From *Spain: A historical and Cultural Guide*. Ed. C. Wood and M. McDonald. Melbourne: ASA Publications, 1997. 307-17. [ISBN 0-9587359-1-3]

The *Spanishness* of Spanish music

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To the outsider, the notion of "Spanish music" usually conjures images of sinuous, exotic song and flamboyant, seductive dance. Whether it be the flamenco of Andalusian gipsies, or echoes of traditional music transformed for the concert hall by Albéniz or Falla, there is a commonly understood image of what "Spanish" music is. The image remains constant for both traditional music and art music. The single feature that is immediately identifiable about Spanish music is its Spanishness. But not all the music of Spain's past and present conforms to this image, not all Spanish music has that distinctively Spanish sound.

Where does Spanish music fit into the Western tradition? Very little Spanish music is known outside Spain, and just as much remains virtually unknown in Spain as well. The repertory is vast: it stretches across the Iberian peninsula like a giant river whose distant source is buried deeper than the thirteenth century, pouring out a seemingly unending stream of expertly-crafted and incredibly beautiful music. Several factors have kept it inaccessible, beyond reach. The first is musicology, and the profession of music scholars. Even though Spain has had a strong tradition of musical scholarship since the late nineteenth century, the sheer enormity of Spain's musical heritage has far exceeded the human and economic resources available to research, publish and record it. This situation was further compounded by the politics of the Franco regime (1939-1975) which restricted musicology almost exclusively to churchmen. With priorities determined by their calling, their attention turned to the heritage liturgical music. The innumerable volumes published during the 1950s, 60s and 70s made an undeniable contribution to our knowledge of renaissance liturgical music, but at the expense of other areas. It is only now that a truer picture of Spanish baroque music is emerging, and only now in the 1990s are scholars revisiting the nineteenth-century Spanish symphonic repertory.

The second factor is historiographical. Even more than literature and the visual arts, Spanish music has never been regarded as part of the

European mainstream. Recent philosophical shifts in the writing of history are changing this. Traditional music histories stress the evolutionary aspects of musical styles. In an "Abraham begat Isaac" view of music, events in distant and isolated Spain were neither influential nor relevant to what was occurring in Venice, Rome, Paris, Vienna or London, especially in the eyes of predominantly German or English historians. Traditional Western music history is thus largely the history of music in Italy, France and Northern Europe. Even current trends towards a notion of "centre and periphery" in cultural development do little to bring Spain into perspective. The impact of the social sciences on music historiography has been more liberating. Music history now encompasses much more than the study of musical masterpieces in their chronological sequence. Scholars working more as musical sociologists and anthropologists are revealing music as a human activity; music in the context of its creators, practitioners and consumers; music in terms of its social function. Recent writings are becoming more inclusive of Spanish music alongside music of other parts of the modern European Union.

The "Spanishness" of the most recognisable Spanish music is partly a matter of temperament. Just as the Spanish sun creates a sharper contrast between light and shade, the temperament of the Spaniard contrasts sharply in its emotional extremes. The same is true of Spanish music. At the same time, there are also tangible features that contribute to the distinctive Spanish sound. Melodies based on exotic Andalusian scales, distinctive harmonic progressions that have been common to Spanish music for centuries, or rhythms—either those like the *sevillana* or the *fandango* that instantaneously recall Spain, or the other irregular patterns that have abounded in Spanish music—all contribute significantly. But this so-called "Spanishness" can also result from far less consequential devices. A simple vocal trill or turn, a melodic ornament of the kind that occurs spontaneously in traditional song, is often sufficient to evoke a Spanish identity where it might otherwise not exist.

Projected internationally as the archetype of Spanish music and a transmitter of many of the qualities just described, flamenco is the music of Andalusian gipsies. It is the music neither of a region nor a nation. While the flamenco tradition figures strongly in Andalusian culture, it does not represent Andalusian folk music, and it is also relatively recent. Its pedigree scarcely stretches two centuries. As an oral tradition, the history of flamenco comprises many myths and contradictory opinions. Its gipsy links are strong, and it is probable that flamenco was born in the private celebrations of gipsy clans or as the work songs of gipsy blacksmiths. By the 1830s it had emerged from seclusion and took the stage among the diverse vaudeville entertainments offered at Spanish *café cantantes*. From this point, non-gipsy performers became part of the tradition and the guitar became inseparable from the originally unaccompanied songs and dances. By the end of the nineteenth century many of the central flamenco genres had crystallised, and performers from

the dynasties that have subsequently dominated flamenco had assumed artistic leadership.

