obscene. The villain-hero, Don José, was a familiar figure, but an entirely new character in opera was the villain-heroine who openly seduces the hero and causes him to reject his virtuous first love (Micaela),

1. Gluck wrote a ballet entitled Don Juan, which Mozart very probably knew when writing his Don Giovanni. See D. J. Grout, A Short History of Opera, 2nd ed. (Columbia, 1965), pp.230-232.

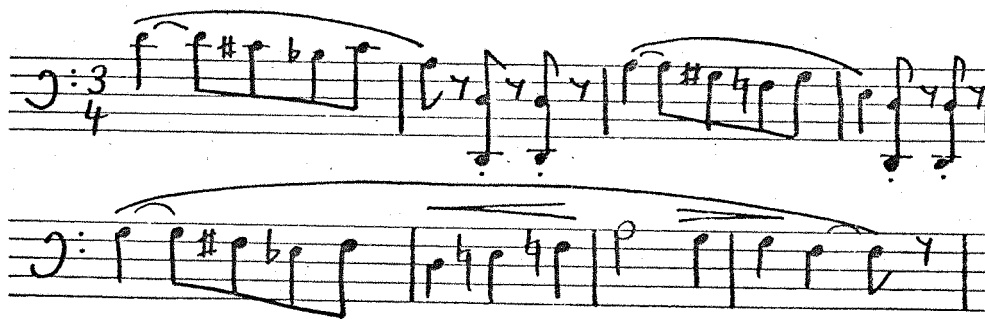
2. See pp. 259-260.

3. See Appendix.

4. Hoffmann, op.cit., pp.129-135.

and is finally murdered on the stage. In his attempts to create a Spanish atmosphere in the music Bizet is far more successful than any of his compatriots, despite his lack of first-hand acquaintance with Spanish music. None of the melodies in Carmen has been proved to be an authentic folk-melody. The Entr'acte between the Third and Fourth Acts is based on a polo from Manuel García's tonadilla, El criado fingido, which Bizet found in a mixed collection of genuine and bogus Spanish songs, entitled Échoes d'Espagne.¹ The habanera is a subtle transformation of a salon piece by the Spanish-American composer, Sebastian Yradier.² The majority of the themes, however, are Bizet's own, including the inauspicious Leitmotiv, with its fall of an augmented second, a characteristic of Andalusian folkmusic.

Ex. 79.



Voc.sc. (New York, 1958), p.4, bars 15-22.

1. See Winton Dean, Bizet (London, 1965), p.197.

2. See P. Landormy, Bizet (Paris, 1924), p.125. See also: Raoul Laparra, Bizet et l'Espagne (Paris, 1935); Edgar Istel, Bizet und Carmen (Stuttgart, 1927).

In 1859, sixteen years before the completion of Carmen, Bizet had contemplated writing an opera based on Don Quixote,¹ and in 1873 he began the composition of Don Rodrigue,² based not on Corneille's Le Cid but on Guillén de Castro's Las mocedades del Cid, a play which had greatly impressed the composer. Neither of these projects was completed, however.

Two eighteenth-century French operas have been found which are based on Spanish literary works other than Don Quixote and the Don Juan legend. The first, by Stanislas Champein,³ is entitled Isabelle et Fernand, ou L'alcalde [sic] de Zalamea, and was first performed at the Théâtre Italien in 1783. In the preface to the libretto, the author, Faur, gives a critical summary of his source, Calderón's famous play, El alcalde de Zalamea, and he explains why he found it necessary to make substantial alterations to the original work. In particular Faur objected to the fact that Calderón makes Crespo kneel before the violator of his honour.

El alcalde de Zalamea, the fame of which is surpassed by only one other Calderonian work, La vida es sueño, may possibly have received its first performance as early as 1636.⁴ In some ways El alcalde is the antithesis of La vida es sueño. The latter is set in far-off Poland and its main characters are exclusively of noble birth, whereas El alcalde includes peasants as well as nobles and is set in Spain during the reign of Philip II. Isabel, the daughter of a wealthy farmer named Pedro Crespo, is raped by an army captain. The outraged father captures the army

1. See Dean, op.cit., p.21.

2. See Dean, op.cit., p.81. A revised version of Gallet's libretto for Don Rodrigue was later used for Massenet's Le Cid. See below, pp 192-196. The fragments of Bizet's opera, in manuscript, are in the library of the Paris Conservatoire.

3. Champein also composed an opera entitled Le nouveau Don Quichotte (Paris, 1789).

4. See E. M. Wilson and D. Moir, The Golden Age: Drama 1492-1700 (London 1971), p.111.

officer and begs him to marry Isabel. He refuses and Crespo has him garrotted, thereby incurring the displeasure of the general, the historic personage Don Lope de Figueroa. The king intervenes and shows his approval of Crespo's action by making him the perpetual mayor of Zalamea. Calderón's work is based on a play with the same title attributed to Lope de Vega.¹ In the earlier play Crespo has two daughters who are seduced, without much protest, by two army officers. The girls' flightiness dishonours Crespo and makes his action against the officers less justifiable than in Calderón's version. Also, in the earlier play, Crespo is called mayor from the start, whereas Calderón delays Crespo's elevation to mayor until after his initial reaction to Isabel's rape, thereby separating the ideas of justice and vengeance.²

The central theme of the play is honour, and Calderón's treatment of it here resembles that of Lope de Vega in Peribáñez. In both plays a peasant's honour is violated by a gentleman, and also the killing of the man responsible for the dishonour - an illegal action - is upheld by the king, thereby showing that honour is not limited by class or rank. Calderón, like Lope, contrasts the two meanings of honor, as C. A. Jones has shown.³ Crespo perceives the fuller meaning of honor, and he realises that it cannot be bought:

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1. The attribution of the earlier play to Lope is questioned by S. G. Morley and C. Bruerton in The Chronology of Lope de Vega's "comedias" (New York and London, 1940), pp.251-252.
 2. See P. Calderón de la Barca, El alcalde de Zalamea, ed. P. N. Dunn (Oxford, 1966), p.6. Quotations from El alcalde are taken from this edition. See also A. E. Sloman, The Dramatic Craftsmanship of Calderón (Oxford, 1958), pp. 217-249; A. E. Sloman, "Scene Division in Calderón's El alcalde de Zalamea", Hispanic Review, XIX (1951), 66-71.
 3. C. A. Jones, "Honor in El alcalde de Zalamea", Modern Language Review, L (1955), 444-449.

el honor
es patrimonio del alma,
y el alma sólo es de Dios. (I, 874-876).

que honra no la compra nadie. (I, 500).

The captain, on the other hand, shows by his refusal to marry a peasant-girl (Isabel) and by remarks such as "¿Qué opinión tiene un villano?" that his concept of honour is limited to social rank. His attitude is shared by the fatuous hidalgo, Don Mendo, who is a caricature of formal, aristocratic honour.

The scene in which Crespo kneels before the captain has been criticised,¹ and Faur, Champein's librettist, felt unable to include this incident. Leavitt² has suggested that Calderón invented this scene for practical reasons. The captain's refusal to marry Isabel is predictable, but Crespo's offer is not an empty gesture. By giving the offender an opportunity to repent the dramatist was preparing the audience for a spectacle which might well have provoked in them a violent reaction, for at the end of the Third Act the body of the captain is seen on stage, having been illegally garrotted. Nevertheless Crespo's humility does seem excessive, and his offer is a rash one. There is truth in Leavitt's conclusion that Calderón "sacrificed a magnificent character in order to be certain that the sympathy of the audience went to the right candidate."³

El alcalde de Zalamea does not contain as many references to music as do other of Calderón's plays,⁴ but the work is, as Colford has observed,⁵

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1. e. g. by C. A. Soons in "Caracteres e imágenes en El alcalde de Zalamea", Romanische Forschungen, LXXII (1960), 104-107. Soons argues that Crespo's offer of himself and Isabel as slaves seems inconsistent with his prudence elsewhere.
 2. S. E. Leavitt, "Pedro Crespo and the Captain in Calderón's El alcalde de Zalamea", Hispania, XXXVIII (1955), 430-431.
 3. S. E. Leavitt, loc.cit.
 4. In the First Act Rebolledo and La Chispa sing to a rhythmic accompaniment of castanets; the Second Act includes a serenade with guitars, and in the Third drums are heard.
 5. P. Calderón de la Barca, El alcalde de Zalamea, trans. W. E. Colford (New York, 1959), Introduction, p.6.

"rich in operatic possibilities". Champein's work is mid-way between opéra comique, that is opera which includes spoken dialogue, and a play with numerous ariettes. Calderón's action is considerably softened in the opera, and the characters are in general sentimentalised.

Consequently the French work is much less forceful than the Spanish.

The chief cause of this lies in the addition of Fernand, a farmer who is in love with Isabel. The heroine is less cautious in guarding her honour than was her counterpart in the play. Far from closing her window against suitors she now stands by her open window singing a love-song.

La Chispa is omitted and also the essentially Spanish figures of Don Mendo and his servant. Robelledo (sic) in the opera has the role of confidant to the captain, and is given a valet, Lucas, who is in love with the alcalde's servant, Clairette. The alcalde himself is called Diego in the opera. His son Juan, Dom(sic) Lope and the captain are clearly recognisable in the opera, although the latter appears less villainous than in the play. In the opera the captain is called Don Alvar.

Many lines in the French work are similar to lines in Calderón's play.

Juan's eagerness for battle is a good example:

Je crois déjà me voir au milieu d'une armée.
Le fracas, le canon, cela doit être beau,
Et je m'en fais d'avance un bien joli tableau.

Libretto (Paris, 1784), p.3

The dialogue in the First Act between Dom Lope and Diego is also derived from Calderón:

Lope. A quien tocara
ni aun al soldado menor,
sólo un pelo de la ropa.
por vida del cielo, yo
le ahorcara.

Crespo. A quien se atreviera
a un átomo de mi honor,
por vida también del cielo,
que también le ahorcara yo.

Lope. Toi, fait pour respecter le
moindre militaire.

Diego. Je dois le respecter quand il
se conduit bien; Mais, morbleu,
s'il m'insulte, il faut que je
me venge.

(p.17).

And Diego's advice to his son is in keeping with Crespo's character in the play:

Mon enfant, sois toujours sage;
Réponds a mon amour pour toi,
Sers dignement ton Roi,
La gloire sera ton partage. (p.22).

The emphasis on the mutual love between Fernand and Isabelle is an addition which is far removed from Calderón's play, as is Fernand's secret entry into Diego's house, aided by Juan and Isabelle herself. The First Act of the opera ends with Dom Lope's anger at Robelledo's serenade in praise of Isabelle's beauty, taken from the Second Act of the play.

In the Second Act Faur and Champein depart further from the Spanish play than they had done in the First Act, since the action of the Second is centred upon Clairette's love for Lucas and upon Fernand's jealousy of his rival, Don Alvar. The scene during which Robelledo encourages Alvar in his pursuit of Isabelle and the expression of his contempt for peasants are taken from Calderón, however:

Robelledo: Êtes-vous fait pour souffrir des refus
De la part d'une fille, objet de votre hommage?

(p.32).

The Second Act ends, as does the play, with the abduction¹ of Isabelle, but in the opera this is preceded by a chorus of villagers, acclaiming Diego as their alcalde. The Third Act of the opera is the weakest dramatically. Diego intends to force Alvar to marry Isabelle. Juan and Isabelle herself plead in vain with their father for her to be allowed to marry Fernand. The scene between the alcalde and the captain contains Faur's

1. It may be assumed from Isabelle's account of the event that she was not in fact raped. Referring to Fernand, she says, "Enfin, il m'a sauvé l'honneur" (p.53).

most significant alteration to Calderón's plot, since it leads to a sentimentalised ending which dispenses with the severe punishment of the captain. Although Diego humbles himself before Alvar to a lesser extent than in the play, in the opera he is successful in causing the captain to repent and to agree to marry Isabelle. At this point Juan intervenes and offers to fight Alvar to avenge Isabelle, but the captain, on learning of her love for Fernand, magnanimously offers her to his rival. It need hardly be said that Champein's denouement lacks Calderón's strong sense of justice, or that the characters in the opera are much less sharply defined than in the play.

In 1788 another French opera based on a Spanish play was performed: Inès et Léonore ou la soeur jalouse by Jean Baptiste Bréval, based on Calderón's No hay burlas con el amor, of which a French translation had been published in Paris in 1770,¹ entitled On ne badine point avec l'amour. Though intended as entertainment, some social criticism may be found in Calderón's play,² despite its formal structure and its conventions of speech and behaviour. The plot resembles that of Lope de Vega's La dama boba.³ The central characters in both plays are sisters, one of whom is much more erudite and haughty than the other and jealous of the other's suitors. Don Juan, who loves Leonor, describes her sister Beatriz as "tan vana de su persona . . . De su genio tan amante, . . . tan afectada en vestirse, . . . tan enfadosa." (I, p.4). She combines the intellectualism of Nise in La dama boba with the desdén of Moreto's Diana.⁴ Both of these characteristics

1. Theatre Espagnol, vol. III (Paris, 1770). This translation has no connection with Musset's play, On ne badine pas avec l'amour (1834).

2. See E. M. Wilson and D. Moir, op.cit., pp.105-106.

3. See pp. 62-63.

4. See pp.123-125.

must be subdued before she can find her fulfilment and reward through marriage, which is regarded as the natural and right aim of women.

Don Alonso gives expression to this sentiment when he says:

que voto á Dios, que primero
con diez hombres legos riña,
que con una mujer culta:
que ha de ser la Dama mía,
como fianza, abonada,
sobre lega, llana, y lisa.

Calderón, No hay burlas con el amor (Valencia, 1755), II, p.20

At the beginning of the play Alonso is cynical in his attitude to love, and he agrees to feign love for Beatriz in order to assist his friend Juan, since he believes that "todo es burla". He is finally brought to realise the danger and the impropriety of jesting with love, and it is fitting that he should marry Beatriz who, like him, has gained prudence.

Gauthier's libretto makes use of several of Calderón's scenes and characters, but in the opera the action is greatly simplified. The contrast between the haughty Inès (Beatriz of the play), and her sister, Léonore, is emphasised in the First Act, as one sees how the two women differ in their reactions to the villagers who have come to pay homage to their father:

Inès: Enfin les voilà partis, mon Dieu, que ces gens sont ennuyeux.

Léonore: Ils nous aiment, ma soeur, et ils font de leur mieux pour nous l'exprimer.

Inès: Je crois bien que cela vous paraît admirable, à vous; tout ce monde vous adore.

Full sc. (Paris, 1788), p.42.

Inès then gives expression to her jealousy in an aria, "Oh! Qu'elle est fine!" (p.43). There is no reference to her intellectualism, however.

Gauthier alters the scene in which Don Pedro, the father of the two women, discovers the love-letter written by Don Juan. In the play Don Pedro finds the two women quarrelling over the letter. Leonor then

falsely persuades him that the letter belongs to her sister. In the opera Léonore drops the letter and her sister picks it up and allows their father to discover it. Later in Act II, when he believes that it is Inès who has disgraced him by having a secret love-affair, Léonore tries to tell him that her sister is innocent, but he will not listen. The change is an important one, since in the opera Léonore is portrayed as an idealised character and cannot therefore be guilty of lying. Inès's jealousy, given greater emphasis in the opera, leads to a vengeful plan to incriminate Juan and Léonore before Don Pedro. Finally Don Pedro learns the truth concerning the love-letter, and Inès admits: "Je reconnais tous mes torts" (p.152). Cured of jealousy, it is she who suggests the marriage of Juan and Léonore.

Bréval and Gauthier did not attempt to preserve the moral implications of Calderón's comedy; they merely made use of the plot and some of the characters of the Spanish work. Some differentiation between the two sisters can be found in the music, which is light, at times trivial, and does not add depth to the characters.

Apart from a few adaptations of Don Quixote and the Don Juan legend,¹ only four nineteenth-century French operas have been found which are based on Spanish literature. The first of these four is Auber's Léocadie (Paris, 1824), based on Cervantes's Exemplary Novel La fuerza de la sangre.² The novel depicts the abduction and rape of Leocadia by a wealthy young rake called Rodolfo. The girl escapes, taking with her a crucifix from Rodolfo's room. Finding herself pregnant, she remains secluded in her

1. See Appendix.

2. For critical studies of La fuerza de la sangre see J. Casaldueiro, Sentido y forma de las Novelas Ejemplares (Buenos Aires, 1943), pp.150-166; Azorín (i.e. J. Martínez Ruiz), "Al margen de La fuerza de la sangre", in Al margen de los clásicos (Madrid, 1915), pp. 87-105.

parents' house. Seven years later, her child, Luis, is knocked down by horsemen and is taken home and cared for by Rodolfo's parents. Leocadia tells them that Luis is the child of herself and Rodolfo, and they write to their son, who is in Italy, telling him to return home. They allow him to see Leocadia, whom he fails to recognise but with whom he falls in love. The novel ends with the marriage of Rodolfo and Leocadia. In spite of the happy ending, the reader is not allowed to forget how near to tragedy Rodolfo's rashness led both him and Leocadia. There is, too, more direct moralising in the early part of the novel, where Cervantes criticises the excessive freedom which wealthy parents allow their children.

Auber's opera bears only a vague resemblance to Cervantes's novel. The libretto, by Scribe and Mélesville, is cliché-ridden, and its characters lack credibility. The scene is transferred from early seventeenth-century Spain to Portugal at the end of the eighteenth century. Much more importance is given to Léocadie's brother, the defender of the family honour. He is opposed to Léocadie's marriage to Fernand (Rodolfo of the novel), and he tries to kill him. Auber's music is mediocre, and the following rather trivial melody from the first entr'acte is typical:

Ex. 80.



In 1825 Mendelssohn, then only sixteen, wrote very disparagingly concerning Léocadie.¹ He criticised the emptiness of the music, the excessive ornamentation in the melodic line, the weak orchestration and the overall lack of originality. Incidentally, he also saw no merit in Cervantes's novel. His objection to the opera is entirely justified.

Jacques Offenbach's operetta, Les Bavards² (Paris, 1862), is based on the entremés, Los habladores, attributed to Cervantes but of uncertain authorship. The action of this short dramatic interlude proceeds at a fast pace; the characters, though conventional "types", are clearly defined, and the dialogue is very funny. Sarmiento has just paid out two hundred ducados as silence money to a neighbour whom he had wounded. He is approached by Roldán, a poor hidalgo, who asks Sarmiento to wound him so that he too may receive silence money. When Sarmiento refuses, Roldán tries to hold his attention and so obtain an offer of hospitality by keeping up a seemingly endless conversation in which puns, pseudo-philosophical ideas and flattery are amusingly entwined. Finally Sarmiento, in exasperation, invites Roldán to his home to cure his loquacious wife, Beatriz. A delightfully entertaining scene follows in which Beatriz and Roldán try to silence each other. Not recognising that Roldán's fault is her own, Beatriz asks Sarmiento to get rid of him. A local alguacil offers Roldán hospitality, since his wife suffers from the same complaint.

Nutter, the librettist, preserved the plot and the main characters of the Spanish play but made a few additions. He created a pompous

1. Quoted in Karl Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Goethe and Mendelssohn, trans. M. E. von Glehn (London, 1872), p.48.

2. Known alternatively as Bavard et Bavarde.

alcalde and his long-faced servant Torribio, who, in a duet in Act I, echoes, in an amusing falsetto, the phrases sung by his master.

These two characters also provide for a chorus scene at the end of that act; various complaints are brought before the alcalde and his servant, both of whom promptly fall asleep. Nutter also adds a love-affair between Roland (Roldán of the play), and Beatrice's niece, Inès. The loquacity of Roland and Beatrice is very effectively represented in the music. In her first aria, Beatrice sings for seventy-two bars without as much as one bar's rest. Yet, as in the play, she fails to recognise her fault:

Quand je veux, je sais me taire,

and

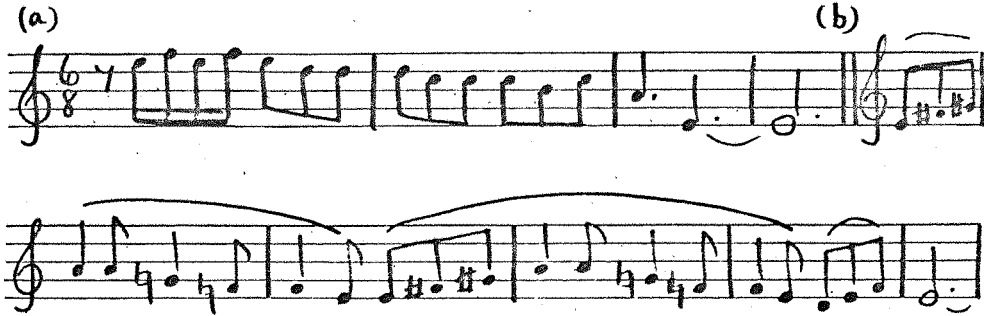
Mais comme vous du reste
Je crains les bavards,
Et ce que je deteste
Ce sont ces trainards,
Qui font toute chose
D'éternels discours. Voc.sc. (Paris, 1862), pp.36 and 41.

Rolands's music is similar to Beatrice's, and, in his duet with Sarmiento in the First Act, the latter tries in vain to interrupt. The libretto contains many witty lines, such as the following:

Beatrice: Voilà notre lot,
Taisons-nous, ne disons mot. (p.108).

The music is attractive, light and hardly every trivial, and occasionally it is Spanish-sounding, as in the overture, in which a number of the themes cadence on the dominant in a manner which is characteristic of many Spanish folk-melodies:

Ex. 81.



p.2, bars 5-8 and 21-26.

One of Offenbach's biographers has said that "Spain was the spiritual home of the Paris Romantics."¹ In the second half of the nineteenth century there were many plays and operas with a Spanish setting. Offenbach himself wrote one such opera, Pépito, and also a work entitled Grande Scène Espagnole. Apart from Don Quixote and the Don Juan legend, however, there does not appear to have been another French opera based on a Spanish literary work until 1884, when Pédro de Zalamea by Benjamin Godard was performed in Antwerp. The libretto, by L. Détrouyat and A. Silvestre, is based on Calderón's El alcalde de Zalamea.² Like Champein's adaptation of the same play, written a century before, Godard's opera contains a number of significant alterations, most of which weaken the dramatic impact of the work and give it a sentimental character which is far removed from the tone of

1. S. Kracauer, Offenbach and the Paris of his time, trans. E. David and E. Mosbacher (London, 1937).

2. See above, pp. 178-180.

Calderón's play. The most important of Godard's alterations are the mutuality of the love between Alvar and Isabelle, the happy ending, and the omission of Don Lope and Pedro's son.

The opera begins with a Prologue set in a chapel. As in so many operas with a Spanish setting, there is a choeur religieux, who sing a somewhat mawkish chorus in praise of the Virgin. During this scene Don Alvar gives Isabelle a flower, which she accepts and hides. A bolero is then danced outside the chapel. The action of the Prologue is not derived from Calderón. The First Act takes place in a square near Pedro's house. Soldiers are heard singing of the glory of war:

Ex. 82.

The musical score for Ex. 82 is written on four staves. The first two staves form the first system, and the last two staves form the second system. The melody is marked 'staccato' and is written in a key with one sharp (F#) and a 4/4 time signature. The lyrics are in French and are written below the notes.

staccato

P Les soldats du Roy d'Espagne jusqu'au jour de la campagne,

où la gloire les attend, ont un sort di-gne d'envie-

Captain Alvar calls at Pedro's house to ask him to billet the soldiers. He is met by Isabelle who, thinking of the man she had met in the chapel, sighs: "Ah! si c'était lui!" (p.41). Her emotional involvement with Alvar, and the lack of precautions to safeguard her honour, make her very different from Calderón's Isabel. A little later, in a duet, he reminds her of their earlier meeting in the chapel. Act I ends with a chorus of peasants, singing in honour of Pedro, the Mayor of Zalamea.

The action of the Second Act is mainly derived from Calderón. Since Don Lope is omitted, it is Alvar whom Pedro entertains, accompanied by Isabelle and a neighbour, Ricardo. There is a certain disparity between Pedro's remarks in the opera concerning his daughter and his social status and his proud acceptance of his peasant status in the play.

Compare the following remarks, each made by Pedro to the captain:

Mais je suis pauvre, hélas! et ce n'est pas ma faute! (p.88).
Elle [Isabelle] est digne d'un grand seigneur! (p.87).

[Isabel] es labradora, señor, que no dama. (I, 734).

As in the play, Pedro and his companions hear a serenade sung in the street by Astolfio and Rosanna (Rebolledo and La Chispa of the play), who are acting on Alvar's instructions. In the opera Pedro does not chase them away but invites them to come inside. A romance is then sung. The remainder of the act takes place in the garden at night. For the first time in what is an extraordinarily static opera there is an atmosphere of suspense as Pedro almost discovers the lovers in the dark.

The Third Act begins with several ballet movements, some suggesting Spanish folk-music. Later Pedro appears, in pursuit of Alvar, who has abducted Isabelle. As in the play he begs Alvar to marry her but the soldier refuses on the grounds of their unequal social status. Pedro, unmoved by Isabelle's pleas, sings:

Je n'ai plus rien d'un père, sans pitié ni remords
je dois rendre justice. (pp.248-249).

In the Final Act the opera's musical and literary weaknesses are even more glaring than before. The act begins with a singularly unoriginal chorus of monks singing the Miserere. This is followed by a chorus of villagers and then by a chorus of soldiers, as Alvar is led away to execution. The libretto at this point contains some lamentably pedestrian lines, such as:

C'est affreux! mourir à son âge! (p.268).

Somewhat surprisingly, Ricardo reveals that he, too, loved Isabelle. He offers to help Astolfio and Rosanna free Alvar, but the arrival of the king makes this unnecessary; Pedro is exalted to noble rank, thus making it possible for Alvar to marry Isabelle.

