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ABSTRACT

My dissertation argues that musical theater and public debates about music shaped modern opinion in Spain during the last two decades of the eighteenth century, before the private and the public became institutionalized in the bourgeois family and the nation-state respectively. Musical debates were particularly stimulated by two converging circumstances in the last years of Charles III's reign and the first years of Charles IV's: the reopening of the Italian opera theater in Madrid, and unparalleled developments in the local periodical press. In examining short music theater pieces, printed criticism, and the conversation between the two media, I propose that during this time period the Madrid upper- and middle-classes first acknowledged opinion as a force capable of determining the functioning of their society.

Like all intellectual endeavors during the late-eighteenth century, musical practices faced the challenge of reconciling the Habsburg legacy of a Catholic, monarchical Spain with the European Enlightenment that exalted human agency, reason, and nature. Unlike what happened in other European capitals, music in late eighteenth-century Madrid neither represented nor questioned the political establishment directly. Instead, public music performances at the city theaters provided society with a medium to digest and reformulate orally circulated opinions, Enlightenment-derived ideas, and Bourbon absolutist policies. In its capacity as a public language with multiple avenues for participation, music helped Spanish people to transition from the old to the new order without threatening their religious identity.

In addition to contributing to the knowledge of Spanish music and criticism, this dissertation proposes that the late Spanish Enlightenment can be better understood through public cultural debates than through the official history of Bourbon reforms and enlightened despotism.

INTRODUCTION: THE INFLUENCE OF SPANISH LITERARY NEOCLASSICISM IN MUSIC RECEPTION AND DEBATES DURING THE LATE-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

CRITICS VS. MUSICIANS: EL CENSOR AND EL MÚSICO CENSOR, 1786

Two years before the death of the third Bourbon king, Charles III (r. 1759-1788), two printed discourses about music circulated in Madrid. One proposed that music should follow natural human expression; the other asserted that music-making required mastery of rules developed through the centuries. The periodical *El Censor* (Madrid, 1781-1787) published the first text as Discourse 97 on March 23, under the pseudonym Simplicio Greco y Lira (Simplicius Graecus et Lyra).¹ The second, titled *El músico censor de El Censor no músico*, was printed by the Royal Chapel musician Manuel Cavaza under the pseudonym Lucio Vero Hispano (Lucius Veracious Spaniard), on May 6 of the same year.² Cavaza disputed *El Censor's* arguments from the point of view of an offended professional musician left out of the public discussion about the nature and function of music. Cavaza felt threatened by the anonymous writer who wrote about music without the technical knowledge of practical musicians, and he felt the authority to write about music slipping out of the hands of “the body of music professors,” whether “priests, laymen, teachers, pupils,” thus out of the field of art and science and into that of satire (2). In his opinion, only music maestros could *censor* (judge) music while critics did not know what they were talking about, hence the title *El músico censor de El Censor no músico*.

¹ Luis María García Cañuelo y Heredia, "Discurso XCVII," *El Censor*, no. 97 (1786): 525-48.

² Manuel Cavaza, *El músico censor de El Censor no músico, ó Sentimientos de Lucio Vero Hispano, contra los de Simplicio Greco, y Lira: discurso unico* (Madrid: en la imprenta y librería de Alfonso Lopez... , 1786).

For his part, the anonymous author of Discourse 97 of *El Censor* pleaded for Spanish musicians to return to nature and simplicity (hence “Simplicio”).³ Following the principles of literary *neoclásicos* like Ignacio de Luzán (1702-1754) and Tomás de Iriarte (1750-1791), Simplicio abhorred baroque technologies, specifically the contrapuntal forms that musicians like Cavaza prized in church music. He invoked the music of the ancient Greeks (hence “Greco”) as the only models worthy of emulation, possibly with the exception of plainchant. Speech and prosody, he claimed, must rule any and all music in order to move the human heart. Artifice, on the contrary, diverts the spectator from affective experience to the skill of the artist.⁴ Discourse 97 formed part of a wider critique of artistic practices in Spain. The few anonymous authors who wrote for *El Censor* consistently denounced the backwardness of Spaniards, often through satire.

The most striking features of this debate are, on the one hand, how liberally Simplicio Greco y Lira referred to Greek music, and on the other, how disparate the two discourses were.⁵ Simplicio responded to the idea that the music of ancient Greece did not measure up as a model for European music because it was too simple, in addition to which notated sources were lacking. He did not mention where these ideas about Greek music came from, and only stated that they were “common opinion.”⁶ Since he did not have access to any ancient Greek music, he speculated on the basis of parallels with other arts, and inferred what the music must have sounded like from the musicality of Greek language in theater, poetry, and oratory. Whereas

³ “The fine letters, and arts, according to philosophers, lose from their beauty all that they stray from simplicity.” (“Las bellas Letras, y Artes, segun el sentir de los Filósofos, pierden de su belleza todo quanto se extravían de la sencillez.”). “Discurso XCVII,” 526-7.

⁴ “The poet’s object, and that of the orator, the architect, the painter, the statue maker, is to pleasantly move our heart toward the object that they present to us, and not toward the hand that offers it.” (“El objeto de un Poëta, y de un Orador, el de un Arquitecto, un Pintor, y Estatuario es el de mover agradablemente nuestro corazón ácia el objeto que nos presentan, no ácia la mano que lo ofrece.”) *Ibid.*, 528.

⁵ Discourse 97 of *El Censor* takes 24 pages, whereas Cavaza’s reply is close to 200 pages.

Cavaza ruled out any possible comparison between ancient Greek and current music because nobody had access to scores, Simplicio was not troubled by the lack of information because he cared about expression and affect that can only be achieved through philosophy. In his view, philosophers (not musicians, who are “mere practitioners, people without philosophy”) must rescue Spanish music from retrograde canons and other baroqueries; music was about thinking and feeling rather than about rules.⁷

Why did the author of Discourse 97 feel the need to write a critique of music? Criticism was his *raison d'être*, and he wrote extensively about theater and other literary genres. He also criticized and censored social mores, and overall wanted to push Spain into a more progressive mentality, whatever that meant for him in particular.⁸ Discourse 97 can be understood in the context of the European debates between the ancient and the modern, but is nested in Spanish literary neoclassicism, which dominated all discussions of the arts during the second half of the eighteenth century. Simplicio's agenda paralleled some of Luzán's premises for literature. Like Luzán, he derided the literary *culteranismo* (or *Gongorismo*) of the seventeenth century because, in this style, ornamentation obscured meaning.⁹ For him, baroque counterpoint paralleled the syntactic labyrinths and the petty rules of *culteranismo*, an altogether “barbaric”

⁷ “If our philosophers studied music like the ancients did, it [music] would not have stagnated and been tyrannized by the whims of mere doers, people without philosophy.” “From all of this I conclude that we will never know good music until it be examined, and practiced, by philosophers who reduce it to the primitive [elemental?] philosophical simplicity of the Greek.” (“Si nuestros Filósofos estudiáran la Musica como los antiguos, no se vería ésta estancada y tiranizada por el capricho de meros executores, gente sin filosofía...” “De todo esto concluyo que jamás conoceremos la buena Musica hasta tanto que sea examinada, y practicada por Filósofos que la reduzcan á la primitiva sencillez filosófica de los Griegos.”) “Discurso XCVII,” 544, 46.

⁸ José Miguel haso believes that *El Censor* had at least a couple of authors, but consensus signals to Luis García del Cañuelo as the main author. José M. Caso González, ed. *El Censor. Edición facsímil*. Oviedo: Instituto Feijoo de Estudios del Siglo XVIII, 1989. 787 ff.