Flamenco draws extensively from Andalusian folk music. Gipsy minorities in urban and rural communities have unavoidably assimilated the music around them. The continuing dynamism of flamenco is largely a product of its eclecticism. It is also for this reason that many of the distinctions between flamenco and folk music appear contradictory. Many flamenco melodies and dance rhythms share common characteristics with Andalusian folk music. Flamenco genres are usually categorised according to their level of intensity: *cante jondo* (deep song) and *cante chico* (light song). Specific song types are located within these broad categories. *Soleares* is one of the most common of deep genres, while *bulerias*, *alegrías* and the *rumba flamenca* are among the lighter variety. Each song genre has its own specific codes, usually an identifying rhythmic and harmonic pattern with numerous additional elements fixed by tradition. Each genre has it specific repertory of songs, but performances take the structural formula as a point of departure and evolve as improvisation within tightly controlled boundaries, seeking to surpass personal limits of performance ability and to invoke *duende*, the profound spiritual state that represents the revelation of ultimate truth. The most highly esteemed performers are those who achieve *duende*, singers of the past like Tomás Pavón, La Niña de los Peines as well as legends of our time, most notably the recently deceased Camarón de la Isla.

Flamenco performance involves four elements: dance (*baile*), song (*cante*), the guitar, and *jaleo*, the clapping and interjections that assist in maintaining the rhythm and encouraging the performers to the excel. A typical performance by a flamenco troupe begins with the dance, establishing the rhythm and mood. The subsequent section focuses on the *cante*. Rhythm gives way to introspective lament, rising in intensity until all the elements return, the dancers join the song, and the performance builds to its concluding climax. This same type of formal organisation was borrowed by Spanish composers, most noticeably Albéniz whose piano works are very often direct analogies of flamenco form.

Other forms of traditional music that populate the Spanish landscape are as diverse as the geographical and political regions that comprise modern Spain. Each region possesses its own historical and cultural identity, and its own musical traditions. In the north west, the ancient Celtic presence in Galicia is still evident in the use of the *gaita* or Spanish bagpipe to accompany *muñeiras* and other jig-like dances that resound at communal celebrations. In Castile, the medieval tradition of the pipe and tabor still dominates traditional dance music, typically employing the *chirimía*—a close descendent of the medieval shawm—accompanied by a side drum. The dances of both these northern areas are danced in couples or in larger formations using strict steps. These are traditionally performed in cities and towns during the festivities of each

community's patron saint. To the east along the Mediterranean seaboard, the situation differs again. In Catalonia—from Barcelona to the smaller towns—the most prevalent and frequent expression of popular musical tradition is the *sardana*. This sobre circle dance is probably far more ancient than the eleven-piece *cobla* that provides the accompaniment. The music these days is usually composed rather than traditional and the popular repertory includes works by figures such as the legendary cellist Pau (Pablo) Casals. The *cobla* is a Catalan brass band of euphoniums and horns, lead by a double-reed *tenora*, another descendent of the medieval shawm. The *cobla* assembles on the steps of Catalan churches each Sunday after Mass, and the *sardana* is danced by anyone who wishes to join in rather than by a specially trained group. In Aragón, to Catalonia's west, the most famous form of traditional music is the *jota*. The *jota* is a compound form that includes both song and dance with accompaniment by an ensemble of guitars and bandurrias. The prominent use of castanets by the dancers and the insistent rhythm of the *jota* make it one of the genres that might easily be confused with flamenco. Faster dance sections alternate with periods of slower declamatory song. Hearing the vocal strength of voice of *jota* singers makes it easily understandable how such a culture can spawn the likes of Domingo, Carreras and Caballé.

At particular points in Spanish history, traditional and folk music has played a decisive role in the formulation of the language of art music. Behind the music itself, some kind of social or political imperative has usually been at work. Cross fertilisation between the two musical worlds seldom occurs for purely musical reasons. The strongest and most continuous incorporation of traditional materials into Spanish music occurred in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In many ways, this stems from a local reaction to the Napoleonic invasion (1808) and culminates with the late nineteenth-century nationalist movement. In contrast to the Napoleonic sympathisers who readily adopted French custom and tastes, there was an active social movement characterised by the *majos* and *majas*, Madrid's dashing youth—so vibrantly portrayed by Goya—whose dress, habits and lifestyle placed traditional Spanish values above those associated with the imported regime. As part of this movement, the music of the popular eighteenth-century *seguidilla* was transformed into the *bolero* that provided an alternative to the Italianate musical forms patronised by the court. Not long afterwards, in the 1830s, the modern zarzuela was born, an attempt to create Spanish opera. During the following hundred years literally thousands of these works were composed and performed in Madrid theatres, reaching a pinnacle in the second half of last century.