Godard's opera and Calderón's play differ profoundly in their treatment of the subject. Calderón's work shows the triumph of true honour; Godard's the triumph of true love. The opera, unlike the play, is sentimental and dramatically weak, and its music is much indebted to Verdi and lacks originality. The work was unsuccessful and has not been revived.

A much better opera is Massenet's Le Cid (Paris, 1885). The libretto, by d'Ennery, Gallet and Blau is derived from Guillén de Castro's Las mocedades del Cid, Primera Parte¹ and Corneille's Le Cid. Like Cornelius's opera on the same subject, written twenty years earlier, the structure of Massenet's work is close to the Spanish play. In the French opera, as in Castro, the theme is the conflict between love and honour. Chimene, a good example of Massenet's very forceful heroines, symbolises that conflict in her desire to avenge her father and her passionate love for Rodrigue, although her thirst for vengeance is less strong than in Cornelius's opera.

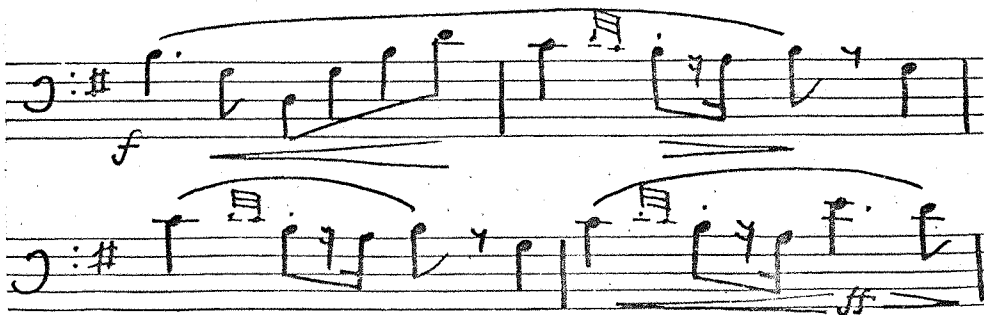
1. See pp. 111-114.

Rodrigue is the most rounded character in Le Cid, since he is seen in a variety of situations and moods: as an honoured subject of the king, as a loyal son, as a lover, as an effective commander, and as a man of great religious faith who, nevertheless, knows discouragement. The other characters, most of whom are taken from Castro's play, are not developed in depth.

The opera is conceived on a large scale, and the action is divided into ten tableaux. Massenet requires an even larger cast than had been used in Cornelius's Der Cid, and the French work is written in the style of Meyerbeer's grand operas, with much time being devoted to processions, dance scenes and static ensembles. Massenet's treatment of the subject is less profound than Cornelius's. He accepts the love-honour conflict as a convenient, ready-made basis for his plot, whereas Cornelius attempts to analyse in some depth the psychological state of the hero and heroine, notably in the "Lord's Prayer" soliloquy and in the scenes in which Luyn Calvo appears.

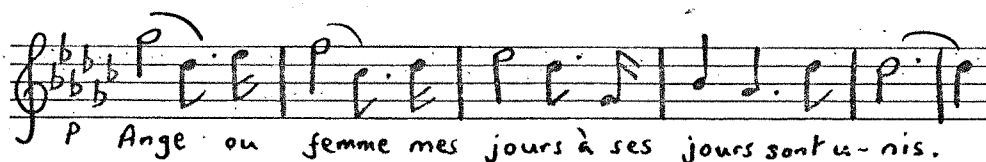
The first tableau of Le Cid draws attention to Chimène's love for Rodrigue as the heroine pleads with her rival, the Infanta Doña Urraca, to give up her love for Rodrigue. In the following act Rodrigue makes his first appearance, accompanied by a suave, slightly vulgar melody in the orchestra which is fairly typical of the melodic writing in this work:

Ex. 83.



He praises the sword which the king has given him, and then, turning his attention to Chimène, he sings:

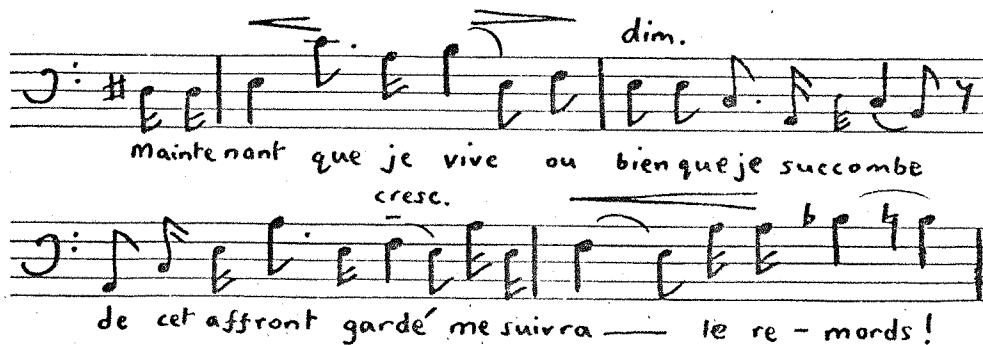
Ex. 84.



p.64, bars 2-6.

For the remainder of Act I the action of Massenet's opera is closer to the Spanish play than Cornelius's work. In the German opera a herald reports that Rodrigo has killed Chimène's father, whereas here, as in *Castro*, the quarrel between the two fathers takes place on stage. This incident provides for an admirable scene between Rodrigue and his father in which the latter confesses his sense of shame at the affront given by Chimène's father. Don Diegue begins with a dignified aria, expressing his humiliation:

Ex. 85.



p.92, bars 6-9.

At the beginning of the Second Act Rodrigue avenges Don Diegue by killing his assailant. Chimène's reaction to her father's death is two-fold. At first she swears that she will avenge him, then, becoming more tender, she reflects on his good qualities:

Ex. 86.

Ah! je le jure par le ciel, par le
 sang de l'horrible blessure, celui-là quelqu'il
 soit, je veux le frapper de ma main! —
 Si grand! si glori-eux! et si bon! Le ma-
 dol. rall.
 tin comme avec de doux yeux il disait: mon enfante peut l'aimer et me plaire.

p.128, bars 6-14, and p.129, bars 5-10.

Neither the text nor the music of her initial outburst has the savage power of the Lord's Prayer scene in Cornelius's opera, although Massenet

adds an effective scene in which Chimène asks which of the bystanders is the murderer, saying contemptuously to one: "Ah! tu n'aurais jamais eu ce courage!"

Le Cid, following the French tradition, contains extensive dance-sections. The first of these, in tableau 4, consists of seven Spanish dances, the only portion of the opera to have retained its popularity. Later, in tableau 6, Moorish prisoners sing and dance a Rapsodie Mauresque, creating a scene of "désordre très pittoresque." The fact that no attempt is made to integrate these entertaining but dramatically irrelevant movements emphasises the difference between Massenet's and Cornelius's approach to opera; the German work, closely modelled on Wagnerian music-drama, contains nothing which cannot be justified dramatically. There is one important scene in Massenet's opera which is not found in the earlier work and which reveals aspects of Rodrigue's character not shown in Cornelius's opera. In the latter half of the Third Act Rodrigue is seen in the camp on the eve of the battle against the Moors. First he subdues an outbreak of disunity amongst his own soldiers. Later, feeling discouraged, he commits the battle to God, saying: "Tu m'as pris mon amour . . . Tu me prends la victoire." St James appears, promising him victory. A similar scene is found in Castro's play, but it was not used by Cornelius. Le Cid contains a few good lyrical scenes, some attractive melodies, but it lacks emotional depth and dramatic power.

There have been three French adaptations of the Don Juan legend and a few operas with a Spanish setting.¹ Of operas based on Spanish

1. See Appendix.

literature other than Don Quixote and the Don Juan legend only three examples have been found. . . The first of these is Georges Hille's Dans l'ombre de la cathédrale (Paris, 1921), the libretto of which was adapted by M. Lena and H. Ferrare from Blasco Ibáñez's novel, La catedral (1903). . . The autobiographical element in the novel is stronger than in any other of Blasco Ibáñez's works, and the militant anticlericalism and radical political convictions of the protagonist, Gabriel Luna, reflect the author's own opinions. . . Luna, like the author, rejected the chauvinism and the religious views of his family at an early age and, as a political exile, fled to Paris, where he was converted to communism. At the beginning of the novel he returns to his native Toledo, his health weakened by hardship and persecution, to seek refuge in the home of his brother Esteban, who lives and works in the cathedral precincts. . . He is soon drawn into long discourses on religious and political matters, and his iconoclastic ideas attract the attention of both clergy and lay-workers at the cathedral, some of whom oppose his views, though many are gradually persuaded by his arguments. . . The climax of the story is both dramatic and ironic. . . Gabriel has obtained the job of night-watchman. . . One night, while on duty in the cathedral, he is accosted by a group of his listeners who, having been persuaded by his discourses on the unjust distribution of wealth, have come intent on stealing jewels from the madonna. . . He is aghast at the realisation that his Utopian ideals have produced only an egoistic desire for personal gain. . . He tries to prevent the crime but is struck down. . . As he dies, he hears the Civil Guard falsely accuse him of attempting to steal the cathedral treasure.

Blasco Ibáñez's most notable achievement in this novel is his vivid portrayal of the daily life of the men and women associated with Toledo cathedral. . . A claustal atmosphere pervades the novel from the opening

description of the cathedral as it slowly awakens at daybreak to the nocturnal scene in the final chapter. This atmosphere is enhanced by the numerous secondary characters, who reflect a variety of attitudes and opinions. The fanaticism of Esteban and Don Antolín contrasts with the more enlightened views of the maestro de capilla, and also with the compassionate nature of Tomasa, Gabriel's aunt. It is to her that the cardinal confesses that he has two illegitimate children, and he is consoled by her words: "Usted es un hombre como los otros: ni más ni menos."¹

The atmosphere of Blasco Ibáñez's novel clearly lends itself to operatic treatment and the scene in which Sagrario kneels before her father, Esteban, asking for forgiveness, is particularly suitable. The procession during which the cardinal dies also provides an opportunity for music, and at one point, when Gabriel expresses his affection for Sagrario, the author himself uses music to enhance the atmosphere.² Hile's opera makes no significant alterations to Blasco Ibáñez's plot. The music frequently shows the influence of Debussy's Pelléas et Mélisande (1902); use is made of the whole-tone scale and of root-position chords in parallel motion, and the restraint exercised in the vocal lines, in which large intervals are used very sparingly, also recalls Debussy's work. The opera begins, as does the novel, with the arrival of the protagonist, renamed Manuel, just as the cathedral is awakening at dawn. The opening melody is a good musical counterpart to Blasco Ibáñez's description of the cathedral slowly coming to life:

1. Blasco Ibáñez, Obras Completas (Madrid, 1946), p.1042.

2. "Arriba, el lamento de Beethoven seguía desarrollando sus inflexiones dolorosas, esparciéndose por las entrañas de la catedral dormida." Obras Completas, p.1057.

Ex. 87.



Voc.sc. (Paris, 1921), p.1, bars 1-8.

Bells ring and the organ is heard as groups of people enter the church, observed by Manuel, who remarks: "Je ne vois plus ici qu'un faux Dieu d'ignorance" (p.5). An animated crowd scene follows, during which beggars jostle each other for the best positions outside the cathedral. Their chorus, consisting of short phrases such as "ma place" and "c'est la mienne", achieves a naturalistic effect which recalls Mussorgsky's operatic technique. Esteban appears and the music becomes more turbulent as Manuel tells his brother of his adventures and then sings ecstatically of Science - "le vrai Dieu". Esteban's more tranquil music, as he sings "Pour moi, content du sort que le bon Dieu m'a fait" (p.43), emphasises the contrast between the two brothers.

In the Second Act Manuel is seen expounding his egalitarian ideas to the habitués of the cathedral. This scene suffers most in the transcription from the medium of the novel to that of opera. Inevitably there has to be much truncation of Manuel's discourse, but unfortunately this has the effect of making his arguments seem trite and the conversion of his hearers far too sudden. As in the novel, the cathedral workers interpret Manuel's philosophy

in an egoistic manner. They sing: "Que m'importe les autres!

Je veux ma part . . . Viv' la Sociale . . . A bas l'Eglise!" (p.86)..

The latter part of this act, centred upon Sagrario's penitence, is better suited to opera. Her entry is prepared by a scene in which

Tomasa and Esteban chant the Lord's Prayer . Manuel comments on each line,¹ applying the words to Esteban's treatment of Sagrario:

"Que votre règne arrive . . . "

C'est le règne, je pense, de la Justice et de l'Amour.

Quand viendra-t-il?

"Pardonnez-nous nos offenses, comme nous les pardonnons . . . "

(avec une intention marquée) Quoi de plus beau que le pardon! . . .

. . . On a vu les pères à leur enfant le refuser! (pp.104-105).

At this point Sagrario enters and kneels before her father, who rejects her in spite of Manuel's protests. The atmosphere of this scene is intensified by Hlle's restraint with regard to the range of the vocal lines and to the dynamic markings, which rarely exceed piano.

The Third Act takes place in the Chapel of the Madonna. It begins with a chorus in honour of the Virgin, during which a choir-boy sings a slightly sentimental setting of the Ave Maria:

Ex. 88.



p.144, bars 4-13.

1. This incident, which was not in the novel, recalls a scene from Cornelius's Der Cid. See p. 115.

This is followed by two dance movements: the Menuet de la Vierge and a Danse liturgique.¹ Eventually Manuel finds himself alone. It is his first night on duty in the cathedral. At this point the opera differs from the novel by including Sagrario in the final scene. In the opera her role is more important. She tries to persuade Manuel to pray, but when he refuses, she prays for him, in music which is based on a popular Spanish song. Her words are not entirely without their effect on Manuel, for after he has been struck down by his disillusioned converts, he sings to Sagrario, somewhat inconsequentially: "nous avons tous les deux, au fond, la même foi" (p.217). His final words are "Salve Regina". It cannot be said that his unexpected volte-face, occasioned by his love for Sagrario, is convincing. The ending is weaker than in the novel, and the tendency towards sentimentality found there can also be seen elsewhere in the opera. Hle's music is not very original, but the work contains some well-constructed and effective scenes, in particular the opening of Act I and Sagrario's first appearance.

The composer Raoul Laparra wrote four operas with a Spanish setting,² two of which are derived from Spanish literature. The first of these two is Las Toreras (Lille, 1929), described by the composer as a zarzuela in one act followed by a ballet. The libretto, by Laparra himself, is based on Tirso de Molina's Los tres maridos burlados, a delightful work, rich in genuinely funny incidents, with vivacious characters and witty dialogue. The plot, to which Laparra wisely makes no significant alterations, is one which loses nothing through the passing of time. A barber and a painter,

1. The score states that the latter is "dansé par de jeunes garçons en costume d'apparat seigneurial, devant l'autel de la Madone. C'est un vieil usage conservé dans plusieurs cathédrales d'Espagne."

2. See Appendix.

both impenitent drunkards, are in the habit of spending their Sundays at the inn instead of taking their wives to the bullfight. A young count, their neighbour, takes pity on the wives and offers a magnificent ring to the one who succeeds best in tricking her husband. Each woman joins forces with the other's husband in an attempt to ridicule her own partner. The confusion which this produces is the source of a number of comic situations, for which Laparra has provided appropriate music, often with a Spanish character. Notable examples are the Duo de Borrachos, in which the barber insults the painter, the Duo des Regrets in which the barber's wife laments the "death" of her husband, whom she pretends to bury, and the scene in which the barber, now taking his revenge, pretends to exorcise the devil which he claims is in the painter. Las Toreras was intended as a companion-piece to Laparra's La Habanera, the earlier opera representing the tragic, Las Toreras the comic side of the Spanish character. The comic opera is the more successful work.

L'Illustre Fregona (Paris, 1931), the last of Laparra's Spanish-influenced works, is an adaptation by the composer of Cervantes's Exemplary Novel of the same name. As R. O. Jones has said,¹ this novel contains no novelty in the theme; the interest lies in the individuality of the characters and the circumstances. Like La Gitanilla, this novel depicts ideal love. Two noble lads, Avendaño and Carriazo, leave home for the picaresque life. Avendaño's Neoplatonic susceptibility to beauty, which is contrasted with his companion's earthiness, causes him to fall in love with Constanza, the beautiful daughter of an innkeeper. Eventually it is discovered that she is the natural child of Carriazo's father, and is in

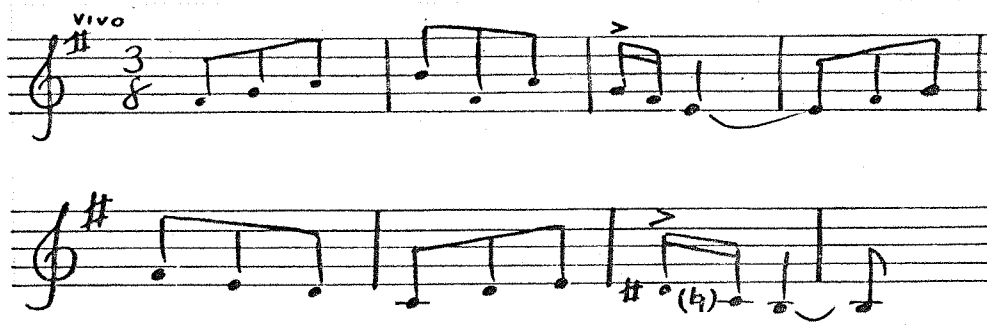
1. R. O. Jones, The Golden Age: Prose and Poetry (London, 1971), p.172. See also A. Martín Gamero, "Discurso sobre La ilustre fregona y El mesón del sevillano" (Toledo, 1872); J. Oliver Asín, "Sobre los orígenes de La ilustre fregona. Notas a propósito de una comedia de Lope", Boletín de la Real Academia Española, Madrid, XV (1928), 221-241.

fact of noble birth. The lovers can therefore be married.

As in Las Toreras, Laparra remains faithful to his Spanish source. His detailed descriptions in the composition des personnages show a thorough understanding of Cervantes's characters. He emphasises the idealisation of the lovers by contrasting them with their companions, as does Cervantes. The beautiful, high-born Constanza is contrasted with La Argüello, a "type de vieille fille aux ardeurs encore trépidantes", and with La Gallega, who is described as "bonne grosse". A distinction is also made between Tomas (Avendaño), "très imagitatif et porté à la poésie", and Lope (Carriazo), who is described as wily, having a "roving eye" and an "aspect de jeune noceur".

Extensive use is made of Spanish dance rhythms, and the melodies, particularly at cadences, often suggest Spanish folk-music:

Ex. 89.



Voc.sc. (Paris, 1931), p.4, bars 1-7.

Perriquito's Alborada in praise of Constanza's beauty is a good example, with its long-held cries of "¡ay!" The First Act, which contains some animated peasant scenes, also includes a Seguidilla and an Habanera.

The characterisation in music of Constanza is particularly apt. From her first languorous phrase in Act I (Ex. 90), to her so-called "Transfiguration" in Act III, when she is bedecked with jewels and fine clothes, her music reflects both her humble environment, through folk-like cadences, and her aristocratic birth:

Ex. 90.



The serene and fluent quality of her vocal lines distinguish her from the other female characters.

In his faithful reproduction of the atmosphere of Cervantes's novel Laparra is successful. The opera has one major flaw, however: a lack of dramatic conflict. The composer has reduced the action to a minimum, with the result that the opera is a musical evocation of Spanish life rather than a music-drama.

A less familiar Cervantine work, La Numancia, is the subject of Henry Barraud's opera, Numance (1950). The libretto, by Salvador de Madariaga, depicts the siege of the town of Numancia by the Romans, led by Scipio. The inhabitants, having enquired of the gods what the outcome of the war will be, commit suicide rather than suffer defeat and slavery. The libretto has many longueurs and is lacking in dramatic conflict other

than the obvious one of race. The prevailing mood is one of pessimism mixed with patriotic self-sacrifice. Barraud's music is unimaginative and is often fraught with archaisms such as the parallel fifths in the Prologue.

Chapter 5

SPAIN

The history of opera in Spain reveals a struggle between Italian opera and the indigenous zarzuela¹ which, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was seriously threatened by the overwhelming popularity of foreign works. The earliest Spanish operas were closely linked with Spanish literature since the librettists included some of the outstanding dramatists of the Golden Age. Since the Spanish drama of this period often made extensive use of music, notably in the plays of Calderón,² the distinction between zarzuela and comedia is not always clear. The earliest known zarzuela is Lope de Vega's La selva sin amor (1629),³ performed at the court of Philip IV. A number of zarzuela texts by Calderón have survived, including El jardín de Falerina (1648) and El laurel de Apolo (1658). In the introductory loa of the latter work, Zarzuela, a villana música, says:

Que no es Comedia, sino sólo
una Fábula pequeña
en que a imitación de Italia,
se canta, y se representa.

El laurel de Apolo (Seville, 1750?), p. 4.

Calderón was approaching the style of Italian opera, in which speech was replaced by recitative. His first true opera, La púrpura de la rosa

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1. The zarzuela takes its name from the Palacio de las Zarzas, the residence of Don Fernando, brother of Philip IV, where the first fiestas de zarzuela took place. It is important to remember that the seventeenth-century zarzuelas were dignified, aristocratic entertainments and differed from opera only in the manner of performance, not in subject-matter. The zarzuela was divided into two or three acts, and it combined singing, dancing and spoken dialogue.
 2. See José Subirá, La participación musical en el antiguo teatro español (Barcelona, 1930).
 3. This work may have been an opera, i.e. sung throughout, rather than a zarzuela which would have spoken dialogue. See Gilbert Chase, The Music of Spain (London, 1942), p. 96.

(1660),¹ was in one act. In the loa Vulgo says:

Por señas de que ha de ser
toda música; que intenta
introducir este estilo,
porque otras Naciones vean
competidos sus primores.

Loa para la comedia de la
púrpura de la rosa. (Madrid, 1750?),
p. 7.

Tristeza, in her reply, perhaps voices Calderón's apprehension with regard to the audience's reaction to this novelty:

¿No mira quanto se arriesga
en que colera Española
sufra toda una Comedia
cantada? id.

The work was well received, and in the same year, 1660, Calderón wrote a three-act opera, Celos aun del aire matan,² with music by Juan Hidalgo. Hidalgo also composed the music for a zarzuela by Luis Vélez de Guevara, Los celos hacen estrellas. Much of this music has survived.³ The songs are short, graceful and simple in form.

During the first half of the eighteenth century the lyric theatres in Spain were dominated by Italian opera, and Spanish opera virtually ceased to exist. In 1737 Isabel Farnese, Philip V's queen, summoned the castrato Farinelli to Madrid. Under Ferdinand VI he established regular performances of Italian opera at the Buen Retiro Palace. By 1750 many Italian singers and composers had settled in Spain,⁴ and there was no hope of reviving the zarzuela in its original form. The creation of the new lighter type of zarzuela was the work of the librettist Ramón de la Cruz

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1. See Pedro Calderón de la Barca, Celos aun del aire matan, ed. José Subirá (Barcelona, 1933), p. xv.
 2. The music of the First Act has been edited by José Subirá (Barcelona, 1933).
 3. See Luis Vélez de Guevara, Los celos hacen estrellas, ed. J. E. Varey y N. D. Shergold, con una edición y estudio de la música por Jack Sage (London, 1970).
 4. These included Domenico Scarlatti and Boccherini, both of whom were influenced by Spanish popular music.

(1731-94). Since the aristocracy showed a predilection for Italian opera, he wrote librettos which appealed to a wider audience. Contemporary characters replaced the mythological figures, and popular Spanish dances and songs were introduced. The prototype of this new genre was Las segadoras de Vallescas (1768), and, in collaboration with the same composer, Rodríguez de Hita, he followed it with a similar work, Las labradoras de Murcia (1769). Cruz's skilful mélange of sentiment, humour and local customs is matched by the simplicity and charm of Hita's music.

Ex. 91.

Allegro agitato

Teresa: De pena, de susto, falle-ce mi

vida, cer-cana o-pri-mida, del úl-ti-mo

mal, del úl-ti-mo mal, del úl-ti-mo mal.