⁹ *Culteranismo* found expression in prose, theater, poetry, and sermons. The author of Discourse 97, like the Spanish neoclassicists, posits sixteenth-century authors as role models for eighteenth-century aesthetics. “Cotejemos un Sermon de los que se predicaban en el siglo pasado [XVII], con uno de Fr. Luis de Granada, por no hablar ahora de lo antiguo; pero sobre todo comparemos un Poëma de pies forzados, paranomastico, acróstico, laberintico, equivoco, trilingüe y retrogrado con uno sencillo de Garcilaso.” Simplicio Greco y Lira, pseud., García Cañuelo y Heredia, “Discurso XCVII,” 527-8.

style that preceded “philosophical discovery of the most sublime principles of [art].” Contrary to Luzán, however, and paraphrasing Iriarte, he believed that poetry and music are “closely related, inflamed by the same numen, and that they help and encourage each other.”¹⁰

Simplicio Greco drew freely from sources other than Luzán’s neoclassicism, even possibly from Rousseau-derived ideas, but the connection between Simplicio and Rousseau is not explicit. The emphasis he put on ancient Greek and the melodious prosody of the language reminds us of Rousseau’s theories of language and music. For instance, Simplicio considered melody, rather than harmony, to be the foundation of musical expression. He denounced the musicians of his time because they “take harmony to be the main part of music, when it is but a palatableness of the second order that must be subordinated to and serve the first one [melody]. Melody on its own is capable of all the merit.”¹¹ We can compare this statement to Rousseau’s in *Examination of Rameau’s Two Principles*: “The most beautiful chords, like the most beautiful colors, can convey to the senses a pleasant sensation and nothing more.... Melody is in music what design is in Painting, harmony produces merely the effect of colors.”¹² Of course, Rousseau was attacking Rameau, whereas Simplicio disapproved of seventeenth-century aesthetics. All differences acknowledged, both authors agreed on the point that music is meant to move the passions. Simplicio Greco theorized almost like a Renaissance man, searching for the kind of music that better harmonized with nature.¹³

¹⁰ Ibid., 526, 31.

¹¹ Ibid., 541.

¹² Jean-Jacques Rousseau and John T. Scott, *Essay on the origin of languages and writings related to music*, The collected writings of Rousseau (Hanover [N.H.]: University Press of New England, 1998), 279.

¹³ According to Jorge Chen Sham, Simplicio Greco’s wide-encompassing approach characterized the Spanish philosopher of the eighteenth century, expected to be “a freethinker who would not want to limit his horizon to any one area of knowledge, (Sánchez-Blanco 1991: 459-60).” (Chen Sham, “La sátira del letrado en el silo XVIII español,” in *Dieciocho: Hispanic Enlightenment* [Fall 2002, 25.2] 229-42). Says Simplicio about the connection about nature: “Is art anything but observation of nature to yield, easily and properly, an effect that delights the intelligent one at the same time that it pleases the multitude?” (“¿Es otra cosa el arte que la observación de la naturaleza para producir fácilmente y con propiedad, un efecto que al mismo tiempo que encante al inteligente agrade á la multitud?”) “Discurso XCVII,” 528.. Nature figures prominently in the thought of *El Censor* authors. One of the most famous discourses in this publication consists of a narrative about Cosmosia and its inhabitants, a parody of Spain and Spaniards.

Discourse 97 partook of the questions about music and language, and about human nature that occupied European thinkers at the time, yet unlike them its author was not overly concerned with opera, because in 1786 the genre did not dominate the Madrid stages. He mentioned arias as an example of music overpowering words and acknowledged opera as music for the public space, but he aimed his complaints primarily at church (“Latin”) music, and then at theater music in general. Cathedrals rather than the opera house figured prominently as musical institutions in this text. Unlike the participants in the *Querelle des bouffons* earlier in the century, Simplicio did not involve himself with French or Italian music, for he worried only about his own nation lagging behind progress. He may have known the reformatory works of Gluck; like the composer and (silently) his librettist Calzabigi, he begged readers to turn attention away from the singer’s virtuosity and shift it to the flow of the text, while pressing for simplicity. Nonetheless, any convergences between Gluck and Simplicio likely point to Rousseau as a common source, given the lack of evidence that Gluck’s operas or writings circulated in Madrid at the time.¹⁴

More closely than the French *querelles*, Discourse 97 echoes the exchanges among Antonio Eximeno, Saverio Mattei, Esteban de Arteaga, and Vincenzo Manfredini in Italy during the 1770s-80s. With some important differences, the discourse resembles the structure of Esteban de Arteaga’s *Le rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano*, especially the second volume, which had been published in Bologna in 1785. Arteaga rediscovered the problem of song and

In this discourse, the author proposes natural law to redeem Spanish society from its vices. Nonetheless, Spanish intellectuals understood natural law differently from the *philosophes*. According to Carlos Eymar, the idea of natural law in Spain rejected Rousseau together with any possibility of revolution. Rather, Charles III introduced the study of *iusnaturalismo* (lex naturalis) to counteract Jesuit ideas of popular sovereignty.

¹⁴ Gluck’s operas were not performed in Madrid during the eighteenth century. *Orphée et Eurydice* was first performed in Spain in the Teatre de la Santa Creu in Barcelona in 1780. *Iphigénie en Tauride* came to Barcelona only in 1900. Operatic life in Barcelona and in Madrid followed very different paths. The French version of *Alceste* was performed on stage for the first time in Madrid at the Teatro Real in 2014. For Gluck’s connections with Rousseau, see Nathan Martin, “Iphigénie à Paris: Gluck and the *Philosophes*,” in *University of Toronto Quarterly* (Fall 2012, Vol. 81 Issue 4) pp. 860-876.

recitation as formulated by Vincenzo Galilei, Giulio Caccini, and Jacopo Corsi, whose arguments he put forward in arguing against abuses in counterpoint, as did Simplicio.¹⁵ Although Cavaza contradicts Simplicio, he refers to the same Italian polemics, including in his essay actual quotes from Mattei. In 1785, Mattei had published the legal argument *Se i maestri di cappella son compressi fra gli artigiani* in order to side with Neapolitan chapel master (Mariano?) Cordella, against those who wanted to demote the profession from a seat of musical authority to the rank of craft.¹⁶ Cavaza replied to *El Censor* in terms similar to those found in polemics prompted by Mattei's discourse, sharing the Italian author's goal of defending professional musicians.

Clearly *El Censor* and *El Músico Censor* published their discourses from different standpoints. Simplicio could not have cared less about the technicalities of music, and Cavaza could not fathom how the periodical press could outrank the thoroughgoing, enduring knowledge of books and treatises. Whereas *El Censor* began his discourse with the conviction that "philosophy discovers the most sublime principles of Beauty and Grace," *El Músico Censor* rejected philosophy's connection with music. Simplicio's reverence for Greek music and philosophy looked to Cavaza much like anti-Spanish Francophilia.¹⁷ Conventional perceptions would say that the former represents enlightened Spain because he founded his ideas about art and morals on the principle of natural reason shared by many Europeans of the time.

¹⁵ See footnote to page 36 of Stefano (Esteban de) Arteaga, *Le rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano dalla sua origine fino al presente* (Bologna: Per la Stamperia di Carlo Trenti alla Insegna di Sant'Antonio, 1785).

¹⁶ It has been debated whether the composer Geronimo (Girolamo) Cordella was the subject of this Neapolitan debate. The most recent research by Rosa Cafiero and Andrea Luppi suggests that it was instead Mariano Cordella, an organist of the Arciconfraternita di Sant'Anna. See Andrea Luppi, *Filarmonici e misarmonici. La polemica napoletana del 1785 sui maestri di cappella*, Contributi musicologici del Centro Ricerche dell'A.M.I.S - Como (Como: A.M.I.S. (Antiquae Musicae Italicae Studiosi), 1998).

¹⁷ "There are some who are so enamored of the French nation, that even the French way of blowing their noses seems (to them) worthy of being imitated. Mr. Simplicio Greco appears to be just as infatuated with the Greek, whom he did not see, or meet, or hear, and could not have, and he would wish, it seems, to invest us with their spirit." ("Hay sujetos tan enamorados de la Nacion Francesa, que aun el sonarse los mocos de aquella les parece digno de que la imitemos. El señor Simplicio Greco al parecer lo está de los Griegos, que ni vió, ni conoció, ni oyó, ni pudo, y quisiera, según se vé revestirnos del espíritu de aquellos") Cavaza, *El músico censor* 58.

Conversely, the latter represents the Spain of the Western imagination, anchored in Tridentine Catholicism and distrustful of enlightened philosophy.¹⁸ While these perceptions are partially true, Hispanic discourse's alliances with and various antagonisms toward enlightened Europe were manifold.