The zarzuela is a form of light opera that substitutes the sung recitative of opera with spoken dialogue, but which includes arias, duets, ensembles, choruses, and dance numbers accompanied by a large orchestra. Madrid itself is the most frequent backdrop for these works. Among the perennially famous zarzuelas, *El Barberillo de Lavapiés* by

Francisco Asenjo Barbieri (1823-1894) revolves around a barber in the Madrid locality of Lavapiés and is a parody on Rossini's *Barber of Seville*; *La Verbena de la Paloma* by Tomás Bretón (1850-1925) is set against the festivities celebrating Madrid's patron saint, while *La corte del Faraón* (The Pharaoh's Court) by Vicente Lleó (1870-1920) uses its Egyptian backdrop to parody of Verdi's *Aida*. The music of the zarzuela displays a large diversity of styles and influences. Above a base of Italian operatic tradition, there are many varied features that make it identifiably Spanish. In many works it is the inclusion of Spanish dances, such as the famous "Jota" in Bretón's *Las Dolores* that employs musical material drawn from folk tradition, and incorporates bandurrias and traditional percussion instruments into its palette of orchestral colours. Many items in other works are similarly drawn from popular genres . In many other pieces, it is simply the decorative vocal ornaments that suggest a sense of national identity.

During the zenith of the zarzuela's popularity Spain became a tourist destination for many European Romantics. Spaniards and foreigners alike were drawn to Andalusia by the exoticism of the Moorish legacy, epitomised above all by the magnificent Alhambra in Granada. In Spain, the exoticism of Africa and the East lay at Europe's feet. The Alhambra and the world it represented became a point of artistic inspiration. Spanish composers themselves were the first to respond to this romantic impulse, and from the 1840s generated a body of works paying direct tribute to the Alhambra. Such works are among the earliest conscious attempts to incorporate exotic Andalusianisms into traditional European musical language and coincide with the early growth of European musical nationalism. These were among the first seeds of the same impulse that inspired subsequent generations of musicians well into the present century including Albéniz, Falla, Turina, and Rodrigo. Foreign composers who composed works based on their journeys to Spain include Chabrier, Glinka, Rimsky-Korsakov and Bizet. Ravel and Debussy are among those who wrote works of Spanish flavour without ever visiting Spain.

The work of the great pianist composers Isaac Albéniz (1860-1909) and Enrique Granados (1867-1916) should be seen in this broader context. Granados is at his most Spanish in his *Danzas españolas*, but these works are the least typical of his output. His series of *Goyescas* —conceived for piano and later reworked into an opera—are Romantic musical portraits inspired by the *majos* and *majas* of Goya's canvases. In a piano idiom that owes a great deal to Chopin and Schumann, Granados tinges his melodies with hints of Spanish melodic gesture and rhythm, and he goes so far as to incorporate one Spanish melody from Goya's period. Predominantly, his works speak as a Romantic voice with a Spanish accent. Albéniz, the adventurous child prodigy who stowed away on a ship and played his way across both Americas before his fourteenth birthday, was educated by a life experience ahead of academic rigour. His music developed initially

by intuition and astounding incredible virtuosity. He studied as he went, eventually working with Franz Liszt—who declared Albéniz's masterpiece *Iberia* to be unplayable—and combined his increasing compositional craft with the knowledge of traditional music that his Extensive Spanish travels had provided. Occasionally drawing literally from the wellsprings of Andalusian folk music, most of his music consists of freely developed themes, rhythms and textures that suggest Andalusian music. "El Albaicín" from *Iberia*, for example, is an evocation of the old Moorish quarter of Granada, overlooked by the Alhambra and subsequently the home of the Granadine gipsies. Albéniz's setting is a direct translation of the language of the flamenco guitar into the piano idiom. Its arresting style is similar to that of "Asturias" from his *Suite española*, but in this latter case, his use of Andalusian material to depict the ancient Cantabrian principality is a telling anomaly.