Fragment II, bars 3-15.¹

The popularity of the full-length zarzuela lasted for about twenty years. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century it was replaced by the shorter tonadilla escénica,² which combined rural folk music and urban

1. Two fragments of Hita's music are included in the appendix of Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, Don Ramón de la Cruz y sus obras (Madrid, 1899). See also A. Hamilton, A Study of Spanish Manners 1750-1800 from the Plays of Ramón de la Cruz (Illinois University, 1926).
2. See J. Subirá, La tonadilla escénica (Madrid, 1928-29), 2 vols. Originally the tonadilla was a solo song with guitar accompaniment, appended to a sainete. It later became an independent genre, a miniature comic opera for up to twelve singers, often in a satirical vein. Like the zarzuelas of Ramón de la Cruz, the tonadilla was short-lived. As it increased in length and became more Italianate, so its popularity decreased.

street music and included characteristically Spanish traits such as Phrygian melodies and the alternation of 3/4 and 6/8 measures.¹

Although the tonadilla had no great literary or musical merit, the popularity of some of these works abroad did much to familiarise non-Spanish composers with the characteristics of Spanish music.²

In spite of the attempts to create a national type of opera, very few eighteenth-century Spanish composers or librettists turned to Spanish literature for their subjects. References to four literary operas³ have been found, of which the most successful was Una cosa rara o sia Bellezza ed onestà (Vienna, 1786), by Vicente Martín y Soler.⁴ The libretto, by Lorenzo da Ponte, is an adaptation of Luis Vélez de Guevara's play, La luna de la sierra.⁵ In his entertaining but unreliable Memoires⁶ da Ponte wrongly attributes the work to Calderón, and says that, in his adaptation, he omitted the historical details and some of the characterisation. Guevara's play is modelled quite closely on Lope de Vega's Peribáñez, as Spencer and Schevill have shown.⁷ The theme is identical: a peasant defends his honour against a nobleman who attempts to seduce

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1. A notable example is the muleteer's song from Guerrero's tonadilla, La pescadora inocente (1760).
 2. Mercadente used a theme from Blas de Laserna's tonadilla, Tirana del Trípoli, in the overture to his opera, I due Figaro (1835), and the very famous song, El contrabandista, from Manuel García's El poeta calculista (1809), was used by Rossini, Bizet and Liszt.
 3. The other three are Esteve y Grimau, Las bodas de Camacho el rico, see below, p.257 ; José Lidón, Glauro y Cariolano (Madrid, 1792), inspired by Ercilla's La Araucana; Charles Baguer, La princesa filósofa o sea el desdén con el desdén (1798), based on Moreto's El desdén con el desdén.
 4. See R. Aloys Mooser, "Un musicien espagnol en Russie à la fin du XVIII^e siècle", Rivista Musicale Italiana, XL (1936), 432-449.
 5. Luis Vélez de Guevara, La luna de la sierra, ed. L. Revuelta (Zaragoza, 1950).
 6. Lorenzo da Ponte, Memoires, trans. L. A. Sheppard (London, 1929).
 7. F. E. Spencer and R. Schevill, The Dramatic Works of Luis Vélez de Guevara (Berkeley, 1937), pp. 60-63.

the peasant's beautiful but virtuous wife. The situation is less extreme than in the earlier play, for although Antón threatens the Infante Don Juan, he does not in fact kill him. In the First Act, Guevara complicates the plot by the fact that Mengo, Pascuala's brother, is trying to force her to marry the alcalde. At the end of the act the queen unites the lovers Pascuala and Antón, and she marries Mengo to the alcalde's sister, Bartola. The Second and Third Acts show how Don Juan and the maestre de Calatrava, using Bartola as a go-between, attempt to out-wit each other and Antón in order to seduce Pascuala. Their scheming is in vain, however; Antón, like his counterparts in Peribáñez and in El alcalde de Zalamea, appeals to the monarch, who upholds his actions and champions his honour.

La luna de la sierra does not have the force of Peribáñez or El alcalde, partly because Antón, despite his angry outbursts, is not driven to such drastic action to defend his honour as are the protagonists of the other two plays. Nevertheless, Guevara's play contains some delightful lyrical scenes between Antón and Pascuala, notably the "operatic" scene in Act II in which the musicians are heard serenading Pascuala with the words:

La luna de la sierra
linda es y morena.

It is the lyrical element in the Spanish play which da Ponte's libretto emphasises, and also the contrast between innocent village life and the corrupt life of the court. The "menosprecio de la corte y alabanza de la aldea", inherent in Guevara's work, da Ponte found to be similar to the currently popular philosophy of Rousseau. He prefaced the libretto with the words "Rara est concordia formae atque pudicitiae", and he repeatedly draws attention to the contrast in behaviour between the peasants and the nobility. Even the queen, in the Second Act, sings an aria in praise of the simple life, for which she would exchange her throne.

The action of the First Act of the opera follows the play closely. The Second and Third Acts of the play da Ponte compresses into a single

act, centred on the wedding meal. The scene in which Pascuala (Lilla in the opera) is serenaded is ideally suited to operatic treatment, and Martín's music, with its mandoline obbligato, may have influenced Mozart when writing Don Giovanni's serenade.¹

Ex. 92.


The musical score for Ex. 92 is written in 3/8 time and consists of two systems. The first system includes a mandoline part and a vocal line. The mandoline part is written in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 3/8 time signature. The vocal line is also in treble clef with the same key signature and time signature. The lyrics for the first system are: "Vi-va, vi-va — la Re — gina che / mandoline Ogni se-ra o — gni mat — tina lo-". The second system continues the melody with the lyrics: "ri — pa-rail — no-stro a — mar — / de — re-mo il — suo va — lor." The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some measures containing rests.

The fact that nearly two thirds of the opera are taken up by arias makes the later work more static than the play, although the music is generally good. Martín y Soler's penchant for arias in 6/8 time can be seen in the music of Lubino (Antón of the play), in which his rustic simplicity contrasts with the more fluent though equally ingenuous melodies of the queen.

1. See E. J. Dent, Mozart's Operas (London, 1960), p. 166.

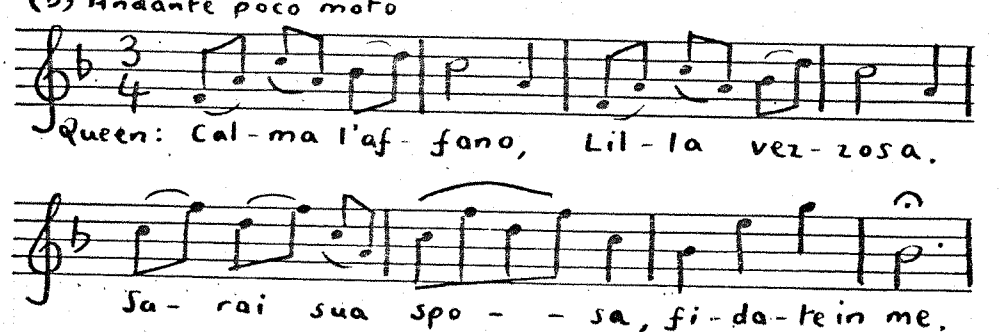
Ex. 93.

(a)



Lubino: Lilla mia dove sei gita, Lilla bella dove sei. Non t'asconde-ro mia vita, o bel sol degli occhi miei.

(b) Andante poco moto



Queen: Cal-ma l'af-fano, Lil-la vez-zosa. Sa-rai sua spo-sa, fi-da-te in me.

Apart from these instances, there is no attempt to individualise the characters through music, nor is there any attempt to draw attention to the Spanish setting of the work, excepting the seguidilla at the end of Act II. Nevertheless, da Ponte's characters do not lack interest, for all that they are the conventional "types" of opera buffa. Ghita (Bartola), Lilla's sister-in-law, is transformed from a rather sordid go-between to a vivacious and coquettish woman who completely dominates her husband. This is a particularly felicitous change which provides for much humour in the form of matrimonial quarrels. An effective contrast is thus made to the idealised couple, Lubino and Lilla. Una cosa rara was internationally successful, and Mozart quoted a melody from it in Don Giovanni, but although Martín y Soler was a Spaniard, his music was thoroughly Italianate, and he did nothing to promote Spanish opera.

In the first half of the nineteenth century Spanish theatres were dominated by Italian opera. There were some composers who wished to see

national opera in Spain, and this is occasionally reflected in their choice of subject.¹ Ironically, the composer who did most to revive Spanish opera was an Italian, Basilio Basili, whose one-act opera, El novio y el concierto (1839), was announced as a "zarzuela-comedia". The librettist was Bretón de los Herreros, whose satires on Italian opera had enjoyed wide publicity. Basili had lived in Madrid since 1827 and was well acquainted with the Spanish idiom, derived from the music of the eighteenth-century tonadilla. In his next Spanish opera, El ventorillo de Crespo (1841), he interpolated Manuel García's famous song, El contrabandista, and a song by Yradier, entitled El charrán. His third opera, El diablo predicador (Madrid, 1849), is the most interesting, since it is based on a Golden-Age work of the same name, probably by Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez,² which is a recasting of Fray Diablo, a work attributed to Lope de Vega. The theme of the play is quite common in Golden-Age literature: a lack of generosity and a refusal to repent lead to damnation. The most interesting feature is the unusual role in which the devil, Luzbel, is cast. Luzbel has hardened the hearts of the people of Lucca against a band of impoverished Franciscan monks, but he is ordered by St. Michael first to beg alms for the construction of the monks' new monastery and then to effect the repentance of Ludovico, an inhabitant of Lucca. Luzbel's two-part mission determines the structure of the play. To fulfil the first part he disguises himself as a monk and joins the Franciscan order. This produces a number of comic situations,

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1. e.g. Ramón Carnicer's Don Giovanni Tenorio (Barcelona, 1822), and Colombo (Madrid, 1831). Although the text and style of these works are Italian, Carnicer occasionally interpolated some of his own songs, written in the popular style of the eighteenth-century tonadillas, when conducting Italian operas in Spain. See Appendix for other titles.
 2. See Introduction to Léo Rouanet's French version, Le Diable Prédicateur (Paris and Toulouse, 1901), and W. A. Kincaid, "Life and Works of Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez (1587?-1650?)", Revue Hispanique, LXXIV (1928), 122-127.

the best being the sermon which he delivers on the sin of gluttony, and these scenes are used to afford relief to the more serious drama of Ludovico's downfall. The latter suspects rightly that his wife, Octavia, is still in love with her former suitor, Feliciano, and he determines to kill her, although she is in fact innocent of adultery. In a powerfully dramatic scene Ludovico, ignoring the devil's exhortations to repent, stabs his wife, but she is revived by the Virgin Mary and returns home. Ludovico still refuses to repent and again attempts to kill her, and so Luzbel, released from his obligation, is allowed to claim the soul of the recalcitrant Ludovico.

Basili's music has not been traced, but the libretto, by Ventura de la Vega, has survived. The choice of a theological drama might seem unusual for a composer who wished to popularise national opera in Spain.¹ Nevertheless, scenes of religious spectacle were a frequent occurrence in nineteenth-century opera, and it is on these and on the love-triangle that Basili concentrates, playing down the theological implications of Bermúdez's play. The first scene of the opera is the wedding of Ludovico and Octavia, during which the chorus hint at Octavia's love for a former suitor, Rugero (Feliciano of the play). At this point one sees the first of several significant alterations to the original play. Ludovico, guided by Luzbel, discovers the lovers together and instinctively challenges Rugero. He is defeated, but Octavia begs Rugero to spare her husband's life. The effect of this incident is to conventionalise the characters of the two rivals. Rugero, who in the play was accused of cowardice by Octavia, is here seen to be brave and skilful as a swordsman.

1. Basili collaborated with Barbieri in an attempt to promote Spanish opera, but the cult of Italian opera in Spain militated against the success of this venture.

Bermúdez's Ludovico is cruel and calculating, and great suspense is derived from the fact that, after finding by accident part of Octavia's letter to her lover, he secretly and dispassionately plans her murder. In Basili's version he strikes out in jealous rage - a reaction which, within the conventions of opera, is more natural.

In the second scene of Act I Basili juxtaposes heaven and hell, the former represented by St. Michael and a celestial choir, the latter by a chorus of demons who taunt the souls of the damned. The religious element is continued in the Second Act when Luzbel restrains Ludovico from killing Octavia by reminding him that God will guard Octavia's innocence. When he finally does kill her, Basili again departs from his source by bringing on Rugero, with whom she sings a duet, the sentiments of which anticipate the Liebestod ideas of Tristan. She is miraculously restored to life, however, and returns to her husband in the Final Act; he remains unrepentant and is claimed by Luzbel.

As drama Basili's opera is weaker than Bermúdez's play, but its success may well have influenced Spanish composers in their choice of indigenous subjects. The second half of the nineteenth century produced many zarzuelas and Spanish operas based on the nation's history and literature,¹ as well as a number of lighter works with a contemporary setting and often a strongly costumbrista or regional element.²

Of the zarzuelas influenced by Spanish literature, two are adaptations of Cervantes's novel entitled Rinconete y Cortadillo. The earlier version, La Picaresca, by C. García Doncel, was first performed in 1850,

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1. See Appendix. A number of zarzuelas inspired by Don Quixote were written during this period; see Chapter 7.
 2. e.g. Mariano Soriano Fuertes, La fábrica de tabacos de Sevilla (Seville, 1850).

in Madrid. The music for the First Act is by Gaztambide, the music for the Second by Barbieri. The plot is simplified, but follows closely that of the novel. Much is made of the comic elements, particularly with regard to the guild of crooks and the parody of the affectations of caballerosidad, but the zarzuela omits Cervantes's implied criticism of a society which permits such things. The later version, Rinconete y Cortadillo (Madrid, 1872), by Manuel Ossorio y Bernard, is similar but ends with the two pícaros escaping to Naples to serve the king of Spain. The libretto states that the zarzuela had "música española de pot-purri sobre aires españoles por D. S. de A." Unfortunately, the music of both works appears to have been lost.

One of the most prolific composers for the theatre in nineteenth-century Spain was Emilio Arrieta. Although he frequently made use of Spanish subjects in his operas and zarzuelas, his musical language was unequivocally Italian. Two of his works are based on Golden-Age plays. The first of these, El conjuro (Madrid, 1860), is an adaptation by Adelardo L. de Ayala of Calderón's entremés, El dragoncillo, which is a retelling in verse of Cervantes's La cueva de Salamanca.¹ The two plays differ only in minor details.² In both a gullible husband is deceived into thinking that his wife's lover is a spirit. Music is indicated for several of the lines, including the soldier's compliments to Teresa:

¿Que importa que no tengas,
patrona mía,
más regalo, si tienes
esa carilla?³

Arrieta's music is dull and adds very little to one's enjoyment

1. See p. 138.

2. In Calderón's work the criada has a less important part and does not have a lover, and the trick is played by a soldier instead of a student.

3. Calderón, El dragoncillo (Barcelona, 1750), p. 3.

of the comedy. It consists of five movements and a prelude. Occasionally there is a superficial suggestion of Spanish music, as in the triplet ornaments in the vocal parts of the trio, but in general the music is Italianate.

The other zarzuela by Arrieta based on a Golden-Age play, San Franco de Sena (Madrid, 1883), is a more serious work on a larger scale. Like Basili's El diablo predicador, San Franco is based on a religious drama, in this case by Moreto. The central character may be compared with the protagonist of El condenado por desconfiado, believed to be by Tirso de Molina.¹ Like Tirso's Enrico, Franco's embryonic practice of love brings about, with Divine grace, the salvation of his soul. San Franco is not as powerful as Tirso's play, nor is it as subtle. El condenado arose out of the De Auxiliis controversy, and in order to demonstrate the two sides of this argument Tirso created an antithesis to Enrico: Paulo the hermit. There is no one in Moreto's play with whom one can compare the protagonist. Furthermore, Tirso's play is violent, for Enrico's repentance occurs immediately before his execution. In Moreto's play the climax is earlier, since Franco's conversion takes place at the end of Act II. Although the scene between Franco and his father at the beginning of Act III is very moving, much of the act is anticlimatic, and Franco's final retreat into a religious order is less convincing than was the execution of Tirso's Enrico.

Moreto attaches considerable importance to the element of romantic love and also to the supernatural element of the play, and these two aspects are prominent in Arrieta's version. The First Act opens with a chorus of townsfolk, who dance a tarantella. From within an organ is heard, and a procession emerges from a nearby church. In a Romanza

1. See E. M. Wilson and D. Moir, The Golden Age: Drama 1492-1700 (London, 1971), pp. 91-94. (A bibliography of El condenado por desconfiado is given on p. 98.) The relationship between San Franco and El condenado is discussed in Ruth Lee Kennedy, The Dramatic Art of Moreto / Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, XIII, Nos. 1-4 / Northampton, Mass., 1931-32, pp. 194-195.

Franco wonders why the name "Mary" should have power to calm his anger. The readiness with which Lucrecia in the play turned her affections towards her abductor is explained in the opera by presenting her explicitly as a coquette. She sings to her maid:

Yo amo a todos y no me inquieta
Que de mí murmuren porque soy coqueta. (I, vi).

In the Second Act the struggle taking place in Franco's mind is presented effectively if rather naively by a celestial chorus of sopranos on one side, calling him to repent, and, on the other side, a chorus of Franco's companions, who sing:

Amando agotemos la vida,
el cielo nos dio a la mujer,
con ella el amor nos convida,
amar en el hombre es deber. (II, i).

Arrieta's music for this work is rather self-consciously Spanish in places but is for the most part in the style of Italian operetta.

In contrast to the irradicable Italianism of Arrieta was the music of his pupil, Tomás Bretón y Hernández, a militant champion of national opera in Spain. Bretón's operas and zarzuelas, some with a regional setting,¹ were very popular, and his five-act opera, Los amantes de Teruel² (Barcelona, 1889), was successful not only in Spain but also in Vienna and Prague. This work was adapted by the composer from the play of the same name by Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, which was first performed in 1837. The legend, which dates from the thirteenth century, tells how a young man is given a fixed time in which to make his fortune, but returns too late to find his lover married to another suitor. There are several Golden-Age versions of the legend, the best known being those by

1. e.g. Garín (Barcelona, 1892), an opera with a Catalan setting; La Dolores (Madrid, 1895), and La verbena de la paloma (Madrid, 1893), an example of the género chico and a work which is still popular in Spain.

2. See A. S. Salcedo, Tomás Bretón (Madrid, 1924), pp. 64-71.

Micer Andrés Rey de Artieda, Tirso de Molina, and Juan Pérez de Montalbán.¹ Cotarelo y Mori has shown that the innovations made by Tirso and Montalbán in particular have rendered more plausible the heroine's act of marrying a suitor whom she does not love.² Hartzenbusch's most important contributions are the character of the heroine's mother, who is blackmailed by her daughter's suitor, and the hero's captivity in Valencia and his relationship with the Sultana. The heroine's desire to save her mother's reputation gives her a convincing reason for marrying the rival suitor. The hero's captivity explains why he returns too late and increases the tension of the drama, while his relationship with Zulima emphasises his constancy.

The play is a good one. Hartzenbusch succeeds in maintaining the tension throughout, first with regard to whether the hero will arrive in time to marry Isabel, and then, after the marriage, with regard to the form his vengeance will take. The characters are clearly defined and behave convincingly. Particularly effective is the mother-daughter relationship. Margarita, the most pitiable figure in the play, is torn between preventing her daughter's happiness and bringing shame on the family through the disclosure of her past. No less intense is the conflict in Inés who, in order to safeguard her mother's reputation, is unable to explain to her lover why she married his rival.

The sub-plot, centred on Zulima, is of considerable importance in the structure of the play. The introduction of a rival to Inés was not entirely new. In Montalbán's version the heroine has a cousin who is in love with the hero. In Hartzenbusch, however, Zulima herself inspires pity, since her love for Juan Diego Marsilla is to some extent the result

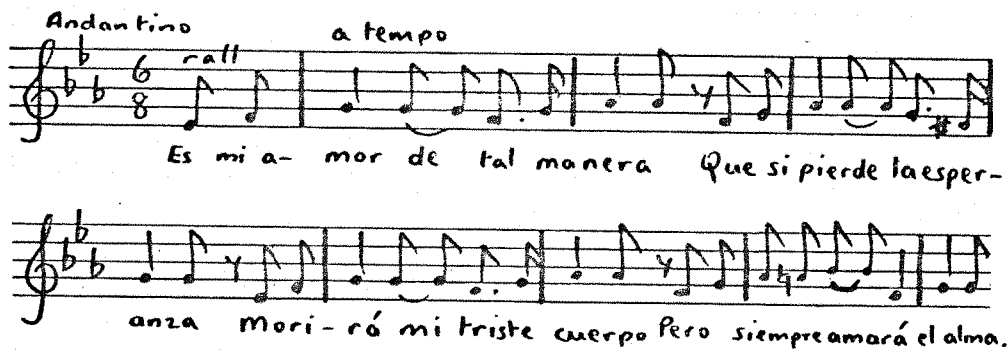
1. See J. E. Hartzenbusch, Los amantes de Teruel, trans. H. Thomas (London, 1950), p. v.

2. See E. Cotarelo y Mori, "Sobre el origen y desarrollo de la leyenda de los Amantes de Teruel", Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, Madrid, VIII (1903), 347-377.

of her husband's infidelity. When her unrequited love turns to hatred, her plan of revenge on Juan prevents him from arriving at the church in time to stop the wedding.

Bretón's alterations to Hartzenbusch's carefully planned drama are not for the better. He omits Inés's mother, and thereby weakens the heroine's reason for marrying the rival suitor, and he also omits Diego's father and Inés's servant, Teresa. After a lengthy Prologue, much of which is dramatically superfluous,¹ the Moorish characters are introduced. There is no differentiation in the music between the Moors and the Christians, nor does Bretón use music to define the characters. The simplicity of Zulima's aria in Act I, for instance, seems out of keeping with her vengeful nature.

Ex. 94.



Voc. sc. (Leipzig, c. 1900), p. 127, bar 23 - p. 128, bar 2.

Bretón's most interesting addition is the Fourth Act, the action of which is not taken from Hartzenbusch. The scene is Teruel church. Isabel enters and sees her beatified lover with the word constancia on his brow. She kisses him and falls dead. Here Bretón is representing dramatically the idea that the lovers are united in death, an idea which was only implied at the end of Hartzenbusch's play.

1. e.g. the hunting chorus in scene i and the prayer in scene iv.

In 1896, seven years after Bretón's opera was first performed, Isaac Albéniz's Pepita Jiménez¹ was produced in Barcelona. The libretto, written in English by an utterly mediocre poet, Francis Money-Coutts, is based on Juan Valera's novel, Pepita Jiménez (1874).² The plot of the novel is very simple; the complexity lies in the character of the protagonist. Luis, a young ordinand, spends a few months with his father in Andalusia. There he meets a beautiful young widow, Pepita, with whom he falls in love. The book describes the conflict in his mind between love and his vocation. The first part takes the form of a series of letters from Luis to his uncle which give deep insight into Luis's character. The second part, written in the third person, reveals the character of Pepita, as the reader is shown her successful attempt to win the man she loves.

The characters in Pepita Jiménez are admirably drawn. Pepita, who is not merely beautiful and virtuous but a woman of considerable understanding and maturity, is quick to recognise Luis's lack of true vocation, and she determines to win his love, as much by irrefutable argument as by entreaty. Luis's more complex character is made up of apparent contradictions which increase rather than detract from the verisimilitude. He despises the worldly pleasures of those around him, and yet at times he is full of self-loathing. Dispassionate and calculating by nature, he nevertheless hotly defends Pepita when she is insulted by the count, and spontaneously embraces her at their final meeting.

The structure of the novel consists of a succession of climaxes,

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1. See H. Klein, "Albéniz's opera: Pepita Jiménez", Musical Times, LIX (March, 1918), 116-117.
 2. See M. Azaña, "La novela de Pepita Jiménez", La Lectura, Madrid (1927), 1-92; R. E. Lott, "Siglo de Oro" Tradition and Modern Adolescent Psychology in "Pepita Jiménez": A Stylistic Study (Washington, 1958).

each one indicating a further stage in the development of the love affair. The final climax, the farewell scene in Pepita's bedroom, is remarkable for its avoidance of exaggerated emotions. Both the structure and the somewhat unusual characterisation of the novel present an exciting challenge to a librettist, but one which Money-Coutts was totally unable to meet. The poetry is utterly banal,¹ and reduces Valera's characters to the level of musical comedy. Furthermore the opera fails to give an impression of the passing of time. Incident follows incident without allowing for the mood of any one scene to be assimilated. This is particularly true of the scene in which the count slanders Pepita. At times the result is ludicrous, as when Pepita who, a few minutes earlier, had been "smiling with ill-concealed triumph", sings "O wicked, mean, false love, depart" (p. 50). Finally, by omitting much of the earlier part of the book, Money-Coutts weakens the obviousness of the religious conflict in Luis's mind.

The music of Pepita Jiménez is uneven. Much of it, like the verse, is trivial and, despite Albéniz's frequent attempts to suggest Spanish folk music,² the work is streaked with Italian, French and German elements. Albéniz's art, as his piano music - his most characteristic work - reveals, was evocative and representational. Dramatic expression does not appear to have been congenial to him. The orchestration indicates that the

1. e.g. Antofona: But Don Luis,
Whose intention
Is a pension
Up in heaven,
Will not even
Pity 'Pita. With Piety, Theology,
And humbug first converting her,
For Piety, Theology,
And humbug he's deserting her.

Voc. sc. (Leipzig, 1896), p. 6.

2. Albéniz claimed that he never used "raw material", but merely suggested native rhythms and melodies. See H. Klein, Musicians and Mimmers (London, 1925), p. 255.

composer thought primarily in terms of the piano, and only in the final scene is there any degree of subtlety. Albéniz conceives of this scene lyrically rather than dramatically, and, probably for that reason, it is the most effective in the opera. An orchestral prelude evokes the moonlit night as Pepita waits in her bedroom for Luis's final appearance. Against a luminous texture of sub-divided strings, an ominous four-note descending phrase hints at a possibly tragic ending. Also worthy of mention is the unaccompanied chorus of peasant children earlier in the Second Act, each stanza of which is preceded by a modal harmonic progression.

To unify the work Albéniz uses a number of recurring motifs, the most important being a Spanish-sounding melody with a characteristic Phrygian close (Ex. 95), and a Schumannesque, thoroughly pianistic phrase associated with Pepita's love (Ex. 96). Only Antofona is given music which is really appropriate to her personality. Her burlesque tune (Ex. 97) undergoes an effective transformation when later she angrily remonstrates with Luis (Ex. 98). Nevertheless, despite a few felicitous moments, Pepita Jiménez remains an unsuccessful adaptation of Valera's novel, unworthy as it is uncharacteristic of Albéniz.

Ex. 95.



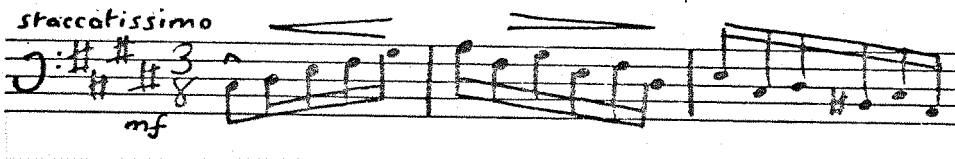
p. 4, bars 13-16.

Ex. 96.



p. 43, bars 5-6.

Ex. 97.



p. 9, bars 5-7.