SOME HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: THE CAROLINE MONARCHIES AND ENLIGHTENMENT

For this dissertation I have chosen the late eighteenth century because I believe that the questions raised as a consequence of the scientific revolution and Enlightenment philosophy are still at work in the public discourse of what it means to be Spanish. My time frame will be circumscribed to the last years of Charles III's reign (r. 1759-1788) and the early ones of that of Charles IV (r. 1788-1808). The former, raised in Naples, undertook significant imperial reforms, while the latter faced the drastic challenges that the ideologies of the French Revolution posed to the Spanish monarchy. During the Caroline monarchies, the responses of Spanish authors to new music genres and aesthetic theories ranged all the way from attempts to get Spain on the course of modernity to efforts at preserving Habsburg Spain, essentially monarchic and Catholic. The former embraced cosmopolitanism, but the latter believed that Spain could survive only if it remained rooted in its own tradition.¹⁹ The two different stances are represented in the argument between Simplicio Greco y Lyra and Manuel Cavaza.

Charles III's response to foreign powers that threatened the Spanish empire was to promote the creation of a modernized state. Both Philip V and Ferdinand VI had started a

¹⁸ "So that... we leave alone, and move away from of what is evil in this century, overflown with enlightenment" ("Para que... dexemos, y huyamos de lo malo en este siglo, en que rebosa la ilustración...") *ibid.*, 48.

¹⁹ Mateo Antonio Barbieri, lawyer of the Royal Councils, expresses the Cosmopolitan attitude of Charles III's ministers in his *Education of Youth to Educate a Good Citizen*. After he categorically rejects the French philosophes (p. 1-5), he clarifies that "it is not in his spirit to promote a hatred of foreigners, who must be loved, tended to, and respected" (5). He then instructs Young men to "direct his attention and thoughts to this *great world*" (16). He considers that disdaining another man by calling him a foreigner is "a vulgarity, improper of politics" (8).

process of administrative reforms for the Spanish empire, but Charles III chose to frame his reformist efforts in the model of absolutism, which led to centralization. Two main powers competed with the monarchy: the high nobility and the Catholic Church. These two powers consistently appealed to traditional Spanishness to resist the policies of the new king that attempted to limit their privileges. The resistance of nobility and clergy to the policies of Charles III easily turned into a resistance to Enlightenment ideas, because the monarch surrounded himself with powerful ministers who helped him design and implement his model of absolutism, and many of these ministers promoted Enlightenment values. Prominent members of Charles III's government included the Count of Floridablanca (1729-1808), the Marquis of Esquilache (ca. 1708-1785), the Count of Aranda (1719-1798), Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes (1723-1802), and the Marquis of la Ensenada (1702-1781). The king and his ministers launched certain projects in urbanism and hygiene, like cleaning the streets of Madrid, regulating dress codes, and building canals and roads, which historians interpreted as signs of forward-thinking improvements to the cityscape and a more rational organization of finances and administration coincided with modern, even enlightened ideas about human life in society. Although a majority of the reforms acted upon modes of agricultural production and land-owning laws, some of them targeted aspects of Madrid's inhabitants' everyday lives, such as fashion and public entertainment.

In spite of the fact that Caroline administrations repeatedly sought to undermine the competencies of the Church as an institution and curbing Roman intervention in Spanish territory, neither Charles III nor Charles IV had the least intention of dismantling the Church or the Catholic faith, and they were both called "Your Catholic Majesty." They intended to subject the impressive resources of the high nobility and the church to the royal crown. Ultimately, as

nobility and church joined forces, this Bourbon strategy proved untenable and failed to rescue the Spanish empire.

Currently, historians like Francisco Sánchez-Blanco tend to focus on the *regalist* rather than on the enlightened quality of absolutism during the Caroline monarchies.²⁰ Regalism refers specifically to the monarchy's attempts to gain control over institutions and procedures previously controlled by the church from Rome, but the concept can be expanded to understand Bourbon attempts to seize control of rights and privileges long held by the aristocracy. The quintessential example of a regalistic move was the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain in 1767; however, beyond ecclesiastical matters, Charles III and his ministers dictated many policies attempting to control the functioning of society. Heavy regulation of public spectacles offers an example of these policies.²¹ According to historians Gabriel Paquette, Andrea J. Smidt, Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos, and Francisco Sánchez-Blanco, the Spanish monarchy of the second half of the eighteenth century endorsed Enlightenment precepts on and off, following its own pursuit of increased centralization of power.²² For Smidt, there were several versions of Enlightenment in Spain, but the official one that ultimately predominated was tied to the regalism of Charles III. This official version of Enlightenment entailed the adoption of "French encyclopedic and physiocratic ideas regarding science and economic progress in a way that accepted, or at least worked around, the strong Catholic features of the Spanish landscape."²³

²⁰ Sánchez-Blanco rejects the term "enlightened absolutism," and is skeptical about the idea of a Catholic Enlightenment like the one proposed by Andrea J. Smidt. Francisco Sánchez-Blanco, *El absolutismo y las Luces en el reinado de Carlos III*, 1 ed., Historia. Estudios (Madrid: M. Pons, 2002), 45-8.

²¹ Charles III's expulsion of the Jesuits was instrumental to regalistic policies not only insofar as it took power and copious holdings away from the Society of Jesus, but also in that it limited the intervention of the papacy in Rome. The Jesuits have a special vow of obedience to the Pope that ensured the preservation of Roman jurisdiction over the Spanish church.

²² "In Spain, the course of Enlightenment was, as in other countries, difficult and uneven; the support of institutions was intermittent and governments did not always support those attempts that were most advantageous for the country..." (Álvarez Barrientos, *Ilustración y neoclasicismo*, 11).

²³ Andrea J. Smidt, "Luces por la fe: The Cause of Catholic Enlightenment in 18th-Century Spain," *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2010) 405-413

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Enlightenment thinkers such as Iriarte found it harder to write from the cosmopolitan approach that had characterized their earlier works of the 1770s, or those of Feijoo in the 1720s-30s.²⁴ The regalist policies of Charles III had alienated many of his subjects, and angered the church and the aristocrats. Furthermore, the economic situation had not improved and Spain continued to lose ground against Britain. This meant that by the 1780s, many individuals from both the upper and lower classes rejected change and reform. Enlightened propositions for a new societal order had never been widely accepted beyond certain circles, but by the 1790s opposition was palpable.

NEOCLASSICISM AND THE MORAL CONSEQUENCES OF THEATER

IGNACIO DE LUZÁN'S *POETICS*, 1737

Neoclassicist tendencies predominated in the literary circles of Spain during the second half of the century, at least in theory. Between 1749 and 1751 members of the *Academia del Buen Gusto* propounded the rules of Aristotelian and Horatian poetics. Academy members included Blas Nasarre, Agustín Montiano, Diego de Torres Villarroel, and Luzán.²⁵ The last had published his *Poética* in 1737, a treatise that would become the backbone of Spanish literary neoclassicism.²⁶ These authors were centrally concerned with verisimilitude. They demanded that the classical unities of action, place, and time be observed; sometimes they demanded it more strictly than Aristotle had.²⁷

²⁴ Iriarte received a short sentence from the Inquisition in 1779.

²⁵ The *Academia del Buen Gusto* started meeting in 1749, under the patronage of noblewoman Ana María Josefa de Zúñiga Sotomayor, XI Countess of Lemos and Marquise of Sarria. Membership included Blas Antonio Nasarre y Férriz (1689-1751), royal librarian; Agustín de Montiano y Luyando (1697-1764), first director of the *Real Academia de la Historia*; Diego de Torres Villarroel (1694-1770), an eccentric profesor at the University of Salamanca; and Ignacio de Luzán Claramunt de Suelves y Gurrea (1702-1754), the main theorist in the group.

²⁶ Ignacio de Luzán Claramunt de Suelves y Gurrea, *La poetica, ó Reglas de la poesia en general, y de sus principales especies* (Zaragoza: Francisco Revilla, 1737).

²⁷ According to Mario Onaindía, Luzán felt free to offer his own interpretation of Aristotle's *Poetics* because the work had been altered in its transmission by the hands of other authors: "... aduciendo que *La*

From the perspective of the Spanish neoclassicists, Baroque Spanish theater from the seventeenth century with its mix of tragedy and comedy and its exuberant stories, obliterated Aristotelian principles. In contrast, Spanish Renaissance authors like Fray Luis de León (1527-1591), and Garcilaso de la Vega (ca. 1500-1536) furnished the quintessential models for literature. To restore the damage perpetrated by Lope de Vega and his seventeenth-century contemporaries, dramatic literature was supposed to look back not only to the practices of the ancient Greek models, but also to 16th-century Spanish playwrights. Mario Onaindía argues that in instituting Spanish Renaissance literature as the model to be followed, Luzán created a formula for enlightened reformation in all fields. The formula implies the belief in a true Spanish nature that had decayed and needed to be restored; in the case of literature, the simplicity of sixteenth-century Garcilaso was corrupted by seventeenth-century Góngora *conceptismo*, a situation that eighteenth-century neoclassicists needed to fix.