In the Spanish nationalist movement, intuitive Albéniz is something of an exception. The characteristic that distinguished Spanish musical nationalism from movements in other countries was its historical consciousness. Spanish musicians went further than simply elevating folk music to art status. Under the guidance of the composer-scholars Barbieri and Felipe Pedrell (1841-1922), Spanish musicians became aware of Spain's "glorious musical past". In addition to being a prolific and influential composer, Barbieri was a bibliophile and scholar. He scoured Spanish archives and amassed an enormous musical library and his took copious notes on all aspects of Spanish music. His 1890 edition of the *Cancionero Musical de Palacio*, the fifteenth-century songbook of the catholic kings Ferdinand and Isabella, was an editorial and ideological milestone. At precisely the same time, Pedrell also became involved in the same kind of activity. The eight-volume *Hispaniae Schola Musica Sacra* (1894-1898) came fast on the heels of Barbieri's *Cancionero*, the first of a series of influential publications that culminated in his *Cancionero Popular Musical Español* (1918-1922), a four-volume historical and geographical anthology of Spanish music.

Pedrell was an influential teacher and was decisive in shaping the subsequent generation. One of his most prominent proteges was Manuel de Falla (1876-1976). Several of Falla's nationalistic works composed prior to 1920 have earned a place in the international concert repertory: *El amor brujo* (Love the Magician), *Noches en los jardines de España* (Nights in the Gardens of Spain), and *El sombrero de tres picos* (The Three-Cornered Hat). These are the works that embody Pedrell's philosophy in Falla's own modernist musical language. After 1920, Falla re-configured his compositional style along neo-classical lines, but without compromising his commitment to Spanish tradition. Even in his new, more severe style, materials drawn from the Spanish heritage, are at the heart of both *El Retablo de Maese Pedro* (Master Peter's Puppet Show) and the *Concierto* for harpsichord and chamber ensemble.

Joaquín Rodrigo (b. 1901) is the last living link with Pedrell and the nationalist past. His most successful work, the *Concierto de Aranjuez* (1938/39) for guitar and orchestra, is inspired by the eighteenth-century palace in Aranjuez and uses nationalistic themes and rhythms within a classical three-movement form. Rodrigo has drawn consistently on Spanish landscape and architecture, using either traditionally-based themes or impressionistic images. His second work for guitar and orchestra, the *Fantasía para un gentilhombre* (1954) is based entirely on themes by the seventeenth-century guitarist Gaspar Sanz.

In many ways out of time with modern Spain, Rodrigo is not representative of contemporary composers. Since the early 1950s, Spanish composers have cultivated a musical language more tuned to European trends. Among the more significant of them, Cristóbal Halffter (b. 1930), Luis de Pablo (b. 1930), and Tomás Marco (b. 1942), grew up under the influence of Stockhausen, Berio, Boulez and other European composers of the avant garde. Subsequently, they have developed in line with much other European musical thought to produce post-modern eclectic works that draw on a rich diversity of influences. Composers in today's Spain feel no need to assert a national or geographic identity in their music.

Other periods or genres of Spain's musical past share this absence of characteristic national identifiers. Little music survives from medieval Spain and does not provide more than a glimpse of what may have constituted the musical experience of more than five centuries ago. Medieval and renaissance Spanish cityscapes, however, are dominated by cathedrals, churches, and monasteries that are eternal monuments to Christianity, spaces once filled with liturgical chant and various forms of polyphony. The Catholic Church was one of the most significant patrons and consumers of music in Spain. Among surviving manuscripts, the Codex Calixtinus is the earliest remnant of polyphonic music preserved on the Iberian peninsula. Originating in Santiago de Compostela in the mid twelfth century, it shows that the practices of making note-against-note music to ornament the liturgy were known in Compostela as early as elsewhere in Europe, probably transmitted by pilgrims who flocked to kneel at the shrine of St James. Similarly linked to pilgrimage is the handful of pieces of much later date (c. 1380) contained in the *Llibre Vermell* (the Red Book—on account of its nineteenth-century velvet covers) from the Benedictine abbey of Montserrat near Barcelona. In Castile a hundred years earlier, a scribe at the Cistercian convent of Las Huelgas in Burgos had copied out some polyphonic pieces that are stylistically related to the Parisian style of composition. Rather than identifying a strong nationalist school, this manuscript serves to underline the links that existed between the most privileged convent in Spain—a community comprised exclusively of princesses and the daughters of the highest noble families—and progressive international musical centres.