Ex. 98.



p. 71, bar 1.

The greatest figure in the development of national opera was Felipe Pedrell (1841-1922), who, as composer, writer, teacher and musicologist, worked indefatigably to elevate Spanish music.¹ Whereas the majority of

1. See E. Blom, Stepchildren of Music (London, 1923); M. de Falla, "Felipe Pedrell", La Revue Musicale, Année 4, No. 4 (February, 1923).

his compatriots regarded Spanish national opera as a predominantly lyrical genre, having a close affinity with the zarzuela, Pedrell conceived of it in Wagnerian terms, as a union of the arts and founded on national song.¹ In a manifesto entitled Por nuestra música (Barcelona, 1891), he expounded his theory that the character of national music is to be found not only in folk-song but also in the great art works of the past. As with Wagner's Oper und Drama (1851), Pedrell's article was a pendant to a large-scale music drama, Los Pirineos² (Barcelona, 1902). This work, though it contains much good, original music, has several serious flaws. The only theme is local patriotism, and the action demands an understanding of the complex historical background.³ The opera is constructed as a succession of tableaux rather than as a developing drama, and there is a dearth both of dramatic incident and of conflict between the characters. Musically the work suffers from a too literal interpretation of Pedrell's own doctrine. In an attempt to compose truly national opera, he juxtaposed folk-song, troubadour art forms,⁴ plain song, and entire passages from the church music of Spanish polyphonists,⁵ while at the dramatic climaxes he relies on the chromaticism and lush orchestration characteristic of the

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1. Pedrell was influenced in his theories not only by Wagner but also by the writings of two Jesuit musicians, Padre Antonio Eximeno (1729-1808), and Stefano Arteaga (1750-99). See Luis Villalba Muñoz, Felipe Pedrell (Segovia, 1922); Giovanni Tebaldini, "Filippo Pedrell ed il Dramma Lirico Spagnuolo", Revista Musicale Italiana, IV, Fasc. 2 and 3 (1897); Alfred Reiff, "Felipe Pedrell", Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft, Jahrg. 3, Heft 5 (February, 1921).
 2. Pedrell's first opera, El último Abencerraje (Barcelona, 1874), is also on a Spanish historical subject. On Los Pirineos see: La trilogía "Los Pirineos" y la crítica (Barcelona, 1891); F. Suárez Bravo, "La musique à Barcelone: Los Pirineos de Pedrell", Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, III (1901-02), 231-239; Henri de Curzon, Felipe Pedrell et "Les Pyrénées" (Paris, 1902).
 3. The opera is based on a Catalan poem by Victor Balaguer, which relates the reconquest of the Pyrenees from the French in the early thirteenth century.
 4. Tenso, lai and sirventes. See D. J. Grout, A Short History of Opera (Columbia, 1965), pp. 483-484.
 5. The first act contains quotations from the music of Tomás de Santa María and I. B. Gómez.

late nineteenth century. The resultant disunity of the work is to some extent compensated by his skilful use of Leitmotive.¹

Los Pirineos was the first part of a trilogy.² The second part, La Celestina (1903), is based on the Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melíbea of Fernando de Rojas.³ It is the only opera by Pedrell in which the plot is taken from Spanish, that is Castilian, literature, and, unlike his other works, the conflicts in La Celestina arise out of human emotions, and are not between rival faiths or races. Rojas's novel⁴ is a didactic work, illustrating the destructive force of loco amor. The hero, Calisto, is the victim of sexual passion, which is depicted as wholly evil. Indeed, so great is the power of evil that all those who are directly involved in the main action, Celestina, Melíbea, Calisto and his two servants, Pármeno and Sempronio, meet a violent and ignoble death. The central figure, the bawd Celestina, is seen as the agent, not the source of evil, since she, too, is a victim. It is the author's fear of rather than mere distaste for physical passion that the reader senses, and this sense of fear is greatly intensified by the precipitate three-day time span.⁵

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1. Pedrell's view was that "each character should have his or her own peculiar melodico-harmonic characterisation, and this characterisation should be developed in themes which are varied with the varying situations of the drama". Quoted in Edgar Istel, "Felipe Pedrell", Musical Quarterly, XI (1925), 174.
 2. The three operas which make up the trilogy depict patriotism, love and faith respectively. The third work, Raimundo Lulio, was not completed.
 3. On the question of authorship, see A. D. Deyermond The Middle Ages (London, 1971), p. 168, and the bibliography, pp. 176-177.
 4. Rojas's novel was written in dialogue form. The first version (Burgos, 1499) contained sixteen acts, the second version (Seville, 1502), twenty-one. It is almost certain that the work was not intended to be acted.
 5. See M. Asensio, "El tiempo en La Celestina", Hispanic Review, XX (1952), 28-43.

Much has been written on Rojas's novel,¹ but little consideration has been given to its suitability as operatic material. It contains several allusions to music,² but the problems which it presents for librettist and composer have made it a much less popular subject for opera than Don Quixote and other Golden-Age works. Macdonald has shown³ that the author presupposes an acceptance of certain beliefs, including love at first sight and witchcraft. It is also necessary to appreciate the difference between amor honesto and loco amor, since otherwise the question would arise: why could not Calisto have courted Melibea openly? Rojas's unconventional treatment of love as a destructive, evil force, may well have deterred some composers and librettists, and the hero's death, though fitting, is scarcely operatic.⁴

It must be stated from the outset that Pedrell conventionalises Rojas's novel, that is to say he focuses the audience's attention on the lyrical aspects and eradicates much of the coarseness, cynicism and didactic purpose of the original. Thus, at the end of the opera, one is allowed to pity the lovers unreservedly, whereas Rojas's tragedy, following Aristotelian principles, purges by both pity and terror. Pedrell idealises Calisto's love and gives it a quasi-religious quality⁵ which is

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1. See Deyermond, op. cit., pp. 166-170 and the bibliography on La Celestina, p. 227; Stephen Gilman, "Diálogo y estilo en La Celestina", Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, VII (1953), 461-469; -, "The Argumento to La Celestina", Romance Philology, VIII (1954), 71-78; J. J. Fitzpatrick, "La Celestina. El proceso de la creación literaria a través de una tragicomedia", La Torre, III (1955), 139-152.
 2. See José Subirá, Historia de la música teatral en España (Barcelona and Madrid, 1945), pp. 47-48.
 3. I. Macdonald, "Some observations on the Celestina", Hispanic Review, XXII (1954), 264-281.
 4. Calisto falls from a ladder after seducing Melibea.
 5. Cf. his almost blasphemous assertion in the novel: "Melibeo so é á Melibea adoro é en Melibea creo é á Melibea amo". Clásicos Castellanos ed. (Madrid, 1963), I, 41, 19-20.

emphasised by the chanting of the Kyrie as he leaves the church, where he had gone to pray for success in his relationship with Melibea (II, iii). During the lovers' first meeting (III, i), there is no suggestion of Calisto's sensuality, and the short scene in which Melibea lied to her parents is omitted.¹ It is during the lovers' final meeting, however, that one finds the greatest divergence between the novel and the opera. For Rojas this moment represented the extremity of Calisto's moral decline, which is paralleled in the libidinous remarks of the servants. Pedrell omits the servants' conversation and concentrates on the purity of the lovers' emotion, enhancing the lyrical atmosphere by a wordless chorus.

The length of Rojas's novel and the frequent changes of scene clearly presented a problem for Pedrell which he overcame with only moderate success. The opera suffers as a result of Pedrell's excessive fidelity to the original text, in spite of his omission of some inessential scenes. Two scenes in particular are disappointing, since they merely narrate incidents which have taken place off-stage. They are Pármeno's account of his night spent with Areusa,² and Celestina's account of her first encounter with Melibea.³ On the other hand, Pedrell's combination of two acts of the novel⁴ which have the same locale, in the second cuadro of his Third Act, is an admirable example of dramatic craftsmanship, and it produces what is the most effective

1. Cf. Act XII of the novel.

2. II, i.

3. II, vi.

4. Acts IX and XII.

climax in the opera. The scene begins with a violent quarrel between Calisto's servants and their mistresses, provoked by the servants' praise of Melibea. Pedrell uses the obsessive repetition of a few notes to suggest that the girls are becoming inarticulate with jealous rage. When Celestina attempts to pacify them the two servants demand a share of Calisto's reward to Celestina, and finally they kill her. The tension of this scene is increased by an ominously recurrent motif, which is used to accompany Celestina's dignified exclamation:

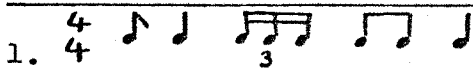
¿Qué quieren decir tales amenazas en mi casa? ¡Con una
vieja de sesenta años tenéis vosotros manos y braveza!

Ex. 99.



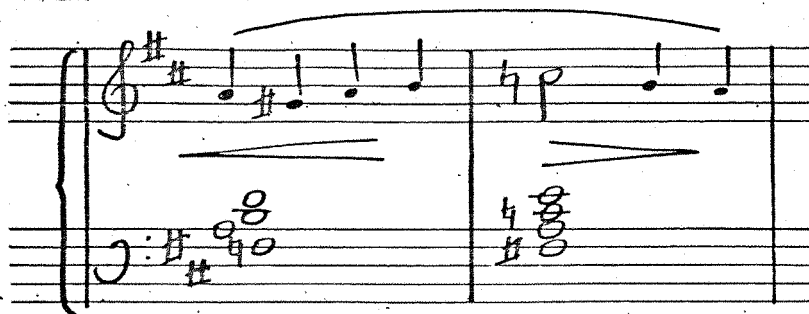
p. 216, bar 4.

Pedrell uses several Leitmotive in addition to this theme, the most important being a rhythm associated with the idea of avarice,¹ and a two-bar phrase linked with Celestina herself:



1. This rhythm is heard in connection with Calisto's reward to Celestina in Act I, and several times in Act II, notably when Calisto gives her his gold chain.

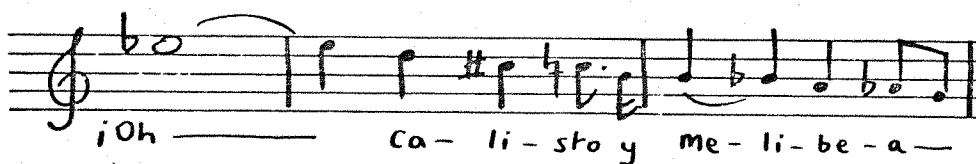
Ex. 100.



p. 29, bars 7-8.

As in Los Pirineos, the music sometimes reveals the mind of an academic theorist rather than that of a creative artist. Although La Celestina is stylistically more consistent than the earlier work and does not contain quotations from composers of the past, it is not entirely free from pedantry, as is shown by the not fully integrated medieval ballads in Act I and the fugato in the Third Act, sung after the execution of Calisto's servants for the murder of Celestina. The lugubrious subject begins thus:

Ex. 101.



p. 236, bars 6-8.

As Blom has said,¹ Pedrell was "consciously, laboriously Spanish", and although his lofty ideals and fine musicianship place him above his compatriots, he lacked the theatrical sense of many lesser composers.

1. E. Blom, op. cit., p. 197.

Despite Pedrell's influence on younger composers in stimulating nationalistic fervour, very few of them followed him in writing large-scale music-dramas. Amadeo Vives Roig, a Catalan as were several leading Spanish composers of this period,¹ began by writing Pedrellian operas,² but soon turned to lighter zarzuelas in which genre he was more successful. Some of these are adaptations of Golden-Age plays,³ including two by Lope de Vega.⁴ Dofia Francisquita (Madrid, 1923) is based on Lope's La discreta enamorada (1606?),⁵ an unrealistic but attractive comedy of intrigue and misunderstanding between a widow and her daughter, a widower and his son. Each parent is in love with the other's child, but the children are in love with each other. To this diagonal relationship is added Gerarda, the son's former mistress. The librettists, Federico Romero and Guillermo Fernández Shaw, bring the action forward to the nineteenth century, and confuse the plot further by calling the mother and daughter Francisca and Francisquita respectively. Many minor characters are added in the zarzuela to produce some colourful costumbrista scenes, and Vives ensures the success of the work by including several songs and dances in popular idiom.

A few years after Dofia Francisquita Vives collaborated with the same librettists on an adaptation of another of Lope's plays, Peribáñez y el comendador de Ocaña.⁶ The zarzuela is entitled La villana (Madrid,

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1. e.g. Pedrell, Albéniz, Granados and Gerhard.
 2. e.g. Euda d'Uriach (Barcelona, 1900), based on a Catalan tragedy.
 3. e.g. Don Lucas del Cigarral (Madrid, 1899), based on the comedia de capa y espada, Entre bobos anda el juego, by Francisco de Rojas Zorilla (see E. M. Wilson and D. Moir, The Golden Age: Drama 1492-1700 (London, 1971), pp. 131-132); Don Juan, a fusion of Tirso's and Zorilla's versions.
 4. Vives also wrote music for Lope's villancico, Las campanitas de Belén.
 5. See M. H. Peyton, "La discreta enamorada as an example of dimensional development in the comedia", Hispania, California, XL (1957), 154-162.
 6. See: C. Poncet, "El tema tradicional de Lope de Vega: estudio y lecturas de Peribáñez", Revista Bimestre Cubana, XXXVI (1935), 163-201. Roberto G. Sánchez, "El contenido irónico-teatral en el Peribáñez de Lope de Vega", Clavileño (1954) núm. 29, 17-25.

1928). The date of Lope's play is uncertain.¹ Peribáñez, like other of Lope's plays, is inspired by an old ballad, the words of which are put into the mouth of Casilda, Peribáñez's wife, at the climax of Act II, when she rejects the attention of the Comendador:

Más quiero yo a Peribáñez
Con su capa la pardilla,
Que no a vos, Comendador,
Con la vuesa guarneçada. II, 1925-98, Librairie Hachette
ed. (Monaco, 1943).

The theme has several parallels in Golden-Age literature.² Peribáñez, a peasant of noble character, discovers that his wife is being courted by the Comendador. Seeing that his honour is threatened, he finally kills the Comendador, and his action is commended by the king. The idea that every virtuous person is entitled to the respect of others is reinforced by the closing speech of the king, who was traditionally regarded as the ultimate source and dispenser of social justice:

¡Cosa extraña!
Que un labrador tan humilde
Estime tanto su fama! (III, 3105-57).

The two-fold interpretation of the word noble is treated ironically.³ Peribáñez, who is noble in character, is ennobled in rank by the Comendador to achieve his own ends. The latter, noble by birth, behaves ignobly towards Casilda.

The poetry in Peribáñez is very fine, and the play is rich in symbolic imagery,⁴ much of it taken from the land. Peribáñez compares his

1. See J. Loveluck, "La fecha de Peribáñez y el comendador de Ocaña", Atenea, CX (1953), 419-424; N. Salomon, "Simple remarque à propos du problème de la date de Peribáñez y el comendador de Ocaña", Bulletin Hispanique, LXIII (1961), 251-258.

2. e.g. Calderón's El alcalde de Zalamea. See p. 178.

3. See G. Correa, "El doble aspecto de la honra en Peribáñez y el comendador de Ocaña", Hispanic Review, XXVI (1958), 188-199.

4. See E. M. Wilson, "Images et structures dans Peribáñez", Bulletin Hispanique, LI (1949), 125-159; Victor Dixon, "The Symbolism of Peribáñez", Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, XLIII (1966), 11-24.

bride to the olive trees and meadows:

El olivar más cargado
De aceitunas me parece
Menos hermoso, y el prado
Que por el mayo florece,
Sólo del alba pisado. (I, 46-50).

Significantly their language is more elevated after Peribáñez has been ennobled:

Casilda: ¡Ah, gallardo capitán
De mis tristes pensamientos!

Peribáñez: Ah, dama la del balcón,
Por quien la bandera tengo! (III, 2362-65).

The lyricism of Lope's play is heightened by the use of music. Musicians sing and dance during the wedding festivities in Act I. In the Second Act the reapers sing to guitar accompaniment a song in popular idiom,¹ which has the refrain:

Trébole, ¡ay Jesús, cómo güele!
Trébole, ¡ay Jesús, qué olor! (II, 1460-61).

Later in the same act Peribáñez hears a reaper singing the ballad which inspired the play. Finally, in the Third Act, musicians sing of the Comendador's first meeting with Casilda. Vives's zarzuela consists of spoken dialogue interspersed with musical numbers. From the outset it is clear that the composer is concentrating on the lyrical aspects of Lope's work, to the virtual exclusion of the moral implications of the theme. The pace of the First Act is slow; there appears to be more emphasis on "grupos pintorescos"² than on the action. The text of the zarzuela is generally very close to the play, but there is one interesting innovation in the First Act. After the Comendador has honoured Peribáñez with his friendship, they both join in a "friendship" duet, the style of

1. This song appears unaltered in the First Act of the zarzuela.

2. Voc. sc. (Bilbao, 1928), p. 8.

which is reminiscent of a similar movement in Verdi's Don Carlo. The purpose of this duet is to underline the dramatic irony of the situation. Musically, too, this movement is significant, since at this point Peribáñez's part loses much of its rustic, dance-like quality and becomes similar to the Comendador's vocal line. The effect is comparable to the change in Peribáñez's language in the play.

Ex. 102.

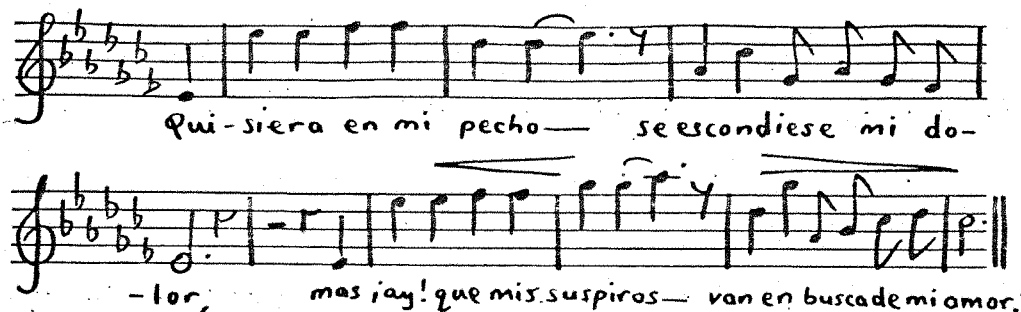


p. 70, bars 10-12.

In the first cuadro of Act II the zarzuela differs from the play. In Lope's version Peribáñez meets a painter who has been commissioned by the Comendador to paint a portrait of Casilda. Vives replaces the painter by a mysterious Jewish merchant, David, who brings pearls for Casilda from the Comendador. Much of the music of this act is dull, particularly the love-duets, but at two important climaxes the music is effective. The first is Peribáñez's return, when he hears one of the reapers singing a folk-like song about the Comendador's courtship of Casilda. The second occurs when Peribáñez, having been made a captain, entrusts his wife and home to the Comendador. A quiet, menacing rhythm in 5/8 time accompanies Peribáñez's warning.

The Final Act is the weakest; it suffers from insufficient dramatic material. It begins quite well, with an attractive aria in which Casilda grieves for her husband's absence:

Ex. 103.



p. 247, bars 17-25.

But the Comendador's love-music is overtly derivative, and for much of the act military choruses, processions, and Spanish dances are a substitute for action or character development. Nevertheless, Vives's music has moments of considerable charm when free from Italian operatic clichés.

The first three decades of the twentieth century were a comparatively fecund period in the history of Spanish opera, and a number of zarzuelas influenced by Spanish literature were produced then,¹ including several adaptations of Don Quixote,² in addition to the many historical and cos-

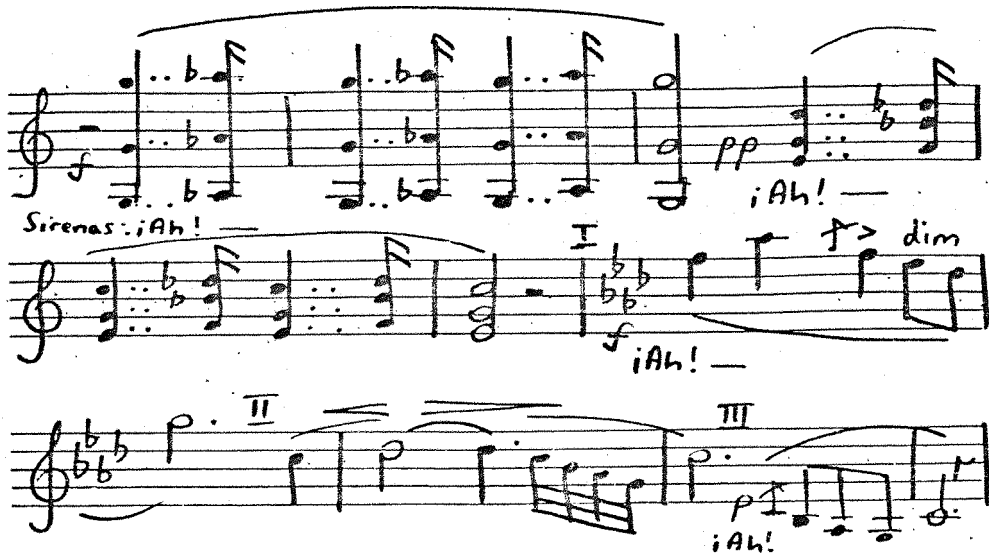
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1. These include two operas performed in 1903, entitled Inés de Castro, based on Luis Vélez de Guevara's Reinar después de morir, one with music by Noguera and the other with music by Calleja y Lleó. Juan Gay, La cueva de Salamanca (Madrid, 1905), based on the Interlude by Cervantes. Tomás Barrera, El celoso extremeño (Madrid, 1908), based on one of the Exemplary Novels by Cervantes; Conrado del Campo, El final de Don Álvaro (Madrid, 1911). This is an expanded version of part of the Final Act of Rivas's Don Álvaro, o la fuerza del sino (see pp. 31-38). The humorous scene in which Hermano Melitón appears is replaced by a pastoral scene, but apart from this there is no major alteration. The two-act libretto is predictably prolix and unoriginal. Luis Alonso, Don Juan Tenorio (see p. 277). The music of these operas has not been found.

2. See Appendix and Chapter 7.

tumbrista works.¹ One of the most interesting works of this period is Circe (Madrid, 1905), by Ruperto Chapí y Lorente, the libretto being an adaptation by M. Ramón Carrión of Calderón's El mayor encanto, amor.² Chapí's work is an opera, not a zarzuela; it has no spoken dialogue. It predates Egk's opera³ on the same subject by forty-three years, and may possibly be the earliest complete operatic version of the play. Chapí, like Egk, follows Calderón's plot closely, though in the Spanish opera the plot is considerably simplified, the gracioso characters and also Arsidas's love for Circe being omitted. The cast is large, and much use is made of the chorus. The opulent texture of many of the choral passages and Chapí's use of chromatically sliding chords foreshadows Egk's opera:

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1. Historical and costumbrista operas and zarzuelas include Luis Alonso, L'abdication de Charles Quint, an opera with a French text and strongly influenced by French grand opera. Manuel de Falla, La vida breve (Nice, 1913). In evoking the Andalusian background to this work Falla is very successful, although the music of the love-duets is less original. See Edgar Istel, "Manuel de Falla", Musical Quarterly, XII, No. 4 (October, 1926). Enrique Granados, Goyescas (New York, 1916). The music of this opera is taken from the piano-suite of the same name; the succession of tableaux, connected by a slender plot, depict life in Goya's Madrid. See E. Newman, "The Granados of the Goyescas", Musical Times, LVIII (August, 1917), 343-347. Conrado del Campo, El Avapiés (1919). Like Goyescas, this work is set in eighteenth-century Madrid.
 2. See pp.146-148.
 3. See pp.148-153.

Ex. 104.



Voc. sc. (Madrid, c. 1905), p. 20, bars 6-15.

The First Act ends with a quiet, sustained passage for eight-part chorus, singing "Gloria a Ulises, guerrero, vencedor, con el hermoso encanto del amor".

The theme of Chapí's opera is Circe's love for Ulysses, not, as in Calderón's play, the hero's moral decline.¹ Chapí shows Circe to be cruel but not wholly evil. Early in the First Act she sings "La desventura agena de encanto mi alma llena y el odio y la venganza son goces de mi ser". She is not the heartless seducer of Calderón's play; her love is completely genuine. The first expression of it is given in an aria in the Second Act. The simplicity of the vocal line has more affinity with the zarzuela than with grand opera:

1. The symbolic parallel of Clarín's transformation into an ape is omitted in Chapí's opera, and the warning given by Aquiles in the Third Act is less stern, though it is interesting to note that the opera, unlike the play, refers to Penelope, the hero's wife. See voc. sc., p. 150.

Ex. 105.

¡Ay de mi triste! ¡Ay desdi-
chada! ¡que no me de-je!
llorando ¡que no me va - - - ya!

p. 59, bars 13-23.

In the Third Act when Ulysses has deserted her, she curses him bitterly for his infidelity:

Ex. 106.

vivo moderado (con fiereza y cólera)

Él vino aquí para robarme, todo con mi a-
-mor y mi vi-da se lo lle - - va.

p. 169, bars 14-21.

Finally her anger subsides and she dies in the hope that he will ever remember her love. Egk's opera represents a more faithful realisation of Calderón's intentions than Chapí's work. The Spanish composer places less emphasis on Ulysses's moral dilemma, reduces the length of the drama, and treats it as a simple tale of thwarted love.

The contribution of Spanish composers to opera has not been great. Before the late nineteenth century very few operas based on Spanish lit-

erature had been written in Spain. The popularity of the zarzuela in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century led to the adaptation of a number of Golden-Age works, in particular those of Cervantes. Most of these adaptations show little regard for fidelity to their sources, and there is a marked tendency to simplify the plots, leaving little save the love-interest. Composers of the post Civil-War period have shown preference for symphonic to dramatic forms and a strong desire to move away from self-conscious nationalism, in both subject-matter and idiom, towards the more universal language of serialism.¹

1. See Arthur Custer, "Contemporary Music in Spain", in P. H. Lang and N. Broder, Contemporary Music in England (New York, 1965); F. Sopena, Historia de la música española contemporánea (Madrid, 1958), pp. 311-337.