The importance of the *Poética* lies not only in that it contributes ideas of restoring classicist literature in Spain, but also in its offering a paradigm for formulating the need for reform in any other field of society or knowledge, based on the existence of an authentic “nature” of Spain in the sphere to be reformed, and elaborated inductively from the study of concrete cases, which would increase the need to restore it by overcoming the setbacks that led to decadence. A paradigm, then, inspired in a cyclic conception of history characterized by the existence of moments of peak, decadence, and restoration...²⁸

This cycle of prototype-decay-restoration animates many instances of the music and criticism discussed in this dissertation. Because neoclassicists prioritized norms above practice, they were

Poética de Aritóteles ‘ha llegado a nosotros viciada en mil partes, adulterada e imperfecta...’ Mario Onaindía, *La construcción de la nación española : republicanismo y nacionalismo en la Ilustración*, 2 ed., Sine qua non (Barcelona: Ediciones B, 2002), 61.

²⁸ “La importancia de *La Poética* no radica únicamente en que aporta sus ideas para restaurar la literatura clasicista en España, sino que también ofrece un paradigma para formular la necesidad de reformas en cualquier otro campo de la sociedad o del saber, basado en la existencia de una auténtica ‘naturaleza’ de España en el ámbito que se trata de reformar, y elaborado por inducción del estudio de datos concretos, potenciando así la necesidad de restaurar la misma superando los prejuicios que la condujeron a la decadencia. Paradigma, pues, inspirado en una concepción cíclica de la historia que se caracteriza por la existencia de momentos de auge, decadencia y restauración...” *ibid.*, 60-1.

identified as part of a lineage of *preceptistas* who championed the doctrines of Aristotle and Horace.

NEOCLASSICISM IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE 1787 SPANISH TRANSLATION OF NICOLAS BOILEAU'S *L'ART POÉTIQUE*

Long after the Academia del Buen Gusto dissolved in 1751, the debates that they initiated endured and came to form part of legislation. Royal circles, nobles, critics, and audiences alike valued theater as the most powerful shaper of public morals. Hence adherence to tradition ended up being more a matter of ethics than of aesthetics. During the reign of Charles III and to some extent also Charles IV, many government functionaries embraced the perspective of the neoclassicists. Moral and political authorities expressed concern about the possible allure that musical theater provided for the young and the uneducated, and also about the ways in which European visitors might perceive Spain upon attending public musical performances. Motivated by these concerns, the royal ministers, the church, and some intellectuals like Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744-1811) wrote regulations to control musical repertoires, musicians, and administration of theaters and other musical venues. Other intellectuals and members of the general public contested, supported, or mocked those regulations in response.

El Censor for its part envisaged a unique plan for Spanish music, also in line with neoclassicist precepts. The affiliation of Discourse 97 of *El Censor* with the program of eighteenth-century neoclassicism emerges if we read its introductory paragraph side by side with that of the prologue to the first printed Spanish translation of Nicolas Boileau Despreaux's *Poétique*, published in Valencia in 1787.²⁹ Boileau's translator, Juan Bautista Madramany y Carbonell (1738-1802) began his prologue thus:³⁰

²⁹ The Biblioteca Nacional de España holds a manuscript copy of a Portuguese translation of Boileau's *Poétique* bound together with other manuscript verses, in a volume dated 1650. Mexican Jesuit Francisco Javier Alegre (1729-1788) translated the first three cantos of the *Poetics* in 1776 (Arnold L. Kerson, see

Arte poética (prologue)

En un tiempo en que las nobles artes y ciencias recobran su antiguo lustre y esplendor en nuestra Península, parecía muy conforme y razonable, que la Poesía, nada inferior a todas ellas, también lograrse esta dicha. En efecto, la Poesía que tuvo en Grecia el más alto grado de perfeccion...

In a time when the noble arts and sciences in our Peninsula recover their former luster and splendor, it seemed reasonable and appropriate that Poetry, not at all inferior to all of them [the arts and sciences], would also reach this felicitous state. Indeed, Poetry found in Greece its highest degree of perfection...

El Censor

... al paso que la Filosofía vá descubriendo los principios de la belleza y de la gracia, la Poësía y la Eloqüencia, la Arquitectura, la Pintura y la Escultura ván haciendo grandes progresos... pero sospecho que la Música no ha dado sino muy pocos pasos ácia su perfeccion...

... as Philosophy discovers the principles of grace and beauty, Poetry and Eloquence, Architecture, Painting, and Sculpture, make great progress... But I suspect that music has only taken a few short steps towards perfection...

The decay of poetry begins for Madramany y Carbonell in seventeenth-century Spain, yet for Simplicio Greco music had been deteriorating since the time of the Romans. Where the former had a glorious Spanish sixteenth century to invoke, the latter had a vague sketch of Greek antiquity. Neither Baroque counterpoint nor opera satisfied Simplicio Greco's standards, but he refused to acquiesce to Luzán's exclusion of music. His project lacked concreteness, and the kind of prosodic melody that he advanced for the theater never crystallized in Spain. Actually, Spanish theaters had their own musical tradition parallel to the operatic one, one that audiences preferred over neoclassical offerings.

Influential as Luzán's *Poética* was for late eighteenth-century men of letters, many theatergoers disliked the stiffness of "dry" drama lacking spectacle. In the second edition of the

footnote 29), but the work remained unpublished until 1889 by Francisco Díaz de León in *Opúsculos inéditos, latinos y Castellanos*, Díaz de León recounts his finding, copying and correcting of Alegre's manuscript, along with transcriptions of reviews of the translation by his contemporaries Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto and Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo. Juan Bautista Arriaza did the third translation of Boileau, printed in 1807 (Francisco Díaz de León, *Opúsculos*, [Mexico, 1889], p. X-XVII).

³⁰ For more on the Spanish translator of Boileau's *Poetics*, see Arnold L. Kerson, "Juan Bautista Madramany y Carbonell. Un neoclásico español olvidado," in *Clarines de pluma. Homenaje a Antonio Regalado*, ed. Vincent Martin (Madrid: Editorial Síntesis, 2004).

Poética, Luzán complained that “modern” tragedies that followed the rules of Aristotle and Horace had not conquered the favor of the audiences over “ancient” (seventeenth-century) *comedias*, and that the Spanish had never been keen on such dramatic rules.³¹ Decades later, the pro-French revolution writer José Marchena (1768-1821) wrote a satiric poem against late-eighteenth-century neoclassicists like Tomás de Iriarte, Fermín Laviano (fl. 1780s), Cándido María Trigueros (1736-1798), and especially Juan Pablo Forner (1756-1797). In it, Marchena decried the lack of artistic value in neoclassicist theater obsessed with rules:³²

... and Iriarte’s muse always frozen in dramas so cold and so regular...	... <i>y de Iriarte la musa siempre helada</i> <i>Dramas tan regulares y tan fríos...</i>
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Marchena also condemned the patronage of royal ministers in literature because it curtailed artistic freedom:

Books dedicated to ministers (Archives of vileness and falsehood) Who gave the authors pensions.	<i>Los libros a ministros dedicados</i> <i>(Archivos de vileza y de mentira)</i> <i>Por ellos los autores pensionados.</i>
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In his perception, neoclassicists had rejected Baroque authors but were not able to invent a new literature that lived up to the standard. He says of Iriarte:

That in fleeing from Gongora’s pompous diction, he painfully writes epistles in poorly-rhymed prose.	<i>Que por huir de Góngora la hinchada</i> <i>dicción, escribe trabajosamente</i> <i>epístolas en prosa mal rimada</i>
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³¹ Ignacio de Luzán, *La poética: o, Reglas de la poesía. Con un estudio de Luigi de Filippo.*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Selecciones Bibliófilas, 1956), v. 2, 318-9.

Luzán died in 1754. In 1789, Writer Eugenio de Llaguno (1724-1799) edited a substantially revised version of the *Poética*, published by Antonio de Sancha. In his book *Orígenes de la tragedia neoclásica española (1737-1754)*, José Berbel acknowledges the debate over whether Luzán or Llaguno authored the additions to the second edition. I will here follow his thesis that most of the additions were written by Luzán. José Berbel, *Orígenes de la tragedia* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2003) p. 91.