Perhaps more exceptional are the *Cantigas de Santa María* compiled by king Alfonso X "the Wise" (1221-1284). No other medieval musical compilation in medieval Europe parallels this one. As part of Alfonso's more general encyclopedic ambition, he collected from all over Europe some 360 stories of the miraculous deeds of the Virgin Mary, and had them set to music in Gallician-Portuguese verse. Together with forty songs of praise of the Virgin, Alfonso supervised the copying of the songs into the most sumptuously decorated manuscripts. One of the two principal manuscripts—now housed in the library at El Escorial—illustrates each *cantiga* with a series of exquisite miniatures, while the other contains a cycle of miniatures placed above every tenth *cantiga* that form a pictorial encyclopedia of nearly one hundred different musical instruments. It is impossible to judge how typical the style of these songs may have been, but if Higinio Anglés' interpretation of their rhythmic notation is correct, then they are the earliest examples of the deliberately asymmetrical rhythms common to later Spanish repertories.

The marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, in 1469 consolidated the two principal Spanish kingdoms into an incipient modern nation. Securing the marriage of their children Juan and Juana to the heirs of Hapsburg Emperor Maximilian was a masterly feat of diplomacy that tied Spanish royalty to the most influential European royal house. It is evident that the Catholic Kings wished not only to emulate the culture of other prestigious courts, but they also wished to do this in a way that affirmed their own national identity. Following the lead of Milan and Ferrara, an impressive chapel was established employing the best available musicians. Unlike the Italians, they sought local musicians rather than singer-composers from north of the alps. Ferdinand and Isabella promoted a new style of music that symbolised their cultural status and distinctiveness. Spanish religious music, as seen in the works of Francisco Peñalosa (c.1470-1528) and Juan de Anchieta (d.1523), is more chordal and homophonic than the contemporary European mainstream, and the new secular style was based directly on melody and verse drawn from popular tradition. Concise lyric refrain poems and long narrative ballads, *villancicos* and *romances*, were composed for performance at court and collected into the Cancionero Musical de Palacio, the manuscript mentioned above in relation to Barbieri. The principal contributor was Juan del Encina (1468-1529). Typical of the entire collection, his works are very close to popular spirit, whether it be any of his amorous villancicos, bawdy songs such as *Si habrá en este baldrés, mangas para todas tres* (Will there be enough of this glove leather to make sleeves for we three girls?) or his sobre lament *Triste España sin ventura* (Sad Spain without fortune) that marks the untimely death of prince Juan. The music of this period was distinctively Spanish compared with parallel European production, and is marked by vibrant rhythms and the use of simple harmonic progressions emanating from popular practice.

Upon the death of Ferdinand in 1516, it was Emperor Maximilian's grandson Charles who ascended the Spanish throne. A Hapsburg born in Austria and raised in the Low Countries, Charles V (Charles I of Spain) brought musical change in Spain. The most significant influence was the arrival in Spain of Charles' personal chapel from the Low Countries. Singer-composers of the stature of Nicholas Gombert (c.1500-c.1556) were to spend long periods in Spain and to exert a notable influence over native musicians. Trained in the art of Josquin and his generation, Spain produced masters such as Cristóbal de Morales (c. 1500-1553), Francisco Guerrero (1527-1599), Rodrigo Ceballos (c1525-1581) and Tomás Luis de Victoria (c.1548-1611). Charles' personal religious piety mixed well with Spanish Catholicism. The great Spanish cathedrals—Seville, Granada, Malaga, Toledo, Palencia, Leon, and Burgos among them—developed outstanding choirs under the direction of leading composers. Many of them housed magnificent organs, and they were among the first in Europe to employ permanent wind bands to participate in important services. Competition between the cathedrals to secure the most prestigious musicians was fierce. Spanish ecclesiastical records abound with documents concerning contests for vacant positions as *maestro de capilla* and the fluid movement of leading musicians from post to post throughout the land. The best of them ventured further afield, and the large number of Spanish singers at the Papal Chapel in Rome throughout the sixteenth century reflects their excellence and their international standing.