Chapter 6

HUNGARY

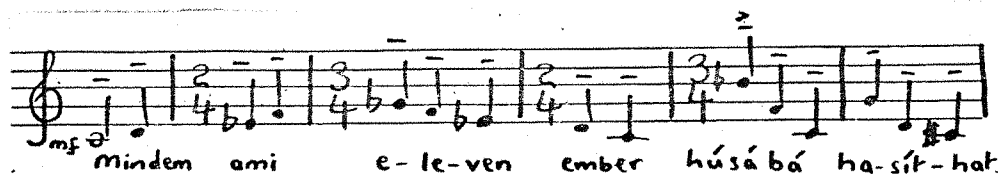
Sandor Szokolay's opera, Vernász, was first performed at the Hungarian State Opera House on October 31, 1964. The libretto, by Gyula Illyés, is virtually a translation of García Lorca's play, Bodas de Sangre,¹ Lorca's seven cuadros being subdivided into scenes and grouped into three acts. The composer had been greatly impressed by a performance of the play in Paris in 1962.² In his opera Szokolay is primarily concerned with portraying human emotions. In his aims, though not in his musical idiom, he shows an affinity with the Italian verismo school. His choice of musical techniques in Vernász frequently recalls Fortner's opera on the same play, Bluthochzeit, written seven years earlier. Szokolay's score, like Fortner's, includes both tonal and atonal passages, as well as some twelve-note themes. In both operas the vocal writing ranges from rhythmically notated speech, through Sprechstimme, to arioso, although the Hungarian composer does not divide the characters into speaking and singing rôles. Neither composer uses Leitmotive for individual characters, although both works contain a number of recurring themes. The similarities are most obvious in the way each composer treats the lullaby scene, the wedding, and the forest scene.

Vernász begins with a very dissonant prelude, during which an unseen female choir introduces the idea of death which is symbolised by the knife. This idea is taken up by the Mother in tableau 1, as she curses everything which can cause death:

1. See pp. 159-161.

2. See Istvan Gábor, "An Interview with Szokolay", Magyar Nemzet 6-14-1964, part of which is quoted in the booklet accompanying the Qualiton recording of the opera (p. 42).

Ex. 107.



Voc. sc. (Budapest, 1964), p. 20, bars 99-104.

In this opera the Mother is a contralto, and although her part extends over two octaves, Szokolay frequently uses the lower half of her compass to intensify the force of her utterances. The lullaby in tableau 2 is set to a simple, repetitive melody with ostinato accompaniment, as in Bluthochzeit. It is then sung in canon by Leonardo's wife and the Mother-in-law. The tendency to cadence on the dominant, in both Fortner's and Szokolay's melody, is suggestive of Spanish folk-music. In the Hungarian example the Spanishness is further emphasised by a triplet figure, such as is found in Andalusian folk-music:

Ex. 108.

harpsichord

Life: Csi - ja Csi - Ba - buja - bú

Mother-in-law: Csi - ja Csi - Ba - buja - bú

p. 69, bars 10-18.

The third tableau is introduced by a twelve-note row, which is subsequently played in retrograde inversion. The tranquillity of this theme prepares the audience for the subdued first meeting between the Bride and Bridegroom. The coolness with which the Bride receives her future husband does not go unnoticed by the Servant, for, in the next scene, she taunts the Bride by referring to the secret visits of Leonardo, the Bride's former lover, while the orchestra underlines the tension by reiterating an irregular rhythm ($\frac{4+3+2}{8}$). The First Act ends with an impassioned denial by the Bride of the Servant's insinuations, sung to a melody first heard during the dialogue between the Mother and a Neighbour:

Ex. 109.



p. 138, bars 132-133.

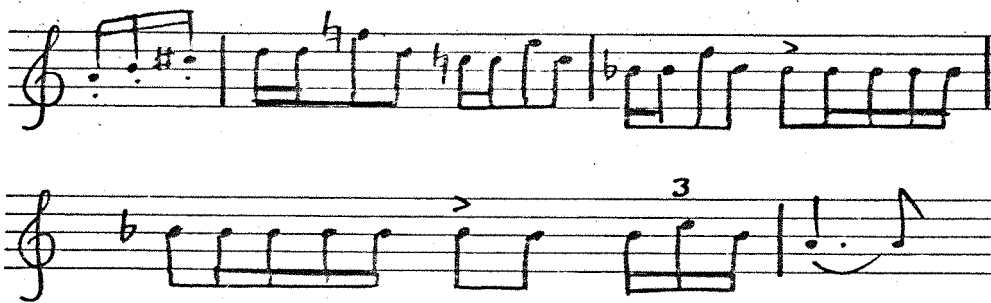
It is in the wedding festivities in Act II that Szokolay comes closest to traditional operatic spectacle, although, like Fortner, he does not write formal Spanish dance movements but treats the dancing as incidental music to the drama. The Spanish elements are mostly tonal, even though the key is often contradicted by the surrounding harmony and counter-melodies, as in Ex. 112, in which a familiar Spanish chord progression in the upper voices clashes with the tenor and bass parts:

Ex. 110.



p. 286, bars 30-35.

Ex. 111.



p. 289, bars 44-47.

Ex. 112.

La la la la la la la la la la la Kelj fél szép — mát-ka!

S
ms
A.
T
B.

sf

Kelj fél menyasszony talpra, szép mátká!

p. 259, bars 533-534.

The wedding canticle is also tonal, and here Szokolay does not attempt

to disguise the fairly orthodox harmonic progressions:

Ex. 113.

The musical score for Ex. 113 consists of two systems of music. Each system has a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment line (bass clef). The time signature is 3/4. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are in Hungarian. The first system's lyrics are "De szép a menyasszony. De szép a vőlegény." and the second system's lyrics are "Haj Haj".

De szép a menyasszony. De szép a vőlegény.

Haj Haj

Act II grows towards a powerful climax, at which it is discovered that the lovers have fled. At this point the Mother's ominous theme is heard (Ex. 107), sung by all the guests.

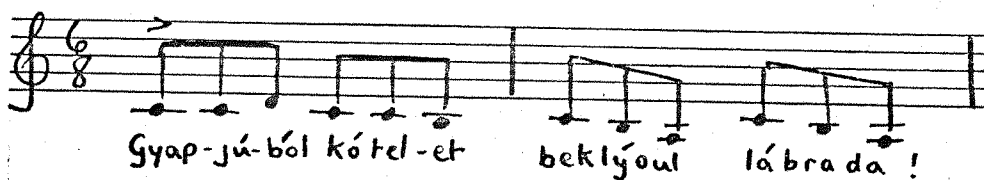
The forest tableau, with which the Third Act begins, is for Szokolay as for Fortner the germ-cell of the entire work. Here the Hungarian composer re-introduces several themes heard earlier. Szokolay prefers a more sonorous orchestral texture than did Fortner, in order to suggest the supernatural atmosphere of this scene. To Fortner's untuned percussion Szokolay adds celesta, glockenspiel, vibraphones and a four-part wordless chorus, the richness of sound being more consistent with the lush vegetation of Lorca's scene. The two violins specified by Lorca are not heard until near the end of this tableau, where they are accompanied by soft gong strokes:

Ex. 114.



The forest tableau is linked to the final tableau by an orchestral interlude, which begins violently but finally sinks to pianissimo, at which point the violin theme is again heard. The simplicity of some of the music in the final tableau matches the simplicity of action in Lorca's final cuadro. As the curtain rises, a group of young girls is seen discussing the recent violent events. They sing an ingenuous little theme in four-part canon:

Ex. 115.



p. 529, bars 36-37.

The arrival of the Bride produces a venomous attack by the Mother, and the tranquil mood is destroyed. The opera ends with the Mother's monologue, accompanied by a wordless chorus and intermittent notes on tubular bells. Szokolay's frequent use of the chorus, often in an accompanying role, gives his opera a richness of texture which distinguishes it from Fortner's Bluthochzeit. Fortner, on the other hand, shows greater attention to detail with regard to Lorca's text, seen particularly in his

setting of the words "sábanas... como banderas",¹ in his treatment of the two violins in the forest scene, and in the distinction made in his opera between characters of the "real" world and the supernatural characters.² Although both composers use what is virtually a complete translation of Lorca's play, Szokolay treats the play simply as a conflict of human emotions, whereas Fortner attempts to find exact musical counterparts to Lorca's characters, images and scenes.

1. See pp.166-167.

2. See p. 162.

Chapter 7

OPERAS BASED ON DON QUIXOTE

The popularity of Cervantes's novel, Don Quixote, as an operatic subject, exceeds even that of the Don Juan legend. Indeed, the number of Quixote operas¹ to which reference has been found is approximately twice the number of Don Juan operas. There are many allusions to music in Cervantes's novel,² notably in the episodes of Camacho's wedding, Maese Pedro's puppet show, and at the court of the Duke and Duchess. Quixote himself shows an appreciation of music, and says to Sancho: "quiero que sepas, Sancho, que todos o los más caballeros andantes de la edad pasada eran grandes trovadores y grandes músicos".³ The chief reasons, however, for the popularity of the work amongst composers are the attraction of the two main characters and the way in which the novel is constructed. The episodic structure of the novel has enabled composers to choose one or, in some cases, a few incidents as the basis for an opera without their work's seeming incomplete or fragmentary. Several sections of the novel are in any case self-contained, such as the knight's first sally, the tale of foolish curiosity, the captive's tale and Camacho's wedding. Few versions attempt to give a complete account of the protagonist's adventures.

On the evidence seen of the musical versions of Don Quixote, it would seem that the majority of librettists and composers have adapted Cervantes's work with considerable freedom. That is not to condemn these adaptations as works of art in their own right, although the artistic worth of many of them does not support Don Quixote's

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1. A list of musico-dramatic adaptations of Don Quixote is given in the Appendix. Not all these works are operas; some are plays with incidental music.
 2. See Miguel Querol Gavalda, La música en las obras de Cervantes (Barcelona, 1948); Adolfo Salazar, La música de Cervantes y otros ensayos (Madrid, 1961).
 3. Don Quijote, I, xxiii, Austral ed. p. 136. All subsequent quotations are taken from this edition.

statement, quoted by Espinós:¹ "Señora: donde hay música no puede haber cosa mala". As R. O. Jones has said,² Cervantes adopts a traditionally ambivalent attitude to Don Quixote's madness: the knight is used both as a figure of fun and as the mouth-piece for unusual wisdom. Cervantes's declared intention in writing Don Quixote was to satirise the romances of chivalry and perhaps, by implication, to offer his own work as a model for what he considered a more profitable literary genre. In Part II the criticism extends to society in general, and the hero frequently appears to be of greater moral stature than his frivolous deceivers. Thus the novel has a serious purpose although the tone is not solemn. Yet the work is essentially a comic entertainment,³ and adaptations which neglect this aspect in favour of a more philosophical interpretation stray from the spirit of the original, whatever their merits as opera.

The First Part of Don Quixote was published in 1605, the Second Part in 1615. Dramatisations of the novel soon appeared, some with music, first in Spain⁴ and, once translations had appeared, in Italy, Germany, England, France,⁵ Flanders and the Netherlands. The earliest known musical version outside Spain is Sancio, a dramatisation by Camilio Rima, performed at the Teatro Ducale de Piazza detto della Spalta, Modena, in 1655.⁶ The composer is not known. The fact that this opera

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1. Victor Espinós, El Quijote en la música (Barcelona, 1947), p. xi.
 2. R. O. Jones, The Golden Age: Prose and Poetry (London, 1971), p. 178.
 3. See P. E. Russell, "Don Quixote as a funny book", Modern Language Review, LXIV (1969), 312-326.
 4. The earliest known Spanish dramatisation is Guillén de Castro's Don Quijote de la Mancha (1618). See G. G. La Grone, The Imitations of "Don Quixote" in Spanish Drama (Philadelphia, 1937).
 5. See E. J. Crooks, The Influence of Cervantes in France in the Eighteenth Century (Baltimore, 1931).
 6. See Espinós, op. cit., p. 79.

was written for a private performance suggests that it was a chamber work in the Florentine style. It was followed by Il Don Chisciotte della Mancia (Venice, 1680),¹ the libretto by M. Marosini and the music by C. Sagon. Ten years later the first German opera on Cervantes's novel was performed at the Hamburg Opera House where the composer, Johann Philipp Förtsch, was the Director of Music. It was entitled Der irrende Ritter Don Quixote de la Mancha (1690). In 1694 the first English version was performed: Thomas D'Urfey's play, The Comical History of Don Quixote, with music by Purcell.

During the eighteenth century the number of Quixote operas increased considerably, particularly in Italy and France. Favourite episodes were Don Quixote's adventures at the court of the Duke and Duchess, including Sancho's governorship, and Camacho's wedding. In addition to Italian, French and German works, the eighteenth century also produced a Flemish, a Dutch and a Portuguese Quixote opera, evincing the wide-spread fame of Cervantes's novel.

During the nineteenth century and the first three decades of the twentieth, musical adaptations of Don Quixote continued to be popular. In several versions however, notably Kienzl's, Massenet's, Chapí's and Falla's, one can detect the change of attitude towards Cervantes's hero which came about during the nineteenth century. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century versions, both literary and musical, there was a tendency to regard Don Quixote simply as a funny book, a reductio ad absurdum of a certain literary convention. The knight was seen as a figure of fun, who lacked dignity and had a distorted view of life. Many nineteenth-century critics and adapters, on the other hand, saw Don Quixote as a romantic idealist who had risen above materialistic desires - a character to be emulated. Wilhelm Schlegel, for example,

1. A. Caselli, Catalogo delle opere liriche pubblicate in Italia (Florence, 1969), p. 428.

suggested that the knight and his squire represented the eternal conflict between poetry and prose in life.¹ There was a particular interest in Spanish literature in Germany at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when two translations of Don Quixote were published.² References have been found to nine German Quixote operas written during the period 1800 to 1950, in addition to several French, Italian and English works. Also from about 1850, a considerable number of Quixote zarzuelas were performed in Spain.³

It is possible to divide the musico-dramatic versions of Don Quixote into two categories: those which are based on a single incident and those which select several episodes in order to give a fairly complete picture of the knight's exploits. The earliest known example of the latter is Thomas D'Urfey's The Comical History of Don Quixote (1694-95), with music by Purcell. D'Urfey's work would appear to be the most complete dramatisation of Cervantes's novel. It is divided into three parts, each part comprising five acts, and it includes the majority of the famous incidents in their original order. Part I includes the attack on the windmills, the attempts made by the barber and the priest to bring Don Quixote home, the love affairs between Fernando and Dorotea, Cardenio and Luscinda, the capture of the barber's basin and the freeing of the galley-slaves, and it ends with the knight's being brought home in a cage. The Second Part deals mainly with the pranks played on Don Quixote and Sancho at the court of the Duke and Duchess. In the Last

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1. See G. G. La Grone, op. cit., p. 62.
 2. By Tieck and by Soltan.
 3. See pp. 258-260.

Part Don Quixote challenges a caged lion, attends Camacho's wedding, watches the puppet show, is courted by Altisidora, Quiteria's confidante, and finally returns home to make his will. While one cannot claim that D'Urfey shows much originality in the construction of the plot, his ability to write good, comic dialogue is much in evidence, particularly in the conversations between Sancho and his wife and daughter. The latter, called Mary the Buxom, "a rude, laughing, clownish hoyden", is mainly D'Urfey's own invention, and the scenes in which she dresses up as a lady (Part II, Act IV) and fights with her new husband (Part III, Act III) are especially enjoyable, and call to mind Sancho's remark concerning Teresa Panza: "A Man that had her for a Wife, and an Acre of Thistles, need not care which he burnt first".¹ Purcell's music, chiefly songs and dances, includes the aria, "Sing all ye Muses", sung by Don Quixote as he watches over his arms, and Cardenio's "Let the Dreadful Engines".

Frederic Clay's Grand, Comic and Spectacular Opera: Don Quixote (1876), also attempts to give a full account of the knight's career. It includes the inn scene, during which Sancho is tossed in a blanket, the adventure in the cave of Montesinos, and Sancho's governorship of the island. Neither the libretto nor the music, however, is of interest.

Amongst Spanish versions there are several which attempt to give a comprehensive account of Don Quixote's life. For example, Ventura de la Vega's play, Don Quijote de la Mancha (1861), with music by Francisco Asenjo-Barbieri, draws on a number of incidents from the First Part of Cervantes's novel, including Don Quixote's infatuation with Maritornes, his penance, the brawl over the barber's basin, the troubles of the two pairs of lovers, and the ruse by which the knight is brought home. The

1. Thomas D'Urfey, The Comical History of Don Quixote (London, 1729), p. 18.

work ends, as do several Spanish versions, with a patriotic eulogy of Cervantes: "Españoles, saludad al genio peregrino que ha de producir nuestro suelo. Este es él que con alta inspiración de los cielos escribirá la historia de mis grandes hechos, para eterno orgullo de la nación española y envidia de las extrañas". Less successful are the Quixote zarzuelas by Perramón and Oms (late nineteenth century), and by San José (1905). These works make use of many episodes from both parts of the novel, and the resultant embarras de richesses produces somewhat confused plots.

Among the comprehensive Quixote operas there are two which deserve more than a cursory glance: Wilhelm Kienzl's (1897) and Massenet's (1910). Both composers, while they do not omit the comic element of the novel, regard the hero as a romantic idealist and dreamer, and both freely adapt and rearrange the episodes from Cervantes's work. The earlier opera is the more faithful version, its detailed descriptions of characters and scenes showing Kienzl's desire to reproduce accurately the atmosphere of the Spanish novel. The First Act opens convincingly. Don Quixote, asleep in his study, surrounded by his books, has a dream in which he sees himself as a knight errant. When he awakes it is clear that he is demented, and, ignoring the entreaties of his niece, Mercedes, he sets out. The remainder of the First Act takes place at an inn and is a skilful reconstruction of several separate incidents from the novel. Carrasco attempts to persuade Don Quixote to return home by inventing the tale of Princess Micomicona.¹ In Kienzl's version Carrasco is in love with Don Quixote's niece. Maritornes feigns love for Don Quixote as he watches over his arms, and Sancho is engaged as his squire. The Duke and Duchess are also introduced in this act. Two incidents in particular are notable for the way in which Kienzl's music adds to the

1. It is the Duchess here who claims to be Princess Micomicona; Dorotea and the other pastoral characters are omitted.

comic effect. The first occurs in scene iii when the innkeeper mocks Don Quixote's flamboyant speech:

Ex. 116.



Voc. sc. (Berlin, 1897), p. 33, bars 10-18.

The second is a quartet, sung by the innkeeper, Maritornes, a waitress and a kitchen-boy. As part of Quixote's knighting ceremony they repeat from a cookery book the words "Olla podrida".

Act II takes place at the court of the Duke and Duchess. Clavijo, the Duke's overseer, disguised as a "Dueña Dolorida", tells Don Quixote in a falsetto voice of his misfortunes. Later, dressed as Merlin, he sings in basso profundo. Don Quixote is washed by four girls dressed as pages, and then made to ride a wooden horse. All this is watched by the Duchess, whose high-pitched laughter stands out against the dignified utterances of Don Quixote, emphasising the contrast between the knight and his deceivers, made by Cervantes in the Second Part of the novel.

Quixote's deception continues in Act III. Mercedes, pretending to be Dulcinea, tries to persuade her uncle to return home, which produces some of the most lyrical passages in the opera:

Ex. 117.

mit grösstem Ausdrucke

Quixote: O blei - be, blei - be sü - sse Dul - cin -

- e - a. Vor der be - wun - dernd meine Seele schmittz!

p. 321, bars 14-18.

He is finally brought home by Carrasco, disguised as the Knight of the White Moon. Now sane, and back in his own room, he makes his will and dies.

Kienzl's work deserves praise for its well-constructed libretto, his choice of episodes making a good balance between serious and comic incidents. His music aptly delineates the chief characters and enhances the humour of certain scenes, but in general it lacks originality, being too greatly under the influence of Wagner.

Massenet's Don Quichotte differs greatly from Cervantes's novel, both in plot and in the portrayal of the main characters. Though a few incidents, such as the attack on the windmills, are obviously inspired by the Spanish work, much of the opera is based on Jacques Le Lorrain's comedy, Le chevalier de la longue figure. Don Quixote is depicted as an idealist whose integrity impresses not only Sancho and Dulcinée but even the bandits, whom the knight persuades to hand back the necklace stolen from Dulcinée. His vocal line, with its large intervals, is dignified and serious, and the occasional use of rapid melismas suggests his eccentricity. The character of Cervantes's Dulcinea is completely transformed. In the opera she is a beautiful courtesan, whose coquetry is suggested by the light, vivacious quality of her melody, often based on Spanish folk-dance rhythms. When in Act IV she realises the serious-

ness of Don Quixote's feelings towards her, she disillusion him and remarks to one of her admirers: "Si vous aviez son coeur, alors, vous seriez beau... Oui, peut-être est-il fou, mais c'est un fou sublime". (Voc. sc., Paris, 1910, p. 221.)

Massenet's opera has some serious defects, including the paucity of dramatic incidents and the lack of strong emotional conflict. Act III, in which Don Quixote confronts the bandits, is particularly weak. The bandits sing a dull two-part chorus as they prepare to kill Don Quixote. He kneels and prays, with the result that the bandits, deeply moved, surrender the necklace and kneel before the knight, asking for his blessing. There are better scenes than this. The challenge to the wind mills, which takes the form of a canon between Don Quixote and Sancho (Ex. 118), is an effective movement, and both the knight's serenade, "Quand apparaissent les étoiles", and Dulcinée's Spanish-sounding aria with guitar accompaniment, "Ne pensons qu'au plaisir d'aimer", show Massenet's powers of lyrical expression. In general, however, Massenet's opera cannot be regarded as a successful adaptation of Cervantes's novel.¹

1. A recent performance of Don Quichotte, at the Komische Oper, Berlin, in January, 1972, was only moderately successful.

Ex. 118.

Quixote

Gé-ant, géant, monstrueux, cavalier, géant, géant, monstreu-

Sancho

Géant, géant, monstrueux, cavalier, géant, géant,

-eux cavalier, si votre cœur n'est pas cuirassé de vaillance,

monstrueux cavalier, si votre cœur n'est pas cuirassé de vaill-

Faites-moi place ou bien à la dague, à la lance, je vous

-ance, Faites-moi place ou bien à la dague, à la lance,

porte un défi, Moi le Haut Che - va - lier —

je vous porte un défi, Moi le Haut Cheva - lier —

Many opera composers who have been attracted to Don Quixote have with good reason chosen a single episode from Cervantes's novel, one of the most popular being Camacho's wedding (Don Quixote, II, xix, xx, xxi). This episode is an obviously suitable choice; it is complete in itself, and it demonstrates not Don Quixote's folly but his idealism in bringing

together two unjustly-separated lovers. Above all it contains many references to music and dancing and includes a performance of a ballet-masque representing the conflict between Love and Interest. Also, it is possible that the popularity of this episode, which paints an idealised picture of peasant life, is in part due to Rousseau's praise of rustic simplicity, illustrated in his opera, Le devin du village (1751).

In Salieri's Don Chisciotte alle nozze di Gamace (1770) almost half of the work consists of ballet movements. Dancing is also important in Valladeres's zarzuela, Las bodas de Camacho (1772). This work contains some interesting additions to Cervantes's plot, such as the comic lovers, Perico and Antofia, who are married by Sancho, and Quiteria's cousin, Narcisa, who is in love with Camacho. In Esteve's Las bodas de Camacho el rico (1784) it is Quiteria's sister, Petronila, who secretly loves Camacho. Basilio in this version has a friend in whom he confides and who, with Petronila's help, engineers the trick played on Camacho at the wedding. The plot of this comedia pastoral moves at a very slow pace; Cervantes's short episode is here spread over five acts. Mendelssohn's early work, Die Hochzeit des Camacho (1827), is more concise, but his totally serious attitude to the subject robs the episode of its humour and gaiety. This is seen particularly in the pompous and over-used motif which announces Don Quixote's utterances, and in the conventionally melodramatic treatment of Basilio's warning to Camacho: "Wehe, Camacho, Wehe!" There are some good arias, such as Quiteria's passionate lament for Basilio, "Wer kopft so leise an die Thür?", and Sancho's aria praising Quiteria's beauty, "Die schönste Braut im ganzen Land". Some of the dance movements are also very attractive, though decidedly un-Spanish, despite their titles. The plot is expanded by the introduction of characters from other parts of the novel.

In contrast to Mendelssohn's opera, Macfarren's An Adventure of Don Quixote (1846) reduces the Camacho episode almost to the level of

farce. Basilio is treated much less seriously than in Cervantes's novel. In the First Act he is involved in slap-stick humour as he tries to enter Quiteria's room by using a ladder, and later, when, disguised as a woman, he asks Don Quixote to defend him. The music is mediocre, particularly in the religious procession scene which precedes the marriage ceremony, but the libretto contains some amusing incidents.

The most convincing dramatisation of the Camacho episode is Reparaz's zarzuela, Las bodas de Camacho (1866). Of particular interest are the characters of Basilio and Quiteria and the important rôle given to Quiteria's mother. The realistic dialogue of the mother and the neighbours re-creates an authentic peasant background to the drama. Quiteria is depicted as a strong-willed young woman. In spite of her love for Basilio, she makes it clear that she will marry Camacho, and emphatically rejects Basilio's suggestions with the words "¡Soy honrada!" She advises him to forget her, for:

Así darás motivo
a que hagan de tí burla
los grandes y los chicos. (scene iv).