³² José Marchena, *Obras literarias de d. José Marchena (el abate Marchena) recogidas de manuscritos y raros impresos, con un estudio crítico-biográfico del doctor d. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo*, 2 vols. (Sevilla: Imp. de E. Rasco, 1892-6), 39-42.

Audiences and critics rejected neoclassicist rules not only because the resulting stage pieces bored them, but also because these rules apparently subverted Spanish tradition. Fifty years after Luzán's *Poetics*, the intention to inject reason into theater seemed more French than Greek. For many critics, Luzán's nationalist return to the poets of the Spanish Renaissance paled next to his references to French authors like Corneille and Racine. After all, neoclassicism was a European project, entrenched in France since the seventeenth century. Luzán and his followers became particularly suspicious of anti-patriotism because they despised Baroque authors. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century historiography of Spanish literature reinforced the identification of *preceptismo* with foreignness. For example, critic Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto (1815-1901) asserted that "the doctrines of foreign *preceptistas* dominated the taste of the time [the second half of the eighteenth century]," and by "foreign *preceptistas*" he specifically meant Nicolas Boileau.³³

In spite of the fact that many theatergoers accused neoclassicists of favoring the ideas of foreign thinkers, French authors were cited by them only sparsely, as Inmaculada Urzainqui has demonstrated, and Spanish ones just as much. Urzainqui suggests that the neoclassicists considered their tenets to be axioms accepted as common currency in European literature. This idea does not exclude Spanish *preceptistas*' borrowings from their European colleagues, but rather proposes that they saw themselves participating in a pan-European tendency, an Aristotelian-Horatian lingua franca. In other words, the reader may recognize Algarotti or Boileau between the lines, but Spanish critics appealed to Italian or French counterparts not as authorities but as peers. While in the mid-century the literary polemics centered on the primacy of ingenuity vs. rules, the weight of the matter shifted towards Spanish vs. foreign polarities as

³³Díaz de León, *Opúsculos*, p. XIII.

the second half of the century worn on, both neoclassicists and their detractors claiming to defend the best interests of Spanish character. In spite of the change of focus, many of the arguments of the late-eighteenth century have their roots in early neoclassicism.

MUSIC, PRESS, AND OPINION

The late-eighteenth century in Spain saw the birth of modern public opinion and prepared the transition from the old regime to the modern nation state. My dissertation suggests that musical theater and public debates about music shaped modern opinion in Spain during the last two decades of the eighteenth century, before the private and the public became institutionalized in the bourgeois family and the nation-state respectively. Musical debates were particularly stimulated by two converging circumstances in the last years of Charles III's reign and the first years of Charles IV's: the reopening of the Italian opera theater in Madrid, and unparalleled developments in the local periodical press. I propose that it was during this time period the Madrid upper and middle classes first acknowledged opinion as a force capable of determining social functioning.

At this point in history, the Spanish society faced an ontological crisis as a result of the dwindling power of the Spanish Empire and of the impending modernization of the sociopolitical organization of neighboring European countries, such as England and France. The case of Spain challenges the idea that the Enlightenment and secularization necessarily went hand in hand. In effect, the question is whether religion – Catholicism in this case - precluded modernity and locked Spain into a perpetual pre-modern condition; in response, I argue that public performance and discussion of music, in significant part, led the Spanish people from the old to the new order without jeopardizing their religious identity. Music, in its capacity as a public language with multiple avenues for participation, offered a site for the construction and

expression of ideal modes of *Spanishness* that cultural brokers, politicians, intellectuals, writers, composers, and actor-singers could promote in the public sphere. In the formation of the modern Spanish public opinion, the emphasis was placed not on the individual, private subject, but on the collective subject. For this set of performers and critics, to adopt or to reject new musical genres, whether foreign or local, was an issue of preserving the integrity of the collective self. Like all intellectual endeavors during the late-eighteenth century, musical practices faced the challenge of reconciling the Habsburg legacy of a Catholic, monarchical Spain with the European Enlightenment that exalted human agency and reason as well as nature. Unlike what happened in other European capitals, music in late eighteenth-century Madrid neither represented nor questioned the political establishment. Instead, music mattered for the public sphere because it provided Spanish people with a medium to digest and reformulate orally circulated opinions, Enlightenment-derived ideas, and regal policies.

Debates on the nature of music proliferated in eighteenth-century Europe, stemming from Enlightenment ideas and from republican/democratic critiques of absolutism. Current studies on music and the European Enlightenment have focused on different regions such as France, England, Italy, and the German-speaking countries, but hardly ever do these studies put Spain in the map. Against this background, I ask whether Spanish intellectuals, artists and audiences discussed music in terms related to enlightened thought, and how these debates resemble or differ from those in other European regions.³⁴ What we see being performed in Madrid's theaters in the late-eighteenth century may seem contradictory because it is a product of the contradiction between absolutism and the upperclass's aspirations to a modern public

³⁴ Some recent works on the connections between Enlightenment and musical thought include the books by Daniel Hertz (*Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720-1780*), Martha Feldman (*Opera and Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy*), Enrico Fubini (*Music & Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe*), Elisabeth Le Guin (*The Tonadilla in Performance: Lyric Comedy in Enlightenment Spain*), Vanessa Agnew (*Enlightenment Orpheus*), Annette Richards (*The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque*), and Stefano Castelvechi's article "From Nina to Nina: Psychodrama, Absorption and Sentiment in the 1780s."

sphere. The intellectual, economic, and political elites eagerly wanted to create in Madrid the conditions for the rational opinion that would consolidate a civilized, modern public sphere, which in turn would make Spain competitive with and valued by other European states. According to Habermas, the birth of the modern, bourgeois public sphere, which took place during the European Enlightenment, depends not only on the separation, but also on the *opposition* of society to the state.³⁵ This opposition enabled the elites to have a voice distinct to that of the state, and ultimately to demand that the state guarantee their private rights. However, the Madrid upperclass desired to build a public sphere not in opposition, but in *support* of the state and of the monarchy. Differently from the elites of the Habermasian model, those in late eighteenth-century Madrid focused on rationalizing the avenues for public discourse - such as musical theater - to fit what could be loosely called bourgeois aspirations: order, civilization, progress, and cosmopolitanism, all in the frame of a Catholic, monarchic Spain.

However, the lack of clear oppositional definition between society and state does not mean the lack of a public sphere in Enlightenment Spain. There was in musical theater (among other cultural manifestations), and in the debates around it, a strong claim for a rational-critical discourse powerful enough to define societal functioning, from the micro-level of the everyday mores of citizens, to macro-level of Spain's position in Europe. This claim for a rational-critical discourse materialized into copious publications (for Habermas, the published word was "the decisive mark" of the public sphere³⁶), but the Spanish Republic of Letters also sought out the cooperation of musical theater, its writers, performers, and actors. The Madrid elite deemed local theatrical spectacle worthy of public discussion because they recognized its potential to

³⁵ "The bourgeois public sphere may be conceived above all as the sphere of private people come together as a public; they soon claimed the public sphere regulated from above *against* the public authority themselves..." Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1991), 27. Emphasis mine.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

structure the public sphere. The problem was that city spectacle would not always accommodate the elite's ideals; it was a necessary tool for the civilizational project, but an unruly and “defective” one.

In examining short music theater pieces, printed criticism, and the conversation between the two media, I engage with academic conversations on public opinion, Catholic Enlightenment, eighteenth-century music, and Spanish literature. Musical theater animated Madrid city life like no other institution in the late-eighteenth century. Theater songs often adopted the arguments of the defenders of the *patria* but expressed them in a different language. At a time when Italian opera swept over European cities, and the instrumental music of Haydn, Mozart, Pleyel, and their contemporaries filled concert venues and aristocratic residences, Spaniards in Madrid enjoyed comic musical theater in their own language. Audiences of diverse social backgrounds attended local theaters regularly and engaged with performers in the short pieces called *tonadillas* and *sainetes*, both of which involved several music numbers. Theater composers wrote about current events, performers addressed audiences in song, audiences expressed their opinions out loud in the theater, and critics raged over the event in newspapers. Then composers used the newspapers and pamphlets to create new musical pieces, and the cycle started again. The social affair of the theater continued in street conversations and *tertulias*, gatherings at private residences and cafes. Those of higher status could also enjoy Italian opera and Haydn symphonies to try and revive the cosmopolitan atmosphere of opera houses and concert halls across Europe. Whether in casual conversations or in the pages of newspapers and treatises, discussions of music defined the social self.