Secular music also flourished during the reign of both Charles V and his son Philip II. Although less abundant than the surviving liturgical repertory, it confirms that it was the same church polyphonists who were the composers of Spanish madrigals. On the one hand, composers adapted the popular poetry of the *villancico* to the imported polyphonic style; on the other, they turned to the new Italianate poetry of Garcilaso de la Vega and Juan Boscán to a create a more austere Spanish counterpart to the Italian madrigal. The courts of the upper nobility were centres for the propagation and consumption of such music and which, together with the wealthy urban bourgeoisie of cities such as Valladolid, eagerly adopted Italian humanist culture. As well as the organ music needed for the church, it is in both these courtly and sophisticated domestic settings that solo instrumental music flourished. Spanish keyboard music, either for organ or harpsichord, is represented most magnificently by the works of Antonio de Cabezón (c.1510-1566), undoubtedly one of the finest instrumental contrapuntalists in all Europe. While the lute became the universal instrument in European courts and households, it was rejected in Spain in favour of the guitar-like vihuela. Used in part for accompanying singers, the vihuela also had its own sophisticated repertory of solo music that drew together the improvised minstrel tradition and the contrapuntal style of vocal polyphony. Its leading exponents enjoyed considerable social prestige. Virtually extinct by the

end of the century, the vihuela was usurped by the guitar, recently elevated from a lowly existence as an instrument strummed by uneducated classes. This change was symbolic of a more fundamental shift in musical and social priorities.

The distinctiveness of Spanish renaissance music resides in its severity, sobriety and plaintiveness. Apart from a certain orientation towards light-hearted courtly-popular candour, it is predominantly directed towards deeper areas of human contemplation, and it often makes it point with arresting honesty. It is the chemistry of regal piety mixed with a Spanish propensity for austerity, inspired by the land and the church, but never shunning the picaresque, no matter how strong the fear of Inquisition. Unlike other manifestations of national musical identity, it is less tangible yet none the less real.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the baroque and classical periods of music, are probably the areas of Spanish music that are least known. Being largely music for the theatre and the chamber, this is the most patent example of the disinterest shown by ecclesiastical musicologists to secular culture. The most universally known figure of the period is the Italian harpsichordist Domenico Scarlatti (1685-1757) who spent the years from 1729 until his death in Spain. Bourbon rule from 1701 entrenched strong Italian tastes in music, aided by the twenty-five year presence at the court of the Italian castrato Farinelli, who used his favour with the royal family to ensure the dominance of the Italian music. Scarlatti, however, was thoroughly absorbed by his environment, and many of his keyboard sonatas incorporate elements drawn from his Spanish experience. Scarlatti imitated the rhythms of Spanish dance, he also imitates the strumming and many other idiomatic features of the guitar. But Scarlatti was at the end of a chain, he was not its initial inspiration. The later Hapsburgs, notably Philip III (1598-1621) and Philip IV (1621-1665) were patrons of frequent and lavish court entertainments that made festivity a way of life. On one hand, there was a rekindled interest in popular tradition, and the emulation of popular style, including the rise of the guitar to new prominence. Similarly, the courtly and bourgeois menu of dances was augmented beyond the staple pavanes, allemandes and courantes to include many popular Spanish dances such as the *jácaras*, *folías*, *españoletas*, and *canarios*. Equally significant was the rise of the Spanish theatre, the plays of Lope de Vega and Calderón de la Barca being among the most significant contributions to the Golden Age of Spanish literature. Incidental music was an integral part of theatrical performances. Juan Hidalgo (1612-1685) and Sebastián Durón (1660-1716) are among the prominent composers who provided music of great vitality, characterised especially by rhythmic vivacity and irregularity. They went beyond the theatrical medium as well to produce many *tonos humanos*, cantatas for both chamber and church use.

Even though there had been attempts to create Spanish opera from as early as 1627, the lyric genre never came to occupy the same prominence that it enjoyed in neighbouring France and Italy. A continuous Spanish tradition of native opera composition and performance never emerged, for it appears that sung recitative gained only limited appeal in Spain. During the last years of the reign of Philip IV, however, a new kind of spectacle involving song, dance and spoken dialogue was devised for performance at the king's out-of-town residence, the Palacio de la Zarzuela. These spectacles eventually became known as zarzuelas and are the first examples of the genre that dominated nineteenth-century Spanish music. The earliest zarzuela is Calderón's *El Golfo de las Sirenas*, first performed in 1657. Although far fewer in number, Spanish operas—sung throughout with recitative instead of spoken dialogue—were also composed. Calderón de la Barca is also responsible for the earliest operatic libretto. An adaptation of Virgil's Dido and Aeneas, *La púrpura de la rosa* was performed in 1660 with music by Juan Hidalgo. The preference for the zarzuela genre continued throughout the eighteenth century with composers Antonio Literes (1673-1747) and José de Nebra (1702-1768) following in the path of earlier composers and perpetuating the courtly penchant for heroic, mythological themes. Only a small number of works ventured into the domain of popular culture. Performed in 1768, the earliest of these, *Las segadoras de Vallejas*, was a collaboration between playwright Ramón de la Cruz (1731-1794) and composer Antonio Rodríguez de Hita (c.1724-1787) and may have been a premonition of the direction that the regenerated zarzuela would pursue in the nineteenth century.