Even when Basilio interrupts the wedding, she appears unmoved:

Yo no sé que pretende
tú obstinada pasión. (scene viii).

During the eighteenth century several operas were written based on the chapters of Don Quixote which describe the tricks played by the Duke and Duchess. A particularly good example is Joseph Bodin de Boismortier's Don Quichotte chez la Duchesse (1743), which contains several excellent arias, serious and comic, and many attractive dance-movements. The arias are notable for their simplicity of vocal line and their use of dance-rhythms, as in Sancho's humorous "Au secours". In the First Act Altisidora pretends to be jealous of a peasant girl whom Don Quixote takes to be Dulcinea. When the bewildered girl escapes, Merlin tells him that she has been spirited away, and that the spell can only be broken by Sancho's re-

ceiving a thousand strokes of the birch. The Second Act takes place in the cave of Montesinos, where the knight is searching for Dulcinea, having rejected Altisidora's protestations of love. Sancho is given a beating by the Duchess's attendants, and both he and Don Quixote believe themselves to have been transformed into animals. Despite her frivolous rôle, Boismortier gives Altisidora a very fine serious aria in this act. In the Final Act she appears as the Queen of Japan, and tells Don Quixote that he must seek Dulcinea in that country. The opera ends with a Japanese divertissement.

One of the most entertaining versions dealing with Sancho's governorship is Philidor's Sancho Pança dans son île (1762).¹ The libretto follows Cervantes's novel quite closely and includes Sancho's judgment on the woman raped by the farmer, the trick played on Sancho to prevent him eating, Don Quixote's letter to his squire, and the attack on the island. The dialogue is good, particularly between Sancho and Teresa, and is often modelled on the Spanish text.² Philidor's operetta also contains some original incidents, the best being a scene in which a young girl named Juliette flirts with Sancho. They are found together by Thérèse. She sings a sarcastic aria denouncing her husband as a "vieux libertin" and informs the girl's lover, who challenges Sancho to a duel.³ The work ends with a chorus: "que chacun vive dans son état".⁴ Arrieta's zarzuela, La ínsula Barataria (1864), follows Cervantes's plot

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1. See Espinós, op. cit., pp. 45-48, and M. Bardon, Don Quichotte en France au XVII et XVIII siècle: 1605-1815 (Paris, 1931), II, 647-650.
 2. e.g. Sancho: "Oh! Laissez-là vos révérences, je n'aime point tant les façons; la politesse est une traîtresse: que l'on pause mon grison, et que l'on songe à me faire dîner bien vite". Libretto (Paris, not dated), p. 8. Compare also: "Tais-toi, Thérèse, si non tu sentiras ce que pese mon bras" (scene ii), with "y ninguno me replique, que le asentaré la mano". (Don Quijote, II, xlix, p. 589.)
 3. This incident also occurs in the anonymous nineteenth-century sainete, Sancho Panza en su ínsula.
 4. Cf., "Bien se está San Pedro en Roma: quiero decir que bien está cada uno usando el oficio para que fue nacido". (II, liii, p. 613.)

even more closely than does Philidor, the only additions in the Spanish version being the librettist's melodramatic treatment of the misfortune of Don Diego's daughter and the eulogy of Don Quixote and Cervantes.

Finally, there are three eighteenth-century Italian operas which include Sancho's governorship: Caldara's Don Chisciotte in corte della Duchessa (1727), Martini's Don Chisciotte (1727), and Paisiello's Don Chisciotte della Mancia (1769).

One of the most original versions of Cervantes's novel is Chapí's zarzuela, La venta de Don Quijote (1902). It is based on the inn scene, in which the knight courts Maritornes and is beaten by the girl's lover. The real hero of this work is not Don Quixote but Cervantes himself, who arrives at the inn and observes the strange behaviour of Don Alonso de Pimental, later called Don Quijote, whose mind is disturbed through reading tales of chivalry. Cervantes alone understands him and, in the final scene, foresees his future adventures. Chapí's imaginative interweaving of fact and fiction has produced an entertaining work, which is only occasionally marred by pretentious dialogue, as in the following quotation:

Innkeeper: ¡No sabía que tuviese en el mesón biblioteca!

Cervantes: En todas partes la encuentra el observador...
Ese es mi libro, ¡la vida!

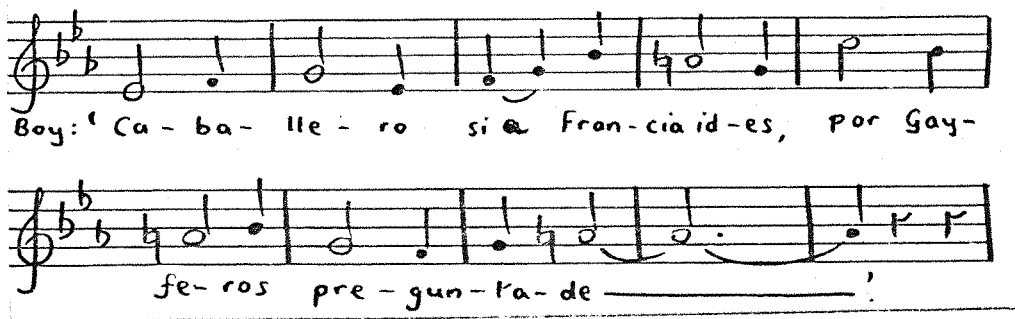
Falla's El Retablo de Maese Pedro (1923) shows a greater understanding of and fidelity to Don Quixote than does any other Quixote opera. The libretto is taken almost entirely verbatim from the novel (II, xxvi). The copious stage directions are intended to reproduce as exactly as possible the action of Cervantes's work, and Falla prefaces the score with detailed descriptions of the physical appearance and the vocal style of three singers: Don Quixote, Maese Pedro and the Boy (El Trujamán). Master Peter's Puppet-Show emphasises both the idealism of Don Quixote and his delusion with regard to knight-errantry, and it also contains several references

to music, yet Falla is apparently the only composer to have chosen this episode. This is probably due to the practical difficulty of presenting a puppet-show within an opera, a difficulty which Falla himself did not altogether resolve.¹

Before composing El Retablo, Falla made an intensive study of Castilian folk music in Cervantes's time.² Although he is sparing in his use of folk melodies,³ his desire for authenticity is reflected both in his choice of instruments and in his musical idiom. The work requires an orchestra of approximately twenty-three players, the numbers of wind and stringed instruments being roughly equal. In the overture the combination of drums and solo wind is such that Maese Pedro might have

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1. At the first staged performance, in the private theatre of the Princess de Polignac, large puppets were used for Cervantes's characters, small puppets for the characters in the "show". At subsequent performances actors were used for the "real" characters.
 2. See Edgar Istel, "Manuel de Falla", Musical Quarterly, XII, no. 4 (October 1926), 519.
 3. Two folk melodies are quoted. The first is Melisendra's song from the tower, found in the sixteenth-century lute books of Francisco de Salinas; the second is part of a Catalan dance, heard as Don Quixote fights the puppet-Moors:

Ex. 119.



Voc. sc. (London, 1924), p. 37, bars 2-11.

See M. Querol Cavalda, La música en las obras de Cervantes (Barcelona, 1948), pp. 62-63.

possessed,¹ while the sustained chord on stringed instruments suggests the drone of a gaita. J. B. Trend has drawn attention to the subtle contrast between muted and unmuted instruments.² In La sinfonía de Maese Pedro a muted trumpet, playing out of key with the other instruments, reminds the audience that the puppets are unreal. It is only after the Boy's narration that the action, as it were, becomes real, and the mute is removed. Muted instruments are also used during Melisendra's captivity to suggest remoteness of time and space.

It is in the vocal parts that Falla's intentions are most clearly seen. With the exception of the more lyrical finale, a declamatory style is used in an attempt to reproduce as faithfully as possible the tone and inflection of Spanish speech. "The part of the Boy demands a voice which is nasal and rather forced - the voice of a boy shouting in the street, rough in expression and exempt from all lyrical feeling."³ Falla conveys a very vivid impression of the Boy gabbling words which he has repeated many times, with little regard for expression:

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1. Don Quijote (II, xxvi), p. 479: "se oyeron sonar en el retablo cantidad de atabales y trompetas". See Georges Jean Aubry, "El Retablo by Manuel de Falla", The Chesterian, No. 34 (October, 1923).
 2. J. B. Trend, Manuel de Falla and Spanish Music (New York, 1929), pp. 113-146.
 3. Falla's preface to the score, trans. J. B. Trend.

Ex. 120.

sf (marcando exageradamente los acentos)

E - sta ver - dad er - a his - to - ria — que a -

- quí a vuesas mercedes se re - pre - senta, es sa -

- ca - das de las Eró - ni - cas fran - ce - sas

y de los Romances espá - ñoles que andan en boca de las gentes.

p. 9., bars 1-10.

The part of Master Peter is also devoid of lyrical expression and decidedly comic, notably in his muttered complaints when Don Quixote attacks his puppets.¹ Don Quixote's part, in contrast, is grandiose, and "should be sung with a sense of nobility and dignity which partakes equally of the sublime and the ridiculous".² In the finale he sings eloquently in praise of knight-errantry:

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1. In Falla's version Master Peter is not paid compensation, nor does Don Quixote recognise his error.
 2. Falla's preface.

Ex. 121.

¡Quisiera, yo ten-er a-quí de-lan-te a-
 -quellos que no cre-en de cuanto provecho se-an
 los caballeros andan- - - res!

p. 63, bars 6-17.

The music of El Retablo is basically tonal, although Falla makes greater use of dissonance here than in his earlier works. The influence of Stravinsky is prominent,¹ and the modal progressions of certain passages recall Debussy's Pelléas et Mélisande (1902). Much of the music, however, is impressively original, and El Retablo reproduces more effectively than any other Quixote opera the mixture of poetry and realism contained in Cervantes's novel.

1. e.g. (i) ostinato figure, beginning at p. 30, bar 14, cf. The Soldier's Tale (1918).

(ii) superimposition of several ostinati, p. 45, bar 4, a device found frequently in the Rite of Spring (1913).

Chapter 8

OPERAS BASED ON THE LEGEND OF DON JUAN

Amongst operatic subjects taken from Spanish sources, the Don Juan legend is second in popularity only to Don Quixote. The legend, of which there are many literary versions, is ideally suited to operatic treatment.¹ Don Juan's amorous adventures, the conflict between love and revenge, and the supernatural denouement would recommend the subject to librettists and composers. Above all there is the character of the protagonist, which admits of several different interpretations, and which has probably interested a greater number of dramatists, novelists, poets, critics and psychologists than has any other literary personage of the past four centuries.

The origin of the Don Juan myth is obscure. Near the main literary source is the play El burlador de Sevilla (Barcelona, 1630), widely believed to be by Tirso de Molina.² But in the same century there also appeared a play entitled Tan largo me lo fiáis, erroneously attributed to Calderón and more than half of whose lines are identical with lines in El burlador. Sloman has concluded that Tan largo is an early version, El burlador a later and more skilful version, of a drama which has not been preserved.³

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1. A list of musico-dramatic adaptations of the Don Juan legend is given in the Appendix.
 2. There are, however, references to earlier plays on this theme. See J. G. Fucilla, "El convidado de piedra in Naples in 1625", Bulletin of the Comediantes, X (1958), No. 1, 5-6.
 3. A. E. Sloman, "The two versions of El burlador de Sevilla", Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, XLII (1965), 18-33. See also A. E. Sloman, "Review of D. Pedro Calderón, Tan largo me lo fiáis, ed. Xavier A. Fernández (Madrid, 1967)", Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, XLVI (1969), 164-167.
M. R. Lida, "Sobre la prioridad de Tan largo me lo fiáis. Notas al Isidro y a El burlador de Sevilla", Hispanic Review, XXX (1962), 275-295.
G. E. Wade and R. J. Mayberry, "Tan largo me lo fiáis and El burlador de Sevilla y el convidado de piedra", Bulletin of the Comediantes, XIV (1962), No. 1, 1-16.

El burlador, unlike all later versions discussed here, is essentially a religious play, whose purpose is "mostrar en acción la justicia divina",¹ and thus to persuade men of the urgent need to repent of their sins. Any attempt to regard the work as a personal tragedy or as a study of character falls short of justifying satisfactorily the supernatural intervention of the statue. Tirso, it would seem, is alone in depicting Don Juan in an almost wholly unsympathetic light, as a fool who is not really brave, save when he rescues Catalinón from drowning; a man whose moral laxity is typical of the society in which he lives.² The condemnation of Don Juan to eternal punishment is seen as a warning against the foolish postponement of repentance, emphasised by the oft-repeated line: "¿Tan largo me lo fiáis?"

Some critics, notably Weinstein³ and Castro,⁴ have objected to the ending of El burlador and have accused the Statue of vengefulness and deceit. This charge is convincingly refuted by Marni,⁵ who shows that the principle of counterpassion ("Quien tal hace que tal pague"⁶) runs

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1. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, Prólogo to Blanca de los Ríos de Lampérez, Del siglo de oro (Madrid, 1910).
 2. Aubrun has drawn attention to the immorality of Don Juan's victims and of his companion, the Marquess, to which one may add the reprehensible behaviour of Don Juan's uncle. See C. V. Aubrun, "Le Don Juan de Tirso de Molina: essai d'interprétation", Bulletin Hispanique, LIX (1957), 26-61.
 3. Leo Weinstein, The Metamorphoses of Don Juan (Stanford, California, 1959), p. 19.
 4. Américo Castro, Hommage à Ernest Martineche: Études hispaniques et américaines (Paris, not dated), p. 96.
 5. A. Marni, "Did Tirso employ counterpassion in his Burlador de Sevilla?" Hispanic Review, XX (1952), 123-133. See also C.B. Morris, "Metaphor in El burlador de Sevilla", Romanic Review, LV (1964), 248-255.
 6. El burlador, ed. Américo Castro (Madrid, 1958), III, 1050.

all through the play. Rogers¹ has also refuted the charge, arguing that both the nature of Don Juan's punishment and the choice of the Statue as executor of it are justifiable, morally as well as aesthetically. The protagonist is an enemy of society who must be destroyed. And, although he is not an atheist, he rejects the opportunity to repent, thus making himself an enemy of God. The play is therefore a social and religious tragedy; the playwright does not allow it to become a personal one.

The first important Don Juan play after El burlador was Molière's Dom Juan ou le Festin de Pierre (1665).² Although the plots are similar, the protagonist is considerably changed by Molière. In the Spanish play Don Juan's character was deduced mainly from epigrammatic remarks such as "¿Tan largo me lo fiáis?" and "Esta noche he de gozalla". These Molière expands into long dialogues and apologies, giving the audience a wittier, more refined Don Juan who has worked out a philosophy of seduction. Also, unlike Tirso's character, he is an unbeliever "un hérétique, qui ne croit ni Ciel, ni Enfer".³ There is more humour in the French play, even with regard to the multiplicity of Don Juan's conquests,⁴ although the likeable Don Juan has not yet emerged. Molière's most influential contribution to the Don Juan myth is the creation of Elvire, the rejected but still devoted wife of Don Juan, whom he had abducted

1. Daniel Rogers, "Fearful Symmetry: the ending of El burlador de Sevilla", Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, XLI (1964), 141-159.

2. Weinstein, op. cit., p. 25, mentions two earlier French versions by Dorimon (1658), and by Villiers (1659), both entitled Le Festin de Pierre ou le fils criminel.

3. The Plays of Molière, ed. A. R. Waller (Edinburgh, 1926), vol. IV, p. 144.

4. Sganarelle: "Si je te disais le nom de toutes celles qu'il a épousées en divers lieux ce serait un chapitre à durer jusqu'au soir." loc. cit., cf. El burlador, II, 746, Catalinón: "Con ésta cuatro serán".

from a convent. The transformation of the play from a social to a personal tragedy is mainly due to her presence.

It was during the eighteenth century that the concept of a likeable Don Juan with irresistible charm seems to have evolved. The process may have begun with Antonio de Zamora's play No hay plazo que no se cumpla ni deuda que no se pague, y convidado de piedra (first recorded performance, Madrid, September 7, 1713), in which Don Juan appears to repent a moment before he dies. Even in Goldoni's play, Don Giovanni Tenorio o sia Il Dissoluto (1736), in which the protagonist is intended to represent Goldoni's own rival, it is clear that women find Don Giovanni very attractive. Goldoni's nonchalant attitude to Don Giovanni's punishment¹ is indicative of a marked change in ideas from Tirso's time. In eighteenth-century versions the Statue's retribution was generally seen either as personal revenge or as a convenient method of dispensing justice. The theological implications by now had disappeared.

In the nineteenth century the Don Juan myth was transformed to such an extent that the message of the first plays became distorted almost beyond recognition. The most significant changes were the omission of Don Juan's punishment and the addition of a mutual love relationship between Don Juan and Ana. Two important Don Juan plays were written during this period.² The first, Don Juan de Marana [sic] (1836), by Dumas père, shows a Don Juan who, having lived a dissolute life, is converted and gives himself to charitable acts.³ In the second, José Zorrilla's

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1. "I thought I ought not to suppress the thunderbolt which strikes Don Giovanni, because a wicked man ought to be punished", quoted by E. J. Dent, Mozart's Operas (London, 1960), p. 124.
 2. The order of these two plays has not finally been established. See Weinstein, op. cit., p. 124.
 3. The play is based on the life of a nobleman from Seville, Miguel de Mañara (1626-79).

Don Juan Tenorio (1844), the myth is fused with that of Faust, in that the protagonist is saved through the love and intercession of a woman.¹ Inés, a combination of Tirso's Ana and Molière's Elvire, offers to share the same spiritual destiny as Don Juan:

Yo a Dios mi alma ofrecí
en precio de tu alma impura,
y Dios, al ver la ternura
con que te amaba mi afán,
me dijo: "Espera a Don Juan
en tu misma sepultura.
Y pues quieres ser tan fiel
a un amor de Satanás
con Don Juan, te salvarás
o te perderás con él. Don Juan Tenorio, Aguado ed. (Madrid, 1959).

There are strong dramatic as well as theological objections to this solution,² the most serious being that Don Juan is given extraordinary opportunities to repent - he even witnesses his own funeral - whereas his victims die unconfessed. Like Molière's hero he is an unbeliever, although in Zorrilla's play he is an agnostic rather than an atheist. His invitation to the Statue is issued more as a challenge to the spiritual world to prove its existence than as an insult.³ Though not an idealist, Zorrilla's Don Juan is more sympathetic than Tirso's, and his love for Inés is genuine. His rivalry with Luis gives him a motive for his crimes, albeit an unconvincing one. As drama Don Juan Tenorio is weak: its strength lies in the quality of Zorrilla's verse.

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1. This fusion is more explicit in Christian Dietrich Grabbe's drama, Don Juan und Faust (1829). The earliest known musical attempt to amalgamate the two legends is Spohr's opera, Faust (1813), which is much indebted to Mozart's Don Giovanni.
 2. See Manuel de la Revilla, "El tipo legendario de Don Juan Tenorio y sus manifestaciones en las modernas literaturas", in J.-G. Magnabal, Don Juan et la critique espagnole (Paris, 1893), p. 30. See also F. Abrams, "The death of Zorrilla's Don Juan and the problem of catholic orthodoxy", Rom.N., VI (1964), 42-46.
 3. The Statue tells Don Juan that he has been sent by God "a enseñarte la verdad" (p. 187).

Although none of the major Don Juan dramatic versions makes extensive use of music, the operatic possibilities of the myth are obvious. The earliest Don Juan opera is Il empio punito (Rome, 1669) by Filippo Acciaiuoli,¹ which anticipates Molière's play by four years. There were also a number of Don Juan prose-dramas with music, performed in Italy during the seventeenth century.² In England Don Juan first appeared in Thomas Shadwell's play, The Libertine (1676), for which Purcell later wrote incidental music. The first musical version in French was a vaudeville by Le Tellier, entitled Le festin de pierre (Paris, 1713). During the eighteenth century several Italian operas on the Don Juan theme were performed, the most famous of them being Mozart's Don Giovanni.

The year 1787 is remarkable, for not only was Mozart's opera first performed then, on October 29, but also two other Italian operas on the same subject, one if not both of which was carefully studied by Mozart and his librettist, Da Ponte.³ On February 5, at the Teatro San Moisè, Venice, Gazzaniga's Don Giovanni was first performed. The libretto was by Giovanni Bertati. At a rival Venetian theatre, San Samuele, Gardi's opera on the same subject was produced,⁴ the libretto by Guiseppe Foppa.⁵

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1. Acciaiuoli wrote the libretto; the music may be by him or by Alessandro Melani. See C. Engel, "Filippo Acciaiuoli", Musical Quarterly, XXIX (1943), 527-529. See also Sir G. Grove, Dictionary, 5th ed. (London, 1954), V, 24.
 2. See Rafael Mitjana, Discantes y contrapuntos: Don Juan en la música (Valencia, 1905), pp. 9-92.
 3. See Grove, op. cit., III, 567.
 4. On the same night, according to Grove, loc. cit.
 5. The Liceo Musicale di Bologna contains a copy of the score of each of these works. Extracts from Gazzaniga's opera are included in Dent, op. cit., and in O. Jahn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, trans. P. D. Townsend (London, 1882), 3 Vols. Dent, pp. 129-143, gives a full account of Bertati's libretto, noting its derivations from earlier versions and its influence on Da Ponte's work. See also Friedrich Chrysander, "Die Oper Don Giovanni von Gazzaniga und von Mozart", Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft, IV (1888), 351-435.

Bertati's work is a comic extravaganza in two acts. The First Act deals with the troubles of an Italian opera company in Germany, which decides to perform a new version of the Don Juan legend, the presentation of which forms the Second Act. The actors' mock-serious criticism of the plot indicates that Bertati intended to treat it as an opera buffa. The action, derived mainly from Tirso and Molière, is very similar to Da Ponte's, as are the characters themselves.¹ Gazzaniga's music, though appropriate to the various situations of the drama, is not of great significance, and makes no attempt to delineate character. His orchestration, compared to Mozart's, is thin and unimaginative.

Foppa's libretto resembles Da Ponte's less closely. The Commendatore has already been killed when the curtain rises. His Statue appears twice; first at the end of Act I, when he sees his daughter Ana at a banquet with Don Giovanni² and addresses her angrily thus:

No, padre tuo non sono.
Va scostati da mé.

His second appearance is to take Don Giovanni to hell. From the banquet scene and from the fact that Ana threatens to denounce Don Giovanni as a murderer if he will not marry her, it is obvious that she is given a very different character in this version. Foppa does not mention Ottavio, but he includes Tisbea, omitted from most versions since El burlador.

Although Da Ponte's libretto is clearly modelled on Bertati's, there are important additions, some taken from Tirso or Molière, the rest being

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1. Da Ponte omits two of Bertati's minor characters: Ximena, one of Don Giovanni's victims, and Lanterna, a servant, whose rôle is covered by Leporello. In Bertati's version, Pasquariello, Don Giovanni's servant and confidant, is given a "catalogue" aria, "Madamina, il catalogo e questo", as is his counterpart in Mozart's opera.
 2. Both are Neapolitan here, not Spanish.

Da Ponte's invention.¹ The most notable difference, however, is that of mood. Bertati's libretto is unequivocally opera buffa; Da Ponte's is poised critically between buffa and seria, as the designation, dramma giocoso, suggests.² Da Ponte's plot spans an entire opera, whereas the Don Giovanni episode is only half of the earlier opera. Mozart's librettist therefore has more space in which to develop his characters. In particular Elvira and Donna Anna are more fully developed, and it is through these two that Mozart's opera at times appears to be approaching a tragic conclusion. Da Ponte's Anna, quite unlike Bertati's, is aloof, hypersensitive on matters of duty and family honour, and, in her attitude towards men, she resembles Tirso's Tisbea, whom both librettists exclude. She is not, however, a tragic heroine; she and Ottavio merely constitute the pair of serious lovers frequently found in opera buffa. Indeed, the relationship between these two is at times made comic. Ottavio, a much weaker character than in Tirso,³ is completely dominated by Anna. This is emphasised by the music. In their duet, "Fuggi, crudele" (I, iii), Ottavio frequently echoes Anna's part, sometimes a third lower, sometimes a bar later:

1. Dent, op. cit., pp. 133-135, gives an analysis of Da Ponte's libretto, noting derivations and original material.

2. See W. J. Turner, Mozart: the Man and his Works (New York, 1954), p. 321.

3. Hoffman condemned Ottavio unmercifully, but perhaps excessively, in his description of Mozart's opera. See E. T. A. Hoffman, Sämtliche Werke (Munich and Leipzig, 1912), I, 87-103.

Ex. 122.

Anna.

frà cen - to af - fet - tie cen - - to

Ottavio

frà cen - to af - fet - tie cen - - to

vammi ondeg - gian - do il cor, vam - mi on - deg -

vammi ondeg - gian - do il cor,

- gian - - - - - do

vam - - mi ondeg - gian - - - - do il cor,

Full sc., ed. A. Einstein (New York, 1930), p. 76, bars 182-191.

Also in Act I Ottavio sings a serene aria, Dalla sua pace,¹ which inevitably comes as an anticlimax after Anna's passionate revenge-aria, Or sai chi l'onore.