Each of the four chapters in this dissertation investigates a different register of public discourse popular in Madrid between 1780 and 1800: one, periodical press and musical theater; two, cosmopolitanism vs. nationalism as they aligned with Italian and Spanish musical theater,

respectively; three, music and medicine; and four, aesthetics of sentimentality in musical theater.

Chapter One suggests that musical theater staged and judged new forms of socialization that were transforming the public sphere. Through musical examples from tonadillas and sainetes, I illustrate the cross-media flow of discourse between conversation, printed criticism and musical theater. I argue that written and oral media depended on each other to shape audiences into a modern public around key concerns such as civilization, reputation, criticism, and taste. The chapter provides an overview of journalism in the second half of the eighteenth century and situates music criticism in the context of the literary apologies of Spain.

Chapter Two underscores 1787 as a crucial year in the formation of public opinion in Madrid due to the reopening of the Italian opera Theater of Los Caños del Peral, an event that precipitated intense press debates about music, its agents, and aesthetic ownership. Authors pulled in the opposite directions of conservative nationalism and progressive cosmopolitanism. Spanish translations of texts such as Francesco Algarotti's *Saggio sopra l'opera in musica* provided theoretical substance to the journalistic debates. To better understand the background to the 1787 debates around Italian and Spanish musical theater, I trace press reactions to Italian opera back to neoclassicism and to the *costumbrista* theater of playwright Ramón de la Cruz. I examine press articles written to prepare for the reopening of Los Caños del Peral, as well as some immediate reactions in 1787 and later debates in 1789-90.

Chapter Three focuses on public opinion around tarantism in central Spain as recorded in two works from 1787: Francisco Xavier Cid's medical book *Tarantismo observado en España*, and composer Pablo Esteve's (ca. 1730-1794) music theater piece *El Atarantulado (The Tarantula-bitten Man)*. From Cid's scientific treatise to Esteve's entertainment *tonadilla*

escénica, tarantism set in motion conversations about the possibility of integrating traditional beliefs with scientific knowledge.

Chapter Four looks closely at one of the earliest sentimental plays in Madrid: Luciano Francisco Comella's *La Cecilia*, with music by composer Blas de Laserna. *La Cecilia* was first composed for a noble house and then performed at the city coliseos. Through a comparison between the original printed libretto and the manuscript music and text used for public performance, I elucidate how Comella and Laserna adapted sentimental sensibilities captured in French *comédie larmoyante* and in Italian opera to the needs, tastes, and demands of Spanish audiences. At the same time as the authors catered to the audience's preference for a mixture of traditional Spanish theater with more modern, enlightened understandings of the human being, they nodded to regal policies of austerity and progress.

CHAPTER 1: MUSICAL THEATER AND PRESS

1.1 FROM *TERTULIA* TO PRINT: NEW FORM OF SOCIALIZATION IN THE 1760S

Music and theater criticism of the 1780s-90s are better understood when we consider that, across the span of Charles III's and Charles IV's reigns (1759-1788; 1788-1808), the medium for public opinion in Madrid transitioned from a predominantly oral one to a mixture of oral and written discourse. In contrast with the 1760s, when there were only two private press initiatives, by the 1780s there were over ten periodicals in circulation.¹ The printed media joined forces with oral practices like theater and *tertulias* to form a growing public sphere. However, these new modes of communication would not be easily welcomed into a society which favored premodern, vertical models of authority and transmissions of knowledge.

Around the mid-eighteenth-century, social gatherings called *tertulias* constituted a hub of extra-familial interaction completely at odds with Habsburg mores inherited from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Habsburg social order restricted women to domestic life and prescribed prayer and devotion as the only safe hobbies. By contrast, *tertulias* fostered idle conversation, leisure, friendship, and flirting, and they even allowed unrelated men and women to interact in private chambers. Differing from the French salons, the Spanish *tertulia* could simply consist of “the congregation of friends and relatives to engage in conversation, games, and other forms of honest entertainment,” as the 1783 Spanish *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* described.² Some *tertulias* that pursued intellectual or cultural pastimes constituted their own hubs for Madrid enlightened circles beside *academias*, *cafés*, and *salons*.³

¹ Pioneer journalist Francisco Mariano Nipho launched the newspaper *Diario Noticioso, Curioso-Erudito y Comercial, Público y Económico* (later *Diario de Madrid*) in 1758 and Clavijo y Fajardo started his journal *El Pensador* in 1763,

² *Diccionario de la Real Academia* 1783, s.v. “*tertulia*.”

³ For example, the *tertulia* of the Fonda of San Sebastián in Madrid, which counted Iriarte, Cadalso, and Nicolás Fernández de Moratín among its attendees.

With or without intellectual aspirations, the evening often embraced music and social dances, either rehearsed or impromptu. Luis Misón’s intermezzo tonadilla titled *Fiscalizan a las tonadillas* (1760s) commented on the practice of young men singing the tonadillas they picked up at the theater in nightly *tertulias*:⁴

Fiscalizan a las tonadillas/The tonadillas undergo inspection

Luis Misón (1727-1766), n.d.

De noche por las tertulias	By night, at the <i>tertulias</i>
Las cantan, por los estrados	they sing them [tonadillas], in the living rooms,
Estudiantes, pajezillos	students, office assistants,
De ofizina o de zigarro	who smoke cigarettes
Si acaso las aprendieron	By chance they learned them,
Sin olvidar ni un recato	not leaving out any secrets

Meanwhile, cultural conservatives yearned for the home enclosure of the Habsburg period, impervious to public opinion; they insisted that conversation and later printed criticism endangered the soul.⁵ Modern *ilustrados* (enlightened) and *civilizados* were out in public much

⁴ The examples in this chapter are stage tonadillas, a musical repertory framed in the lyrical theater that developed during the second half of the eighteenth century, especially in Madrid. Tonadillas were performed during the intermissions of theater *comedias* (long-duration play, comic or otherwise). Initially, tonadillas were sequels to the first-act *entremés* and the second-act *sainete*, both speech-based, one-act intermission plays, but by 1770 they supplanted the *entremés*. As tonadillas became the favorite section of a theater function, they became longer. Tonadillas were mostly sung, but they could include spoken verses known as *parola*. While we know the names of most tonadilla composers, textual authors remained for the most part anonymous [Begoña Lolo, “Itinerarios musicales en la tonadilla escénica,” in *Paisajes Sonoros* (Madrid: Museo de San Isidro, 2003), 17]. Spanish musicologist José Subirá wrote the first comprehensive study of tonadillas in 1928-30 [Subirá, *La tonadilla escénica* (Madrid: Tipografía de Archivos)]. Recent scholars who have revised the topic include Alberto Gómez Troyano (1996, 2013), Begoña Lolo Herranz (2003, 2008), Alberto Romero Ferrer (2008), Aurèlia Pessarrodona i Pérez (2007, 2008, 2014), and others. Elisabeth Le Guin gives a sense of that genre’s conventions in *The Tonadilla in Performance: Lyric Comedy in Enlightenment Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014).

⁵ *Tertulias* and other public interactions like outdoor strolling worried Spanish men especially because they allowed women to talk and engage with cortejos. Benedictine priest Gabriel Quijano published in 1785 a moral dialogue titled *Vicios de las tertulias y concurrencias del tiempo*. He wrote about conversation: “this modern custom is a true, authentic, and natural diabolic invention, which under the presumptuous title of urbanity and genteel hobby, introduces infinite scandals, mistrusts, and gossips among the People.” (“Esta costumbre moderna es una verdadera, legítima y natural invención diabólica, que con el especioso título de urbanidad y pasatiempo señorial, introduce una infinidad de escándalos, sospechas, y murmuraciones en el Pueblo.” Gabriel Quijano, *Vicios de las tertulias y concurrencias del tiempo, excesos y perjuicios de las conversaciones del día, llamadas por otro nombre cortejos, descubiertos, demostrados y confutados en seis conversaciones entre un eclesiástico y una dama o señora distinguida* (Madrid: por Eulalia Piferrer Viuda, 1785), 8. (According to Carmen Martín Gaité,

more often than traditional Spaniards. They moved from the opera to the theater to the *tertulia*, often all in the same evening. They talked to each other as they strolled on the Park of El Retiro with their little French poodles. They were so sociable because they were full of opinions, willing to converse for hours, and thought they knew everything. Such were the clichés of being a modern, often tied to being enlightened. This greater interpersonal contact and wider flow of information disrupted the social status quo. Hence, many began to question any space that facilitated these encounters, be they gatherings or newspapers. In addition to tertulias and cafés, music and dance were themselves associated with loose morals and light-headedness; countless publications and musical theater pieces from the second half of the eighteenth century trade in this perception. Before public opinion developed into a political force, it first qualified as social critique.