We have now come a complete circle. There are numerous areas that I am all too aware that I have not been able to mention—church music since after the sixteenth century, for example, or Spanish classicism and the music of Juan Crisóstomo Arriaga (1806-26) who in his twenty brief years wrote some astounding chamber and orchestral works. It should be clear that I have used the concept of "Spanishness" as an excuse to present a broad sweep along both temporal and geographical dimensions. The concept of national musical identity has provided little more than a framework to move from what is presumably more familiar territory into less clearly charted areas. I would hope, therefore, that readers who have encountered new aspects of the Spanish cultural landscape will be encouraged to explore them further, to hear them where they still exist across the length and breadth of modern Spain, or to listen for their distant echoes as they visit cathedrals, castles and palaces, cities and villages. Today's value systems encourage plurality and the appreciation of cultural phenomena in their own context and in terms of their own intrinsic values. In reality, there have been and there will always be many Spains.

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Canciones y Danzas de España. Songs and Dances from the Time of Cervantes (1547-1616). Hesperion XX, dir. Jordi Savall EMI CDM 7 63145 2

El Cancionero de Medinaceli. Hesperion XX, dir. Jordi Savall Astree E 8764

El Siglo de oro: Spanish sacred music of the Renaissance. Pro Cantione Antiqua & The London cornett and sackbut ensemble, dir. Bruno Turner. Das Alte Werk 2292-46003-2.

Matheo Flecha, Las ensaladas. Huelgas Ensemble, dir. Paul van Nevel. Sony Classical: SK 46699.

Music of the Spanish Renaissance. Shirley Rumsey. Naxos: 8.550614.

O quam gloriosam. Tomás Luis de Victoria. Westminster Cathedral Choir, dir. D. Hill. Hyperion A66114.

The Complete Motets of Francisco de Peñalosa. Pro Cantione Antiqua, dir. Bruno Turner. Hyperion A66574.

The Echo of Orpheus: Vihuela Music of Renaissance Spain. John Griffiths. Move MD 3092

Treasures of the Spanish Renaissance. Guerrero, Lobo, Vivanco. Westminster Cathedral Choir, dir. D. Hill. Hyperion A66168.

Vihuela music of the Spanish Renaissance. Christopher Wilson. Virgin Classics VC 7 91136-2.

Baroque

¡Ay Amor! Spanish 17th c. Songs & Theatre Music. The Newberry Consort. Harmonia Mundi HMU 907022.

El Barroco español: Tonos humanos und Instrumentalmusik, um 1640-1700. Hesperion XX. EMI: CDM 7 63418 2.

Lope de Vega: Intermedios del barroco hispánico. Montserrat Figueras, Hesperion XX. Astree Auvidis E8729

Luz y Norte. Lucas Ruiz de Ribayáz. The Harp Consort, dir. Andrew Lawrence-King. Harmonia Mundi 054 7277 8102.

Música barroca española. Monsterrat Figueras, Jordi Savall, Ton Koopman, Janneke van der Meer, Pere Ros, violin. Philips: 432 822-2.

Scarlatti, Domenico. *Harpsichord sonatas*. Robert Woolley, harpsichord. EMI Reflexe CDC 7 49020 2.

Scarlatti, Domenico. *Scarlatti sonatas*. Maggie Cole, harpsichord. Amon Ra: CD-SAR 27.

Spanish Music of the Golden Age, 1600-1700. Extempore String Ensemble, dir. George Weigand, with María del Mar Fernández Doval, soprano. Hyperion CDA66327.

Organ Music

El Organo histórico español. 10 vols: 1. Antonio de Cabezon, 2. Francisco Correa de Arauxo, 3. Joan Baptista Cabanilles, 4-5. La Escuela de Zaragoza I-II, 6. Salamanca, 7-8. Música catalana I-II, 9. El órgano

castellano, 10. El siglo XVIII. Various performers. Audividis Valois: V 4645-V 4654.