The most interesting character in Mozart's opera is Elvira. It is she who would be the tragic heroine, had Mozart intended to treat the story completely seriously, but, as Dent has said, she is made to conform to the conventions of opera buffa, since it is only by adopting a

1. Mozart composed this aria for the Vienna production to replace the more difficult Il mio tesoro.

generally frivolous standpoint to the opera that one can tolerate her degradation and the cruel joke played on her by Don Giovanni and Leporello (II, ii). Here, and in the Catalogue-aria scene (I, v), Mozart makes deliberate use of the conventional patter-singing of opera buffa in Leporello's part, lest the audience should take Elvira's humiliation too seriously. Nevertheless, she cannot be treated as lightly as Anna or Zerlina, and the sympathy which one is allowed to feel for her is necessary to prepare the audience for the dire punishment of a Don Juan who, superficially at least, is much less repulsive than either Tirso's or Molière's protagonist. In the absence of a more suitable candidate, one tends to regard Don Giovanni as the hero of the opera. Unless one takes his heartlessness towards Elvira seriously, it is doubtful whether his punishment is really justified morally, however effective it may be dramatically. The killing of the Commendatore is in self-defence, and Da Ponte's libretto lacks the socio-religious standard of behaviour inherent in Tirso.

Although Mozart's Don Giovanni had only a moderate reception in Vienna, it was performed in several German towns two years later (1789).¹ In 1794 a version of Bertati's opera entitled Il Don Giovanni was performed at the King's Theatre, London. This was a potpourri, concocted by Da Ponte, "poet of this theatre", with music by Gazzaniga, Sarti, Federici, Guglielmi, and almost certainly Mozart. It was one of several burlesques of the Don Juan theme presented in London.² Three more were performed there in 1817.³ In Moncrieff's version, as far removed as any

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1. Viz. Mainz, Frankfurt, Mannheim, Bonn and Hamburg, and in Berlin in 1790.
 2. H. Rosenthal and J. Warrack, Concise Oxford Dictionary of Opera (London, 1964), p. 108, refer to one such burlesque by William Reeve performed in the same year as Mozart's opera (1787).
 3. See Mitjana, op. cit., p. 84.

from Tirso, Don Giovanni, played by a woman, is ejected from hell by a jealous Pluto for making love to Proserpine; he then marries Anna to Leporello. Musical versions in English during the nineteenth century tended to treat the subject as musical-hall farce. French versions are scarcely more serious. In David's La Statue du Commandeur (Paris, 1892), the Statue attends Don Juan's banquet, but instead of fulfilling his mission, he joins in the orgy.¹ In Italy the subject was almost entirely neglected, and Spain appears to have produced only four versions. Ramón Carnicer's Don Giovanni Tenorio (Barcelona, 1822) has an Italian libretto, and the music was undoubtedly Italianate. At that time Mozart's Don Giovanni was still unperformed in Spain, although an anonymous Convitato di pietra had been performed in Barcelona less than four weeks before the Prague performance of Mozart's opera. Nicolás Manent's zarzuela, El convidado de piedra (Barcelona, 1875) is of greater interest, since it is apparently the first musical adaptation of Zorrilla's drama.² Significant features of this work are the mutual love between Ana and Don Juan, the important parts given to the latter's licentious friends and to Ana's corruptible dueña, thereby suggesting that Don Juan's libertinism is not exceptional, and above all, Don Juan's eleventh-hour repentance, prompted by the pleading of Ana's statue in the cemetery.

The most interesting nineteenth-century adaptation from a musical point of view is a Russian opera, Alexander Dargomizhsky's The Stone Guest,³ the text of which is Pushkin's dramatic poem, Kamenyi Gost (1830), set unaltered. In many nineteenth-century versions, including Hoffmann's

1. See Mitjana, op. cit., p. 84.

2. Mitjana, op. cit., p. 78. states that the libretto was adapted by Zorrilla himself, but the libretto, in the Biblioteca Central, Barcelona, names Rafael del Castillo as the author.

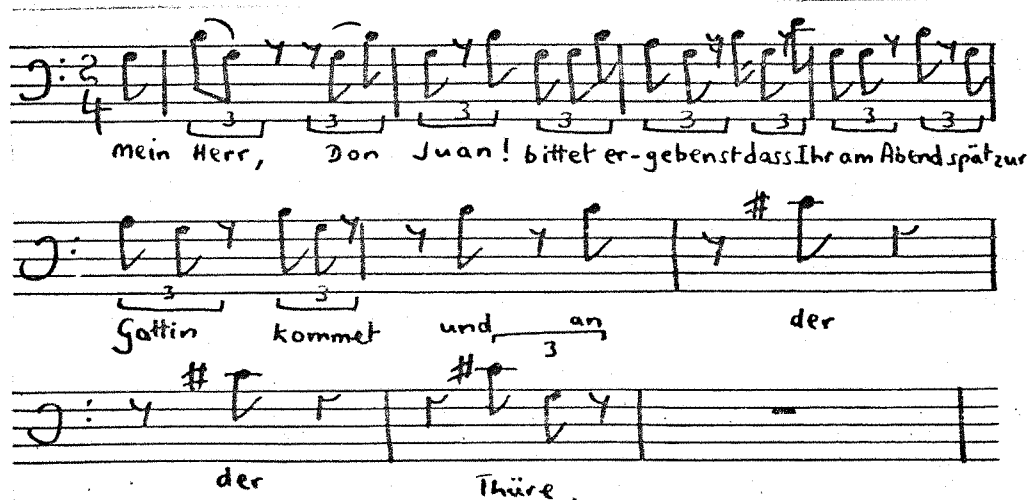
3. Composed in 1856 but completed by Cui and Rimsky-Korsakov and performed posthumously at St. Petersburg, 1872.

short story¹ and Zorrilla's play, the writer is preoccupied with the mutual passion between Don Juan and the Comendador's daughter. Pushkin tries to make this relationship more plausible by making the Comendador Ana's husband, whom she had been forced to marry by her parents. Don Juan, having killed the Comendador, comes disguised as a monk and succeeds in gaining Ana's love, but is finally claimed by the Statue of her husband. The Stone Guest is the culmination of Dargomizhsky's theories regarding operatic reform. In it he replaces the traditional forms by continuous melodic recitative, unifying the music by the use of Leitmotive. The parallel with Wagner is obvious but superficial. The vocal writing, though effective when dramatic declamation is required,² is frequently dry and lifeless, and the Leitmotive are inexpressive character-labels. The most striking feature is the extensive use made of the whole-tone scale, notably during the appearance of the Statue. Pushkin's plot and

1. E. T. A. Hoffmann, Don Juan, eine fabelhafte Begebenheit (1813). The story is the pretext for a romantic interpretation of Mozart's opera.

2. Leporello's fear, for instance, is convincingly expressed:

Ex. 123.



characters, however, have very little connection with Spanish literary versions.

Interest in Don Juan has continued during the twentieth century, particularly in Spain, in the field of popular psychology as well as literature.¹ The tendency to regard Don Juan as neither hero nor villain but to attribute his behaviour to sexual insecurity has had no noticeable effect on the Don Juan operas of this period, however. The libretto of Luis Alonso's Don Juan y la estatua del comendador (1901)² is very closely modelled on Zorrilla. Vives's zarzuela, Don Juan (Barcelona, 1905), is a fusion of Zorrilla and Tirso. Ruperto Chapí's opera, Margarita la tornera (Madrid, 1909), is not based on Don Juan Tenorio but on another work by Zorrilla, his long poem Margarita la tornera, derived from a different legend.

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1. Pérez de Ayala, in Tigre Juan (1926), takes up the idea put forward in Leopoldo Alas's La Regenta (1884), that the clue to Don Juan's behaviour towards women lies in his effeminacy. This view is developed in Marañón's psychological analysis. Other Spanish literary versions of the theme include Azorín's Don Juan, which contains several allusions to Zorrilla's work, and three plays: Don Juan de Carillana (1913) and El burlador que no se burla (1930) by Jacinto Grau, and Unamuno's El hermano Juano el mundo es teatro (1934).
 2. Revised in 1914, with a French text by A. Berlioz, and performed as Don Juan Tenorio.

There have been a number of French and German operas on the Don Juan theme this century, but none of them is based on a Spanish literary version. In Italy two Don Juan operas have been produced. The first, Franco Alfano's L'ombra di Don Giovanni (Milan, 1914)¹ is based on the life of Miguel de Mañara, although the influence of Zorrilla may be seen in the fact that Don Giovanni's repentance is brought about through the love of Vannina, in this work the brother of the man murdered by Don Giovanni. The second Italian opera is Felice Lattuada's Don Giovanni (Naples, 1929), the libretto of which is based on Zorrilla's drama. In addition to the works mentioned, there are four operas by composers from other European countries. Don Juan de Mañara (Copenhagen, 1925), by August Enna, is possibly the most ludicrous of all operatic versions of the subject. Like Chapí's Margarita la tornera, Enna's opera is centred on the mutual love between Don Juan and a nun. The First Act takes place in Seville Cathedral and consists chiefly of religious processions and pseudo-Spanish dances. At the end of it Don Juan dies unrepentant, apparently unmoved by a vision of his own funeral, as in Zorrilla. In the Second Act he is confronted by St. Michael, whose sanctimonious platitudes he interrupts by appealing to his female victims. They appear from heaven and say in turn: "Oh master, oh forgive me! I mind not what took place!" In spite of this support the archangel sends him to Hell. Here he repents and is rescued by his heavenly admirers.

The action of Eugene Goossens's Don Juan de Mañara (London, 1937), is confined to this world, and the plot is more plausible. In the Foreword, the librettist, Arnold Bennett, says: "My Don Juan has an ideal. He is not a sensualist; he is an idealist... he did not transgress the code of his age". Bennett's libretto draws on several earlier versions, including those of Tirso, Zorrilla and Dumas. From Tirso he reintroduces

1. Revised as Don Juan de Manara (Florence, 1941).

Don Juan's father; from Zorrilla he takes the character of Don Luis, who is Don Juan's dissolute friend, the bribing of Inés's maid, and Marta's offer to accept the same spiritual fate as Don Juan. In Goossen's opera it is the ghost of Don José, Don Juan's bastard brother and Inés's lover, who appears. He does not take vengeance, however, for at this point Don Juan repents and becomes a monk, as in Dumas.

It is disappointing that a legend so pregnant with operatic possibilities should have produced so few musical versions of lasting worth. Apart from Mozart's Don Giovanni, none of the fifty Don Juan operas referred to has been revived. With regard to serious adaptations of the legend, Molière and Zorrilla have been the chief sources.

El burlador has been almost entirely neglected by librettists.

CONCLUSION

The chief aim of this study has been to indicate the extent and nature of Spanish influence on opera. It is possible to regard Spain's influence as fulfilling certain needs in composers and librettists, needs which have changed with the vicissitudes of public taste in the theatre. In the eighteenth century, Don Quixote was found to be eminently suitable for the emerging, and in some circles, suspect opera buffa form. The late eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth delighted in heroic operas with spectacular theatrical effects; this period saw the performances of several operas on the Don Juan theme, which has a supernatural ending, and several which treat Columbus's voyages, the Conquest of America and other subjects from Spanish history. Parallelling the Romantic Movement in literature, especially in France, Spain was regarded as the locale par excellence for operas in which the extremes of love, hatred and revenge were mixed with religious fervour and sometimes an element of horror. Carmen and Verdi's Spanish operas are supreme examples of this genre. Political considerations may have influenced Verdi in his choice of some Spanish subjects, and almost certainly Locke's The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru had political motivation. And in the twentieth century, several composers have found an excellent source for chamber opera in the more intimate forms of Spanish drama, such as Lorca's Don Perlimplín and the Interludes of Cervantes.

As one might expect, the greatest number of "Spanish" operas have been written to Italian libretti, chiefly, but not entirely, by Italian composers. This does not indicate a greater interest in Spanish literature among Italian composers than among composers from other countries, however. A third of the Italian operas with a Spanish setting to which references have been found are based on either Don Quixote or the Don Juan legend. Not until the twentieth century have Italian composers shown

interest in other Spanish literary works, the one exception in the nineteenth century being Verdi, whose use of contemporary Spanish literature is unprecedented. During the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth operas on heroic themes were popular and the majority of "Spanish" operas of this period were based on characters and events from Spanish history. These included at least nine operas depicting El Cid, and the same number describing the Conquest of America and the voyages of Columbus. Italian composers appear to have chosen Spanish subjects simply for their dramatic merits and not because of a particular interest in Spain. Consequently one finds very few attempts to create a Spanish atmosphere in their music.

Although there have been fewer German than Italian operas with a Spanish background, German composers have shown a deeper interest in Spanish literature. The high regard for Spanish writers shown by men such as Schlegel, Tieck and Herder, and the translations which this produced, were not without their effect on German music, for, during the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth about twenty operas based on Golden-Age works were written. Unlike the Italians, German composers frequently tried to imitate the sound of popular Spanish music, one of the earliest examples of this being found in Weber's Preciosa (1821). In their adaptations of Spanish comedies, German composers have generally been unsuccessful, and several Spanish plays have been robbed of all humour and gaiety by heavy-handed musical treatment. This is particularly noticeable in Die Höhle von Salamanca, Don Gil and the Dame Kobold operas.

In spite of the political and cultural links between Spain and France and the widespread though somewhat superficial influence of Spain on French literature, few French opera composers have been attracted to Spanish literature other than Don Quixote and the Don Juan legend. French composers have tended to emphasise the love-theme at the expense

of the themes of honour and justice, which has usually produced a weaker plot and sentimentalised characters. This can be seen most clearly in Auber's Léocadie, Godard's Pédro de Zalaméa, Hùle's Dans l'ombre de la cathédrale and even Massenet's Le Cid. On the other hand, Spain's influence can be seen in a large number of operas not based on Spanish literature but with a Spanish background, as well as in several non-dramatic works by French composers, including Chabrier, Lalo, Debussy and Ravel.

Spain's own contribution to opera has not been large. After the decline of the seventeenth-century zarzuela, the history of Spanish opera shows a struggle for survival against the domination of foreign works, chiefly Italian. Several attempts were made to create an indigenous form of opera in Spain: the popular zarzuelas of Ramón de la Cruz in the mid-eighteenth century, the short tonadillas escénicas and sainetes at the end of that century and the beginning of the next, the literary operas of Arrieta and Bretón in the middle of the nineteenth century, and finally Pedrell's large-scale music-dramas based on national themes. The desire to create national opera sometimes led composers towards Spanish literature as their source; references have been found to twenty operatic adaptations of Spanish literary works other than Don Quixote and the Don Juan theme, the majority of them based on Golden-Age works. In addition to the Italian, German, French and Spanish operas mentioned, the discovery of operas on Spanish subjects by English, North-American, Flemish, Dutch, Portuguese, Polish, Swiss, Russian, Danish, Bohemian, Argentine and Hungarian composers evinces the widespread influence of Spain on opera.

The majority of the Spanish works chosen by composers and librettists are notable for their strong dramatic conflict and their clearly defined characters. In many of them, particularly the plays of Calderón and Lorca, music is an integral part of the drama, and this may well have suggested

the possibility of operatic treatment. Before 1900 very few composers or librettists showed much respect for the source of their opera. In many adaptations the plots were bowdlerised and the characters simplified to such an extent that little remained of the Spanish writer's ideas. Twentieth-century composers, on the other hand, have tended to respect the Spanish author's intentions, using music to underline rather than to transform the meaning of the play, and in some cases using the original text unaltered as their libretto. This attitude can be seen most clearly in the "Spanish" operas of Fortner, Malipiero and Falla. Fidelity to the literary source has not always produced the finest operas, however. Wolf's Der Corregidor suffers from an excessively literal approach to the sequence of events in Alarcón's novel, whereas the librettists used by Verdi, Mozart, Boismortier and Dibdin in their "Spanish" operas manipulated the literary works with a sure sense of operatic effect, sometimes adding original ideas of their own. Good literature does not necessarily produce good opera; it is the work of the composer and librettist which is judged, not the latent possibilities of the source. This study has shown that several Spanish works, seemingly well-suited to musical treatment, have produced very dull operas. And conversely, some works which have serious flaws as literature have been greatly deepened and enriched by a composer. One sees this most clearly in Verdi's "Spanish" operas.

Of the 380 operas on Spanish subjects to which references have been found, very few are in the current operatic repertoire, although some have been revived in recent years.¹ It is especially true of "Spanish"

1. These include Boismortier's Don Quichotte chez la duchesse, Philidor's Sancho Pança dans son isle, Wolf's Der Corregidor and Massenet's Don Quichotte.

operas that "these things which so mightily pleased" have become "old things of yesterday".¹ Nevertheless, opera composers have made extensive use of Spanish subjects, most of them taken from literary sources. This has produced among a host of mediocre works, some of considerable interest and a few of lasting worth.

1. Wang Hsi-Chi (A.D. 353), quoted in D. J. Grout, A Short History of Opera (Columbia, 1965), p. xix.

APPENDICES

A. Operas inspired by Spanish Literature

1. Don Quixote

Guillén de Castro y Bellvís, Don Quijote de la Mancha (1618). Play probably with music.

Anon., Sancio (Modena, 1655), libretto by Camilio Rima.

C. Sajon, Il Don Chisciotte della Mancia (Venice, 1680).

Johann Philipp Förtsch, Der irrende Ritter Don Quixote de la Mancha (Hamburg, 1690).

Henry Purcell, The Comical History of Don Quixote (London, 1694).

Alphonse d'Eve, Het Gouvernement van Sancho Panca in 't Eylandt Barataria (Antwerp, 1700). Flemish opera.

Don Quixote op de Bruiloft van Kamachio (Amsterdam, 1712), libretto by Langedik. Dutch opera. See Víctor Espinós, El Quijote en la música (Barcelona, 1947), p. 121.

Francesco Bartolomeo Conti, Don Chisciotte in Sierra Morena (Vienna, 1719), libretto by Apostolo Zeno and Pietro Pariati, later performed in a German translation as Don Quixote in dem Mohrengebirge (Hamburg, 1722).

Michael Richard de Lalande, Les folies de Cardenio (Tuilleries, 1720), libretto by C. Coypel.

Francesco Feo, Don Chisciotte della Mancia (Rome, 1726).

Gilliers, Sancho Panca, gouverneur ou La Bagatelle (Paris, 1727). Gilliers's identity is uncertain. See Sir. G. Grove, Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 5th ed. (London, 1954), III, 642-643.

Antonio Caldara, Don Chisciotte in corte della Duchessa (Vienna, 1727), libretto by Giovanni Claudio Pasquini.

"Padre" Giovanni Battista Martini, Don Chisciotte - intermezzo (Breslau, 1727), libretto by Apostolo Zeno.

Daniel Gottlieb Treu, Don Chisciotte (Breslau, 1727).

D. S. de A., Vida do grande Don Quixote de la Mancha e do gordo Sancho Panca (Lisbon, 1733), libretto by Antonio José da Silva. Portuguese opera. See Espinós, op. cit., pp. 39-40.

Antonio Caldara, Sancio Panza, Governatore dell'Isola Barattaria (Vienna, 1733), libretto by Giovanni Claudio Pasquini.

Joseph Bodin de Boismortier, Don Quichotte chez la duchesse (Paris, 1743), libretto by Charles Simon Favart.

Leonardo Leo, Il fantastico od Il nuovo Don Chisciotte (Naples, 1743), libretto by Gennatorio.

Ignaz Jacob Holzbauer, Don Chisciotte (Mannheim, c. 1755).

Niccolò Piccini, Il curioso del suo proprio danno (Naples, 1756), according to Espinós, based on "La novela del Curioso Impertinente" (Don Quixote I, xxxiii-xxxv).

François André Danican Philidor, Sancho Pança dans son isle (Paris, 1762), libretto by Antoine Alexandre Henri Poinsinet.

Anon., Sancho Gouverneur (Bavaria, 1763). See Espinós, op. cit., p. 67.

Marcello Bernardini, Il Chisciotte della Mancia (Torino, 1769).

Niccolò Piccini, Don Chisciotte (Naples, 1770).

Anon., El loco y valiente (c. 1770). Zarzuela. See G. G. La Grone, The Imitations of "Don Quixote" in Spanish Drama (Philadelphia, 1937), pp. 52-53.

Carlo Giuseppe Toeschi and Christian Cannabich, Don Quixote auf Camachos Hochzeit (Mannheim, c. 1770), libretto by Lauchberg.

Antonio Salieri, Don Chisciotte alle nozze di Gamace (Vienna, 1770), libretto by Giovanni Gastone Boccherini.

Lorenzi, Don Chisciotte (Naples, 1771). See Espinós, op. cit., pp. 89-90.

Anon., Las bodas de Camacho (1772). Zarzuela, libretto by Antonio Valladeres. See La Grone, op. cit., pp. 50-52.

August Eberhardt Müller, Don Quixote in dem Mohrengebirge (Hamburg, 1772).

Samuel Arnold, Don Quixote (London, 1774), libretto by D. J. Pignenit.

Pablo Esteve y Grimau, Las Bodas de Camacho el rico (Madrid, 1784), libretto by Juan Meléndez Valdés.

Pasquale Anfossi, Il curioso indiscreto (London, 1788), based on "La novela del Curioso Impertinente" (Don Quixote, I, xxxiii-xxxv). See Espinós, op. cit., p. 90.

Iquaz von Beecke, Don Quixote (1788), not performed. See Espinós, op. cit., p. 67.

Stanislas Champein, Le nouveau Don Quichotte (Paris, 1789). The plot of this work is not based on Cervantes's novel.

Hubatschek, Don Quixote (Hermannstadt, 1790).

Angelo Tarchi, Don Chisciotte della Mancia ossia il cavaliere errante (Paris, 1790).

Benedikt Schack, Don Quixote (Vienna, 1792).

Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf, Don Quixote (Oels, 1795).

Wenzel Müller, Der Ritter Quixote (Vienna, 1802).

Hesler, Don Quixote (Vienna, 1803).

Pietro Generali, Don Chisciotte della Mancia (Milan, 1805), libretto by Giacomo Rossi.

Miari, Don Chisciotte (Belluno, 1810).

Anon., Don Quixote und Sancho Panza, oder die Hochzeit des Camacho (Leipzig, 1815), libretto by Klingemann.

Robert Nicholas Charles Bochsa, Les noces de Camacho (Paris, 1815), libretto by François Antoine Eugène de Planard.

Manuel del Pópulo Vicente García, Don Chisciotte (Paris, 1827).

Felix Mendelssohn, Die Hochzeit des Camacho (Berlin, 1827), libretto by Carl August Ludwig von Lichtenstein.

Alberto Mazzucato, Don Chisciotte (Milan, 1830).

Saverio Mercadente, Don Chisciotte alle nozze di Gamacio (Cadiz, 1830), libretto by Esteban Ferrero.

Seymour, Don Quixote, or The Knight of the Woeful Countenance (London, 1833), libretto by G. Almar.

Gaetano Donizetti, Il furioso all'isola di San Domingo (Rome, 1833), libretto by Jacopo Ferretti. The protagonist, Cardenio, appears to be modelled on the Cardenio of Don Quixote (I, xxiii-xxiv), but the plot bears no resemblance to Cervantes's novel.

George Alexander Macfarren, An Adventure of Don Quixote (London, 1846), libretto by the composer's father.

Antoine Louis Clapisson, Don Quichotte et Sancho (Paris, 1847).

Hervé (i.e. Florimond Ronger), Don Quichotte et Sancho Pança (Paris, 1848).

Stanislaw Moniuszko, Nowy Don Kiszot czyli Sto szaleństw (Lwów, 1849), based on a comedy by Fredro. Polish opera.

Anon., Don Quijote y Sancho Panza (Seville, 1857). Unpublished zarzuela, libretto by José Velázquez y Sánchez. See La Grone, op. cit., pp. 79-80. La Grone cites several more musico-dramatic versions of Don Quixote, including an anonymous, undated sainete (comic sketch), Sancho Panza en su ínsula.

Georges Bizet, Don Quichotte. Abandoned opera project.

Carlo Riso, Don Chisciotte della Mancia (Naples, 1859).

Antonio Reparaz, La venta encantada (Madrid, 1859). Zarzuela, libretto by Adolfo García.

Franz, Der neue Don Quixote (Vienna, 1861), libretto by A. Bergen.

Francisco Asenjo-Barbieri, Don Quijote de la Mancha (Madrid, 1861), libretto by Ventura de la Vega.

Emilio Arrieta, La ínsula barataria (Madrid, 1864), libretto by Luis Mariano de Larra.

Antonio Reparaz, Las bodas de Camacho (Madrid, 1866), libretto by Francisco García Cuevas.

Anon., Las aventuras de Don Quijote de la Mancha (1868), libretto by F. Utrera y Casamayor.

Boulanger, Don Quichotte (Paris, 1869), libretto by Jules Barbier and Michel Carré.

M. Planas, Don Quijote o la venta encantada (Mexico, 1871).

Émile Pessard, Don Quichotte (Paris, 1874), libretto by Alfred Deschamps. This opera has only two characters: Don Quixote and Jeanneton, a coarse servant-girl, whom he takes to be Dulcinea.

Frederick Clay, Don Quixote (London, 1876), libretto by A. Maltby and H. Paulton.

Rolh et Weinziert (sic), Don Quixote (Vienna, 1879), libretto by Karl Graendorf. See Espinós, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

Luigi Ricci, Don Chisciotte (Venice, 1881), libretto by E. Fiorentino.

A. Neuendorff, Don Quixote (New York, 1882).

J. Redding, Don Quixote (New York, 1884).

Roth, Don Quixote (1888).

Georg Jacobi, Don Quixote (London, 1894).

Anon., Don Quijote de la Mancha. Late nineteenth-century zarzuela, libretto by Joaquín Ferramón and Manuel Juvanet Oms.

Albert Renaud, Don Quichotte (Paris, 1895), libretto by Victorien Sardou and Charles Nutter.

Miguel Santonja, La nieta de Don Quijote (Madrid, 1896), libretto by E. Montesinos and D. Jiménez Prieto. The plot of this work has no connection with Cervantes's novel.

Rauchenecker, Don Quixote (1897).

Émile Jaques-Dalcroze, Sancho Pança (Geneva, 1897), libretto by R. Yve-Plessis. Swiss opera.

Lassimane, Don Quichotte (Paris, late nineteenth century), libretto by Theolier.