1.1.2 RAMÓN DE LA CRUZ'S *LA BOTILLERÍA*

The *sainete* *La botillería* (1766) by Ramón de la Cruz staged the public perception of new loci for socialization in the 1760s. Pablo Esteve (1730-1794) wrote the *sainete*'s brief musical numbers. Although the text called for four short songs, only two have survived, and it is possible that only those two were originally written, and the others were simply recited, or sung to any pre-existing melody. A *botillería* was a soda fountain of sorts, where Madrileños could go to drink refreshments and eat sweets. The fictional *botillería* in the *sainete* was located in the Calle de la Cruz, near the local theater of the same name where the play was first performed (Coliseo de la Cruz). The *sainete*'s characters followed the three-tier distribution typical of opera buffa, although no explicit nobility was featured. At the top of the hierarchy we find Don Ambrosio and

Quijano's book is "an almost literal translation of an Italian work by Abbé S. Zucchini Stefani, *Lo specchio del disinganno* (Rome, 1751)" Carmen Martín Gaité, *Love Customs in Eighteenth-Century Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 176.

Sebastiana, the Officer, the Captain, and Don Federico. There were several male and female *payos* and *majos*, peasants and dwellers of Madrid's outskirts, including the staple local characters of *costumbrista* theater. In between gentlemen and peasants lay the poor clergymen and the fashionable *petimetre* (from *petit-maître*), as well as some traditional Madrileñas. Their outfits, language, and habits revealed each type's social position. De la Cruz adapted Goldoni's libretti into zarzuelas such as *Las pescadoras* in 1765 (from *Le pescatrici*, 1751) and *El filósofo aldeano* in 1766 (from *Il filosofo di campagna*, 1754), so clearly he learned the buffa conventions well.

De la Cruz's *La botillería* contained twenty-four characters because he conceived it as a *fin de fiesta*, a second intermezzo or closing piece for an important function. Since the *fin de fiesta* marked a special occasion, all the company participated. New plays usually called for new intermezzi; in this case, De la Cruz wrote *La botillería* to be performed with the zarzuela *Los portentosos efectos de la naturaleza* (*The Amazing Effects of Nature*), a recycled version of Goldoni/Giuseppe Scarlatti's *dramma giocoso I portentosi effetti della madre natura* (Venice, 1752). The zarzuela, a text adapted by De la Cruz with music retouched by Esteve, was only the second new piece of the Coliseo de la Cruz 1766-67 season, which had opened on March 10. After this season, the popularity of the zarzuela in Madrid began to decline and the genre did not make a come-back until the 1830s. This indicates that for most of the period studied in this dissertation, zarzuela was off the musical map.⁶

⁶ Louise K. Stein, "Zarzuela," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed January 25, 2016.



Figure 1.1: La botillería, title page⁷

At the beginning of the *La botillería*, Don Ambrosio, a Madrid gentleman wearing the emblematic cape and brim hat (*capa y gorro*), chatted with a well-traveled officer while they waited for Ambrosio's wife Sebastiana outside the theater's *cazuela* exit.⁸ Just three months after the Esquilache Riots, De la Cruz's Don Ambrosio and the Officer embodied a proudly local Don and a cosmopolitan.⁹ When the two men could not find Sebastiana, they decided to walk to the nearby *botillería*. The officer was surprised to find that so many *botillerías* had been opened

⁷ Pablo Esteve and Ramón de la Cruz, *La botillería*, tonadilla, 1766. Manuscript parts: Parte de apuntar, vn1, vn2, hn1, hn2, violón, hpd. Biblioteca Histórica Municipal, BHM Mus 59-8.

⁸ The *cazuela* was a big balcony with banisters on the second floor of the local theaters, designated exclusively for women.

⁹ A man of *capa y gorro* meant a man from urban Madrid. The Marquis of Esquilache, a preeminent minister in the early years of Charles III's reign, banned men from wearing this attire as part of a series of legal reforms to modernize Madrid. Esquilache's argument was that men could hide behind their brims and capes to behave licentiously or commit petty crimes. Men in turn used their hats and capes as a shield against the dirt and filth of the Madrid streets. Because Esquilache (Leopoldo de Gregorio) came from Naples as part of Charles III's cohort, Madrileños saw in the cape-and-hat ban affront to their identity. This symbolic fact was the last straw on a series of oppressive conditions for the popular classes, and the Esquilache Riots ensued starting on March 23rd, 1766.

in Madrid in the past four years, and he wondered aloud whether they had the “enlightened” atmosphere of the cafés abroad:

Officer:	Y decidme, D. Ambrosio, ¿hay en estas concurrencias sociedad?	<i>And tell me, D. Ambrosio, is there society in these gatherings?</i>
Ambrosio:	¿Qué es sociedad?	<i>What is society?</i>
Officer:	Conversaciones discretas	<i>Discrete conversations</i>
Ambrosio:	No sé; pero muy agudas y vivas, suele haberlas	<i>I don't know; but very lively and sharp [conversations], there often are</i>
Officer:	¿Se trata en ellas del bien del Estado, de sus rentas y política?	<i>Do they deal with the best interests of the State, its income and politics?</i>
Ambrosio:	No creo; solamente las materias del comercio y población son las que allí se frecuentan	<i>I don't think so; only the subjects of commerce and population are often discussed</i>
Officer:	Pues amigo, en muchas partes los cafés son escuela decente á la juventud; se instruye por las Gacetas de los Estados del mundo... Se tratan los extranjeros con atención y reserva, observando sus costumbres con el fin de aborrecerlas ó de adoptarlas	<i>Well my friend, in many places [in Europe] cafés are proper schools for the youth; through gazettes they learn about the States around the world... They treat foreigners politely and with reserve, observing their customs in order to either loath them or adopt them</i>

In the meantime, Sebastiana herself ran into two male friends at the theater's exit, and the three inadvertently headed to the same botillería. Across the piece, Sebastiana typified the well-to-do city lady, with a modern sense of leisure. She constantly claimed to feel ill, but was also willing to go out on the street to see the *comedia* or drink refreshments whenever asked. In reply to one of her male companions' suggestion that she avoid cold drinks she said: “On the contrary; doctors prescribe that I have chilled drinks often, that I dance and have fun, as long as I don't engage in taxing chores like spinning and sewing.”

Soon after, the *usía* (your honor), García, sang the first musical number of *La botillería*, a quatrain whose music is now lost. García was a *petimetre*: a young, shallow man, perhaps an *indiano* (a man who had been to the Americas), or a member of a poor *hidalgo* family (lowest

rank of nobility). He had been standing in the patio of the Coliseo de la Cruz eyeing the actress-singers and the women in the *cazuela*. The short song is in *romance*, octosyllabic verse, the same meter used for the spoken text throughout the sainete:

De las preciosas muchachas
Que hoy hubo en la delantera
Esta ha de ser una (*Sale PEPA*)
Digo...
¿Esa es mantilla o vidriera?

Garcia sang to woo Pepa, a woman he spied earlier inside the theater but now could not fully recognize because she was concealed behind a lacy mantilla. Since Habsburgian times, women in Madrid covered themselves when going outside, to enjoy some freedom while also attempting to guard their reputation. *Tapadas* (covered women), like *capa y gorro* men symbolized double standards and debauchery to a more conservative public, and the government had unsuccessfully tried to eradicate the practice on many occasions. (See next page for interior layout of Madrid theaters.)