Classical, Romantic, Zarzuela

Arriaga, String Quartets. Rasoumovsky Quartet. Ensayo ENY-CD-3424

Barbieri, Francisco Asenjo. *El Barberillo de Lavapiés*. María Bayo, Lola Casariego, Orquesta Sinfónica de Tenerife, cond. Victor Pablo Pérez. Audivis Valois V 4731

Bretón, Tomás. *La Verbena de la Paloma*. Placido Domingo, María Bayo, Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid, cond. Antonio Ros Marbá. Audiovis Valois V 4725

Fiesta de la zarzuela. Placido Domingo, Teresa Berganza [et al.]. Forlane UCD 10.903.

Placido Domingo, Romanzas de Zarzuelas. EMI CDC 7 49148 2

Penella, Manuel. *El gato montés*. Placido Domingo, Veronica Villarroel, Juan Pons, Teresa Berganza, Coro Titular del T.L.N La Zarzuela, Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid, cond. Miguel Roa. Deutsche Grammophon 435776-2.

Sarasate by Kaplan. Mark Kaplan, violin ; Bruno Canino, piano. Arabesque Z6614.

Spanish Festival. CSR Symphony Orchestra cond Keith Clark. Naxos 8.55086. Works by Chabrier, Massenet, Elgar, Rimsky-Korsakov and Glinka.

Nationalist and contemporary music

Albéniz: Concierto fantástico, op. 78; Iberia, suite pour orchestre. Enrique Pérez de Guzman, piano; Orquesta de Valencia, cond. Manuel Galduf. Auvidis Valois V4661.

Albéniz: Iberia ; Chants d'Espagne. Rafael Orozco, piano. Auvidis Valois V 4663.

Albéniz: Iberia, Navarra, Suite española. Alicia de Larrocha (piano). Decca 417 887-2

Enrique Granados, Danzas Españolas. Alicia de Larrocha (piano). Decca: 414 557-2.

Falla, Halffter, Gerhard. Orquesta Sinfónica de Tenerife, dir. V. Pablo Pérez, G. Gonzalez, piano. Etcetera: KTC 1095.

Falla, Manuel de. *Atlántida*. Estes, Bayo, Berganza, Joven Orquesta Nacional de España. Audivis Valois: V 4685.

Falla, Manuel de. *El amor Brujo; Noches en los jardines de Espana; Interlude and dance.* London Symphony Orchestra dir G. Simon. Chandos CHAN 8457

Falla, Manuel de. *El sombrero de tres picos; Concerto pour clavecin*. Joven Orquesta Nacional de España and soloists, dir. Edmond Colomer. Auvidis Valois V 4642.

Falla, Manuel de. *Nights in the gardens of Spain; The three-cornered hat ; La vida breve*. L'Orchestre de la Suisse romande, cond. Ansermet. Decca 417 771-2

Granados, Falla, Mompou, Nin. [Composers playing own works on piano] EMI CDC 7 54836 2.

Granados: Danzas Españolas. Alicia de Larrocha, piano. Decca 414 557-2.

Halffter, Ernesto. *Sinfonietta en re mayor*. English Chamber Orchestra dir. E. García Asencio. Ensayo Digital: ENY-CD-9915.

Isaac Albeniz: Iberia; Chants d'espagne; Suite espagnole. Ricardo Requejo (piano). Claves

Rodrigo, Joaquin. *Concierto de Aranjuez; Fantasia para un gentilhombre*. J. Williams, guitar, Phil Orch, L Fremaux. Sony Classical SK 37848

Rodrigo, Joaquin. *L'oeuvre complete pour piano*. Jean-Gabriel Ferlan. Dante PSG9432/33.

Spanish Fireworks. Alicia de Larrocha (piano). Decca 417-795-2

Teresa Verganza Canciones Españolas. Granados, Turina, Guridi, Toldra. Claves 508704.

The fabulous Victoria de los Angeles. EMI Classics: CMS 5 65061 2 (4 discs). [Inc Spanish works by Monsalvatge, Granados, Rodrigo, Mompou, Espla, Toldra, Falla, Turina.]

Turina, Joaquin. *Rapsodia sinfónica; La oración del torero*. San Diego CO dir. D Barra, G Romero, piano. R Golden sop. KOCH International: 3-7160-2H1.

Flamenco and popular music

Arte Flamenco. [Multi-volume series of vintage flamenco from the 1920s to 1960s]. Mandala Records.

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