Wilhelm Kienzl, Don Quixote (Berlin, 1898), libretto by the composer.

Reginald de Koven, Don Quixote (Boston, Mass., 1899), libretto by Harry B. Smith.

Ruperto Chapí y Lorente, La venta de Don Quijote (Madrid, 1902), libretto by Carlos Fernández-Shaw.

P. E. Ferrán, Las bodas de Camacho (Barcelona, 1903), libretto by J. Grau and A. Gual.

W. G. Kaufmann, Don Quixote (Pittsburgh, 1903).

R. W. Jones, Don Quixote (New York, 1903).

Amadeo Vives, El caballero de los espejos (Madrid, 1905), libretto by M. Ramos Carrión.

Teodoro San José, Don Quijote de la Mancha (Madrid, 1905), libretto by Eduardo Barriobero y Herrán.

Borrobias y Trullás, Don Quijote en Aragón (Zaragoza, 1905).

Anton Beer-Waldbrunn, Don Quixote, der sinnreiche Junker von der Mancha (Leipzig, c. 1905), libretto by G. Fuchs.

T. J. Hervitt, Don Quixote (New York, 1909), libretto by Frederick Edmonds.

F. Pasini, Don Chisciotte (Florence, 1910), libretto by R. di Cagliostro.

Jules Massenet, Don Quichotte (Monte Carlo, 1910), libretto by Henri Cain, based on Cervantes's novel and J. Le Lorrain's play, Le chevalier de la longue figure (1906).

Richard Heuberger, Don Quixote (Vienna, 1910).

G. Dall'Orso, Don Chisciotte (Genoa, 1916), libretto by G. Roccatagliata.

Emil Ifjabb Abrányi, Don Kichóte (Budapest, 1917).

Manuel de Falla, El Retablo de Maese Pedro (Seville, concert version, and Paris, staged, 1923), libretto by the composer.

Edward Levy, Don Quixote (1930).

Ernesto Halffter Escriche, Dulcinea (Lisbon, 1944).

Vito Frazzi, Don Chisciotte (Florence, 1952), libretto by the composer.

Jean-Pierre Riviére, Pour un Don Quichotte (Milan, 1961), libretto by Randal Lemoine.

The following non-dramatic works provide further evidence of the interest in Cervantes's novel among Spanish composers:

Oscar Esplá, Don Quijote velando armas (1925).

Roberto Gerhard, Don Quijote (1940).

Gombau, Don Quijote velando armas (1943).

Comellas, Don Quijote a Dulcinea (1946).

Joaquín Rodrigo, Las ausencias de Dulcinea (1948).

Albert, La ruta de Don Quijote (1948).

2. Don Juan

Alessandro Melani, Il empio punito (Rome, 1669), libretto by Filippo Acciaiuoli.

Henry Purcell, The Libertine (London, 1692?).

Le Tellier, Le festin de Pierre (Paris, 1713).

Angelo Mingotti, La gravità castigata (Brünn, 1734). See A. Caselli, Catalogo delle opere liriche pubblicate in Italia (Florence, 1969).

Giuseppe Calegari, Il convitato di pietra (Venice, 1777).

Vincenzo Righini, Don Giovanni ossia il convitato di pietra (Vienna? 1777?), libretto, possibly by A. de Filistri da Caramondani, based on a play by Goldini.

Giovanni Paisiello, Il convitato di pietra (unverified). See E. Faustini-Fasini, Opere teatrali, oratori e cantate di Giovanni Paisiello (Bari, 1940), p. 175.

Gioacchino Albertini, Don Juan albo Ukarany Libertyn (Warsaw, 1783), and as Il convitato di pietra (Venice, 1784).

Giacomo Tritto, Il convitato di pietra (Naples, 1783).

Giuseppe Gazzaniga, Il Don Giovanni ossi il dissoluto (Venice, 1787).

Francesco Gardi, Il nuovo convitato di pietra (Venice, 1787).

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Il dissoluto punito ossia il Don Giovanni (Prague, 1787), libretto by Lorenzo da Ponte Caramondani.

William Reeve, Don Giovanni (London, 1787).

Vincenzo Fabrizi, Don Giovanni (Fano, 1788).

Vincenzo Federici, Don Giovanni (1794).

Il Don Giovanni (London, 1794). Pot-pourri of earlier versions.

Le grand festin de Pierre (1811), music arr. Cunissy, libretto Rivière.

William Thomas Moncrieff, Giovanni in London, or the Libertine Reclaimed (London, 1817). The success of this extravaganza is indicated by the three sequels:

_____, Giovanni in the Country.
_____, Giovanni in Paris.
_____, Giovanni the Vampire.

Henry Rowley Bishop, Don John, or the Libertine (London, 1817), libretto by Isaac Pocock. This includes, in mutilated form, some of Mozart's music.

Thomas John Dibden, Don Giovanni, or A Spectre on Horseback! (London, 1817). Pot-pourri.

Pietro Raimondi, Il dissoluto punito (Rome, 1818).

Ramón Carnicer, Don Giovanni Tenorio (Barcelona, 1822).

Giovanni Pacini, Il convitato di pietra (Viareggio, 1832).

Ángel Rubio, Don Gonzalo de Ulloa (1832?). Unverified.

Antoine de Choudens, La Jeunesse de Don Juan (place and date of performance not known), libretto by Louis Gallet.

Robert Reece, Don Giovanni in Venice (London, 1860).

Edouard B. B. d'Orgeval, Le Don Juan de village (Brussels, 1863), libretto by Chazot.

Alexander Dargomizhsky, The Stone Guest (St. Petersburg, 1872).

Nicolás Manent, El convidado de piedra (Barcelona, 1875).

J. M. M. Edmond, Prince de Polignac, Don Juan et Haïdée (Saint-Quentin, 1877), libretto by Edmond Delière, based on Byron's Don Juan.

Benedetto Palmieri, Il nuovo Don Giovanni (c. 1887). Unverified.

E. David, La Statue du Commandeur (Paris, 1892).

Vidal, Juan de Mañara (1898).

Paul Lacombe, Le festin de Pierre (1902).

Amadeo Vives, Don Juan (Barcelona, 1905).

Ruperto Chapí y Lorente, Margarita la tornera (Madrid, 1909).

Franco Alfano, L'ombra di Don Giovanni (Milan, 1914).

Paul Graener, Don Juans letztes Abenteuer (Leipzig, 1914), based on a play of the same name by Otto Anthes.

Luis Alonso, Don Juan Tenorio (Paris, 1914).

Reynaldo Hahn, L'homme à la rose (Paris, 1920), based on a play of the same name by Henri Bataille.

August Enna, Don Juan Mañara (Copenhagen, 1925).

H. Wunsch, Don Juans Sohn (Weimar, 1928).

Felice Lattuada, Don Giovanni (Naples, 1929).

Hans Haug, Don Juan in der Fremde (1930).

Rudolf Wagner - Regency, Sganarelle (c. 1930), after Molière.

Erwin Schulhoff, Plameny (The Flames) (Brno, 1932).

Eugene Goossens, Don Juan de Mañara (London, 1937).

Hermann Reutter, Don Juan und Faust (Stuttgart, 1950), based on Dietrich Grabbe's tragedy of the same name.

Henri Tomasi, Don Juan de Mañara (written 1949-52), based on O. V. de Lubicz-Milosz's Miguel Mañara.

3. Other Spanish Literary Works

Middle Ages

Fernando de Rojas, La Celestina.

Felipe Pedrell, La Celestina (Barcelona, 1903).

Golden Age

Anon. attr. Cervantes, Los habladores.

Jacques Offenbach, Les Bavards (Paris, 1862).

Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez, El diablo predicador.

Basilio Basili, El diablo predicador (Madrid, 1849).

Guillén de Castro y Bellvís, Las mocedades del Cid.

Peter Cornelius, Der Cid (Weimar, 1865).

Georges Bizet, Don Rodrigue (unfinished).

Jules Massenet, Le Cid (Paris, 1885).

Pedro Calderón de la Barca, El mayor encanto, amor.

Peter von Winter, Circe (1788, unperformed).

Bernhard Romberg, Ulysses und Circe (Berlin, 1807).

Ruperto Chapí y Lorente, Circe (Madrid, 1905).

Werner Egk, Circe (Berlin, 1948).

_____, El dragoncillo.

Emilio Arrieta y Corera, El conjuro (Madrid, 1860).

_____, El alcalde de Zalamea.

Ignaz Umlauf, Der Oberamtmann und die Soldaten (Vienna, 1782).

Stanislas Champein, Isabelle et Fernand, ou l'alcaide (sic) de Zalamea (Paris, 1783).

Jarno, Le juge de Zalamea (place and date not known). Clément and Larousse, Dictionnaire, is the only known reference.

Benjamin Godard, Pédro de Zalamea (Antwerp, 1884).

_____, No hay burlas con el amor.

Jean Baptiste Bréval, Ines et Léonore, ou la soeur jalouse (Paris, 1788).

_____, La vida es sueño.

Johann Georg Conradi, Der königliche Prinz aus Polen, oder das menschliche Leben wie ein Traum (Hamburg, 1693), libretto by C. H. Postel.

Louis Schloesser, Das Leben ein Traum (Darmstadt?, 1839).

Gian Francesco Malipiero, La vita e sogno (Breslau, 1943).

Pedro Calderón de la Barca, El mágico prodigioso.

Walter Courvoisier, Der Sünde Zauberei (written 1921).

_____, La dama duende.

Joachim Raff, Dame Kobold (Weimar, 1870).

Paul Felix Weingartner, Dame Kobold (Darmstadt, 1916).

Kurt von Wolfurt, Dame Kobold (written 1938).

_____, La puente de Mantible.

Franz Schubert, Fierrabras (written 1823). Incidental music for Kupelweiser's play.

Miguel Cervantes Saavedra, La cueva de Salamanca.

Peter von Winter, Der Bettelstudent oder das Donnerwetter (Munich, 1785).

Juan Gay, La cueva de Salamanca (Madrid, 1905).

Bernhard Paumgartner, Die Höhle von Salamanca (Dresden, 1923).

Felice Lattuada, La caverna di Salamanca (Genoa, 1938).

_____, El celoso extremeño.

Charles Dibdin, The Padlock (London, 1768).

Tomás Barrera, El celoso extremeño (Madrid, 1908).

_____, La Gitanilla.

Carl Maria von Weber, Preciosa (Berlin, 1821).

Antonio Reparaz, La Gitanilla (Madrid, 1861).

_____, Rinconete y Cortadillo.

Joaquín Gaztambide and Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, Rinconete y Cortadillo (Madrid, 1850).

D. S. de A., Rinconete y Cortadillo (Madrid, 1872).

_____, El retablo de las maravillas.

Hans Werner Henze, Das Wundertheater (Heidelberg, 1949).

_____, La fuerza de la sangre.

Daniel François Esprit Auber, Léocadie (Paris, 1824).

_____, La ilustre fregona.

Raoul Laparra, L'illustre fregona (Paris, 1931).

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Henry Barraud, Numance (1950).

_____, Entremés del viejo celoso.

Goffredo Petrassi, Il cordovano (Milan, 1949).

Alonso de Ercilla, La Araucana.

José Lidón, Glauro y Cariolano (Madrid, 1792).

Agustín Moreto y Cabaña, San Franco de Sena.

Emilio Arrieta y Corera, San Franco de Sena (Madrid, 1883).

_____, El desdén con el desdén.

Charles Baguer, La princesa filósofa o sea el desdén con el desdén (1798).

Heinrich Hoffmann, Donna Diana (Berlin, 1886).

Emil Nikolaus von Rezniček, Donna Diana (Prague, 1894).

Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla, Entre bobos anda el juego.

Amadeo Vives Roig, Don Lucas del Cigarral (Madrid, 1899).

Fray Gabriel Téllez (Tirso de Molina), Don Gil de las calzas verdes.

Walter Braunfels, Don Gil von dem grünen Hosen (Munich, 1924).

_____, Los tres maridos burlados.

Raoul Laparra, Las Toreras (Lille, 1929).

Lope de Vega Carpio, La discreta enamorada.

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Urspruch, Das Unmögliche von Allem (Carlsruhe, 1897).

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Michael Balfe, L'étoile de Seville (London, 1845).

_____, La dama boba.

Ermano Wolf-Ferrari, La dama boba (Milan, 1939).

Luis Vélez de Guevara, Reinar después de morir.

Noguera, Inés de Castro (1903).

Calleja y Lleó, Inés de Castro (1903).

_____, La luna de la sierra.

Vicente Martín y Soler, Una cosa rara o sia Bellezza ed onestà (Vienna, 1786).

Nineteenth Century

Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, El niño de la bola.

Richard Franz Joseph Heuberger, Manuel Venegas (Leipzig, 1889).

Hugo Wolf, Manuel Venegas (unfinished).

_____, El sombrero de tres picos.

Hugo Wolf, Der Corregidor (Mannheim, 1896).

Riccardo Zandonai, La farsa amorosa (Rome, 1933).

Marino Cremonesi, Il cappello a tre punte (Bergamo, 1959).

Antonio García Gutiérrez, El trovador.

Giuseppe Verdi, Il trovatore (Rome, 1853).

_____, Simón Bocanegra.

Giuseppe Verdi, Simon Boccanegra (Venice, 1857).

Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, Los amantes de Teruel.

Avelino de Aguirre, Gli amanti di Teruel (Valencia, 1865).

Tomás Bretón y Hernández, Los amantes de Teruel (Barcelona, 1889).

Joaquín and Serafín Álvarez Quintero, El genio alegre.

Franco Vittadini, Anima Allegra (Rome, 1921).

Angel Saavedra, Duque de Rivas, Don Álvaro, o la fuerza del sino.

Giuseppe Verdi, La forza del destino (St. Petersburg, 1862).

Conrado del Campo, El final de Don Álvaro (Madrid, 1911).

Juan Valera, Pepita Jiménez.

Isaac Albéniz, Pepita Jiménez (Barcelona, 1896).

Twentieth Century

Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, La catedral.

Georges Hùe, Dans l'ombre de la cathédrale (Paris, 1921).

Federico García Lorca, Bodas de sangre.

Juan José Castro, Bodas de sangre (Buenos Aires, 1956).

Wolfgang Fortner, Bluthochzeit (Cologne, 1957).

Hale Smith, Blood Wedding (unperformed).

Alberto Evaristo Ginastera, Bodas de sangre (unverified).

Sandor Szokolay, Vernász (Budapest, 1964).

- García Lorca, El amor de Don Perlimplín con Belisa en su jardín.
Vittorio Rieti, Don Perlimplín (New York, 1952).
Federico Elizalde, Don Perlimplín (unverified).
Bruno Maderna, Don Perlimplin ovvero il trionfo dell'amore e dell'immaginazione (Milan, 1961).
Wolfgang Fortner, In seinem Garten liebt Don Perlimplin Belisa (1962).
_____, Títeres de Cachiporra.
Federico Elizalde, Títeres de Cachiporra (unverified).
_____, La zapatera prodigiosa.
Juan José Castro, La zapatera prodigiosa (unverified).
Esteban Montejo, Biografía de un Cimarrón.
Hans Werner Henze, El Cimarrón (Alderburgh, 1970).

B. Operas with a Spanish setting, but not inspired by Spanish literature

1. El Cid

- Leonardo Leo, Il Cid (Rome, 1727).
Antonio Sacchini, Il Cidde (London, 1769).
Francesco Bianchi, Il gran Cidde (Florence, 1773).
Giovanni Paisiello, Il gran Cid (Florence, 1775).
Niccolo Piccinni, Il Cid (Naples, 1776).
Giuseppe Farinelli, Il Cid delle Spagne (c. 1797).
Johann Caspar Aiblinger, Rodrigo und Zimene (Milan, 1821).
Jacob Carl Wagner, Chimène (Darmstadt, 1821).
Luigi Savi, Il Cid (Parma, 1834).
Giovanni Pacini, Il Cid o Rodrigo di Valenza (Milan, 1853).
Neeb, Der Cid (Frankfurt, c. 1857).
Raffaele Coppola, Il Cid (Cremona, 1884).
M. W. Bohme, Der Cid (Dessau, 1887).

2. Columbus

- Vincenzo Fabrizi, Colombo (Rome, 1789).
Francesco Morlacchi, Colombo (Genoa, 1828).
Luigi Ricci, Colombo (Parma, 1830).
Sangiorgi, Colombo (Parma, 1840).
Giambini, Colombo (Genoa, 1846).
Félicien David, Christophe Colombe (1847).

Casella, Cristoforo Colombo (Nice, 1865).

C. Marcorca, Cristoforo Colombo (Bahia, 1869).

Penco and Bignami, Cristoforo Colombo (Genoa, 1883).

Alberto Franchetti, Cristoforo Colombo (Genoa, 1892).

Darius Milhaud, Christophe Colombe (Berlin, 1930).

Werner Egk, Columbus (radio opera, 1933).

3. Spanish Conquest of America

Antonio Vivaldi, Montesuma (Venice, 1733).

Carl Heinrich Graun, Montezuma (Berlin, 1755).

Francesco di Mayo, Montezuma (Turin, 1765).

Giovanni Paisiello, Montezuma (Rome, 1772).

Antonio Mario Gaspero Gioacchino Sacchini, Montezuma (London, 1775).

Niccolò Antonio Zingarelli, Montesuma (Naples, 1781).

Tomasso Giordani, Pizarro nell'Indie (Florence, 1784).

Francesco Bianchi, Pizarro (Venice, 1788).

Marcello Bernardini, Pizarro in Peru (Naples, 1791).

Mellier, Fernand Cortez (1791).

Gasparo Luigi Pacifico Spontini, Fernando Cortez ou la conquête du Mexique (Paris, 1809).

Henry Bishop, Cortez or the Conquest of Mexico (London, 1823).

Giovanni Pacini, Amazilia (Naples, 1825).

Ignaz Seyfried, Montesuma (Vienna, c. 1825).

Schroeder, Pizarro (Berlin, 1847).

Ignacio Overjero, Hernán Cortés (Madrid, 1848).

Candeille, Pizarre (1875).

The operas by Mayo, Paisiello and Zingarelli use the same libretto, by Vittorio Amadeo Cigna-Santi.

4. Other Subjects

Matthew Locke, The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru (London, 1658).

Henry Purcell, The Spanish Fryer (London, 1695?).

_____, The Conquest of Granada (London, ?).

- Giovanni Bononcini, Almahide (London, 1710).
- Rodríguez de Hita, Las segadoras de Vallescas (Madrid, 1768).
_____, Las labradoras de Murcia (Madrid, 1769).
- Samuel Arnold, The Spanish Barber (London, 1777).
- J. Kaffka, Die Zigeuner (Breslau, 1778).
- Duplessis, Don Carlos (1780).
- Giovanni Paisiello, Il barbiere di Siviglia (St. Petersburg, 1782).
- Samuel Arnold, The Castle of Andalusia (London, 1782).
_____, New Spain (London, 1790).
- Bernhard Anselm Weber, Inés de Castro (1790).
- Luis de Persius, La nuit espagnole (1791).
- Francesco Bianchi, Inés de Castro (London, 1791).
- Giuseppe Farinelli, Inés de Castro (Naples, 1797).
- Prosper Deshayes, Don Carlos (1800).
- Niccolò Antonio Zingarelli, Inés de Castro (Milan, 1803).
- Ludvig van Beethoven, Fidelio (Vienna, 1805).
- Giuseppe Marco Maria Felice Blangini, Inés de Castro (written c. 1810 but apparently not performed).
- André Ernest Grétry, Les Maures d'Espagne (unperformed).
- Ferdinand Fränzl, Carlo Fioras, oder der Stimme in der Sierra Morena (Munich, 1810).
- Luigi Cherubini, Les Abencérages ou l'Étendard de Grenade (Paris, 1813).
- Gioacchino Rossini, Il barbiere di Siviglia (Rome, 1816).
- Francesco Morlacchi, Il barbiere di Siviglia (Dresden, 1816).
- Saverio Mercadente, Il podestà di Burgos (Vienna, 1824).
- Roeth, Das Abenteuer in Guadarrama Gebirge (Vienna, 1825).
- Saverio Mercadente, Donna Caritea, regina di Spagna (Rome, 1826).
- Gaetano Donizetti, Alahor in Granata (Palermo, 1826).
- José Melchior Gomis, Le Diable à Seville (Paris, 1831).
- Gaetano Donizetti, Sancia di Castiglia (Naples, 1832).
- Giovanni Pacini, Fernando, duca di Valenza (Naples, 1833).
- Konradin Kreutzer, Das Nachtlager von Granada (Vienna, 1834).

- José Melchior Gomis, Le Portefaix (Paris, 1835).
- Giuseppe Persiani, Inés de Castro (Naples, 1835).
- Colet, L'Abencérage (1837).
- Sarmiento, Alfonso d'Aragona (Naples, 1838).
- Basilio Basili, El novio y el concierto (1839).
- Antoine Elwart, Les Catalans (Rouen, 1840).
- Fromental Halévy, Le Guitarrero (Paris, 1841).
- Basilio Basili, El ventorillo de Crespo (1841).
- Miguel Hilarion Eslava y Elizondo, Il solitario (Cadiz, 1841). Rhythmic clapping is used in one of the choruses in this work.
_____, Don Pedro el cruel (Seville, 1843).
- Raffaele Coppola, Inés de Castro (Lisbon, 1842).
- Giovanni Pacini, Il duca d'Alba (Venice, 1842).
- Nordal, Don Carlos (Linz, 1843).
- Michael Costa, Don Carlo (London, 1844).
- Giuseppe Verdi, Ernani (Venice, 1844).
- Vincent Wallace, Maritana (London, 1845).
- Giuseppe Verdi, Alzira (Naples, 1845).
- Joaquín Espín y Guillén, El asedio de Medina (Madrid, 1845).
- Lavenue, Loretta, a tale from Seville (London, 1846).
- Luigi Ricci, Estella (Milan, 1846).
- Pasquale Bona, Don Carlo (Barcelona, 1848).
- Antonio Giuseppe Cappa, Giovanni di Castiglia (Barcelona, 1848).
- Adolphe Adam, Le Toréador, ou l'Accord parfait (Paris, 1849).
- Emilio Arrieta y Corera, La conquista di Granada (Madrid, 1850).
- Mariano Soriano Fuertes, La fábrica de tabacos de Sevilla (Seville, 1850).
- Chiararamonte, Giovanna di Castiglia (Genoa, 1852).
- Serafino di Ferrari, Don Carlo (Genoa, 1853).
- Temístocles Solera, La hermana de Pelayo (Barcelona, 1853).
- Jacques Offenbach, Pepito (Paris, 1853).

Adolphe Adam, Le Muletier de Tolède (Paris, 1854).

Barbier, Nuit à Seville (1855).

Giuseppe Apolloni, L'Ebreo (Venice, 1855), based on E. Bulwer Lytton's novel, Leila, or the Siege of Granada.

Emilio Arrieta y Corera, Isabella la Cattolica (Madrid, 1855).

Theophile Semet, Nuits d'Espagne (Paris, 1857).

Antonio Reparaz, Don Pedro el cruel (Madrid, 1857).

Saverio Mercadente, Pelayo (Barcelona, 1858).

Giovanni Pacini, Il mulattiere di Toledo (1861).

Vincenzo Moscuzza, Don Carlo (Naples, 1862).

Battista, Giovanna di Castiglia (Naples, 1863).

Joaquín Gaztambide, La conquista de Madrid (Madrid, 1863).

Jerónimo Jiménez, Trafalgar: Episodio Nacional (1865), a mediocre, chauvinistic zarzuela which has nothing in common with Galdós's novel of the same name apart from its setting.

Giuseppe Verdi, Don Carlo (Paris, 1867).

Giovanni Pacini, Don Diego di Mendoza (Venice, 1867).

Jules Massenet, Don César de Bazan (Paris, 1872).

Felipe Pedrell, El último Abencerraje (Barcelona, 1874).

Giovanni Magnanini, Giovanna di Castiglia (Carpi, 1874).

Georges Bizet, Carmen (Paris, 1875).

Antonio Smareglia, Preziosa (Milan, 1879).

Franz von Suppé, Doña Juanita (Brussels, 1880).

Johann Strauss the younger, Das Spitzentuch der Königen (Vienna, 1880), based on an apocryphal incident in the life of Cervantes.

Franz von Suppé, Manolito el rayo (performed?).

Lyschine, Don César de Bazan (1880).

Gaetano Donizetti, Il duca d'Alba (Rome, 1882).

Seghettini, Ines di Castiglia (Nice, 1886).

Castegnato, Don Pedro di Castiglia (Milan, 1888).

H. Dütschke, Der Alcalde von Burgos (1890).

Emilio Serrano y Ruiz, Doña Juana la loca (Madrid, 1890), an ópera nacional of Pedrellian magnitude.

Tomás Bretón y Hernández, Garín (Barcelona, 1892).
_____, La verbena de la paloma (Madrid, 1893).
_____, La Dolores (Madrid, 1895).

Emilio Serrano y Ruiz, Gonzalo de Córdoba (Madrid, 1895).

Luis Alonso, L'abdication de Charles Quint (place and date not known).

Amadeo Vives Roig, Euda d'Uriach (Barcelona, 1900).

Felipe Pedrell, Los Pirineos (Barcelona, 1902).

Lorenzo Filiasi, Manuel Menéndez (Milan, 1904).

Gabriel Dupont, La Cabrera (Milan, 1904).

Raoul Laparra, La Habanera (Paris, 1908).
_____, La Jota (Paris, 1911).

Maurice Ravel, L'heure espagnole (Paris, 1911).

Riccardo Zandonai, Conchita (Milan, 1911).

Manuel de Falla, La vida breve (Nice, 1913).

Enrique Granados, Goyescas (New York, 1916).

Conrado del Campo, El avapiés (1919).

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