Figure 1.2: The interior of a *corral de comedias*, the predecessor of 18th-century theaters in Madrid

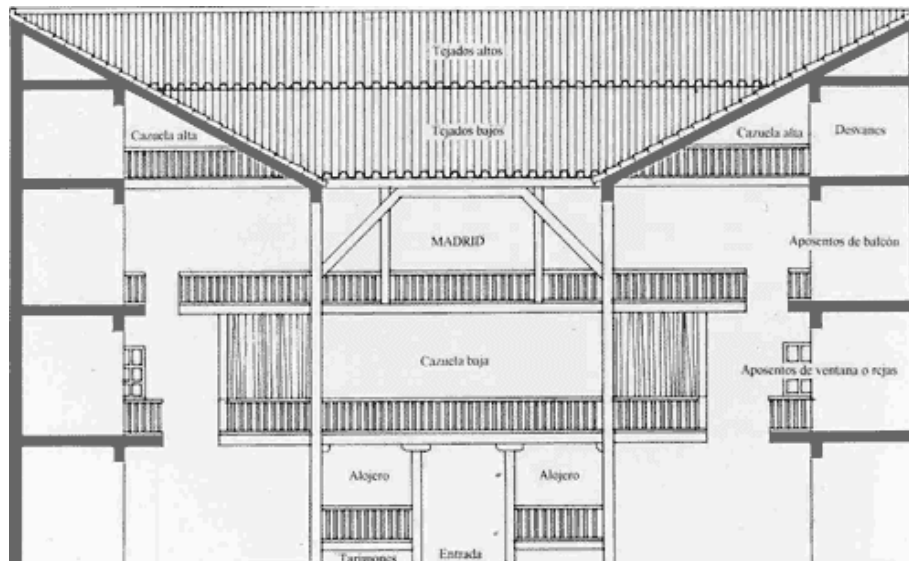


Figure 1.3: Cross section of the Coliseo del Príncipe (Madrid, 1735) showing the low and high cazuela opposite the stage¹⁰

The second musical number arrived around a third of the way into the sainete. This was a *seguidilla* by orange-vendor Manolilla, a character at the very bottom of the social scaffolding of *La botillería*. Orange vendors formed part of the real-life Madrid landscape, and Manolilla was trying to sell some citruses to Sebastiana and her *petimetre* friends. Unlike García’s song, Manolilla’s 45-second *seguidilla* departed from the spoken dialog’s *romance* verse. In fact, the rhythm of *seguidilla* verses sharply contrasted with the *romance*’s regular octosyllables because it combines seven- and five-syllable verses in different patterns. In this case the pattern is a compound *seguidilla* made up of a quatrain and a tercet:

Limitas y limones, dulces naranjas, baratitas las vendo por irme a casa	7+5+7+5	a a a
¿Quién me las compra? Todas son escogidas dulces y gordas	5+7+5	b b

¹⁰ Source for both images: *El documento del mes* (Madrid: Archivos de la Comunidad de Madrid, Junio 2014), 6.

Esteve recast the *seguidilla* form here by adding repetitions which allowed him to transform the two-verse text into a succinct three-part harmonic plan, with a distinct B section that tonicized the dominant.

	<i>Lyrics</i>	<i>Metric</i>	<i>Mm.</i>	<i>Key</i>	<i>Harmonic movement</i>
	[Introduction}		1-4	A	I
A I	Limitas y limones dulces naranjas dulces naranjas	7+5+5	5-8	A	I IV-V-I
:B: V-I	(text 1) Dulces naranjas varatitas las vendo por irme a casa	5+7+5	9-15	E	V/V V
	Varatitas varatitas las vendo por irme a casa	4+7+5		A	I IV-V-I
	(text 2) ¿Quién me las compra? Todas son escogidas dulces y gordas	5+7+5		E	V/V V
	Varatitas varatitas las vendo dulces y gordas	4+7+5		A	I IV-V-I

Table 1.1: Structure of seguidillas, *La botillería*

In this short piece, Esteve set a seguidilla verse according to its eponymous musical formula, but, as we will see in further examples, this would not always be the case. In general, the *seguidilla* song required not only text lines that alternated seven and five syllables, but also other “folkloric” traits, such as ornamentations or melismas, a lively rhythm spiced with syncopations, a rapid text delivery with extensive repetition, and nearly always a dance-like triple meter. The seguidilla had high emotional stakes that connected the singer to the audience via pathos, rather than description or narration.

Allegretto

Li - mi - tas y li - mo - nes dul - ces na - ran - jas dul - ces na - ran - jas___

8 §
Dul - ces na - ran - jas va - ra - ti - tas las ven - do por ir - me a ca - sa
Quien me las com - pra to - das son es - co - gi - das dul - ces y gor - das

12 D.S.
va - ra - ti - tas va - ra - ti - tas las ven - do por ir - me a ca - sa___
va - ra - ti - tas va - ra - ti - tas las ven - do dul - ces y gor - das___

Example 1.1: *La botillería*, seguidillas (second musical number)¹¹

Over time, towards the end of the eighteenth century, this song style displayed some degree of vocal virtuosity through vocalises, melismas, or onomatopoeias. Thus, in the spectrum from text-meaning to musical-meaning, seguidillas ranked “the most musical” among all other theater songs of the late-eighteenth century. Performers, especially female ones, often (but not necessarily) danced and played castanets on stage when they sang seguidillas. Many seguidillas, together with *tiranas* (another song form) were arranged and printed in collections to be sung or performed to accompaniment of the psaltery, a favorite instrument of the time. Seguidillas were sassy, derived from popular music, and the target of much criticism concerned with decorum. In *La botillería*, for instance, the Captain who accompanied Sebastiana dismissed orange-vendor Manolilla because her goods were of low quality, and called her a *guitona*, or a street-wise trickster - a mischievous woman who made money in questionable ways.

Soon after Manolilla’s song came another short seguidilla by Lucía, a fellow orange-vendor who relished the fact that so many Madrileños went out on the street lately, since it

¹¹ Transcribed from the *parte de apuntar* of Esteve and Cruz, “La botillería.”

benefited her business. When Manolilla questioned her selling methods, Lucía claimed that in any case, the people who frequented El Prado for a stroll already lacked a conscience. Later on, Manolilla and Lucía together sung another short seguidilla, marked in the libretto “whichever seems good,” suggesting that the text may have been paired with any fitting melody.

A later section of *La botillería* illustrated the entertainment aspect of local theaters, where the idea of genres mattered less than good singing voices and humorous acting. This of course irritated neoclassicists and most newspaper critics who were on a crusade to make theater an enlightened leisure activity. Three peasants stopped to buy refreshment and discuss the show they just saw, and through them, De la Cruz took time to comment on his own zarzuela:

Paca:	A mí se me ha hecho un instante la comedia	<i>The comedy seemed to fly by</i>
Petra:	No es comedia	<i>It is not a comedia.</i>
Josillo:	Ya se ve, si esta es lo propio que una bestia	<i>I say, this one [Petra] and an ox are the same thing</i>
Paca:	¿Pues qué es?	<i>What is it then?</i>
Josillo:	¡Qué se yo! Una cosa que hacen allí	<i>What do I know! A thing they do there</i>
Petra:	Es... es zarzuela	<i>It is... it is zarzuela</i>
Josillo:	Es verdad; no está malita; mas la que en Carnestolendas hicieron en el lugar, esa sí que estaba buena.	<i>It's true; it's not too bad; but the one that they did there for Carnival, that one was really good.</i>
Petra:	Valía más la relación que hizo el hijo de la Andrea, que todo esto	<i>The synopsis that Andrea's kid gave was worth more than all of this</i>
Josillo:	¿Y el barbero, no hizo un papel de primera dama, que rompieron todos los bancos y las silletas de risa? ¡Madril, Madril!, ¡Y es todo una friolera!...	<i>And the barber, didn't he play the first lady role, and they laughed so much that they broke all the benches and chairs? Madril, Madril! And everything is such nonsense!</i>
Paca:	Sin embargo, a mí me gusta como cantan las más de ellas, y el teatro es mucho cuento	<i>Nonetheless, I like the way most of them sing, and theater is fancy stuff</i>

1.1.2 MUSICAL THEATER, CIVILIZATION, AND CENSORSHIP

La botillería was one of the first of many sainetes and tonadillas that parodied tertulias, cafés, and the other modern habits of period Madrid. The following table lists just some of the works that criticized the refinement of customs, mostly authored by De la Cruz and Luis Moncín (d. 1801). As stated earlier, sainetes contained one or two short musical numbers (except for those designated “*sainete de música*”), while tonadillas were sung throughout. Tonadillas and sainetes ultimately replaced the *entremeses* (also an intermezzo piece) of the previous century. After 1780, De la Cruz wrote less intensively. Most of the sainetes about tertulias and cafés were written in the 1770s and 1780s, when these events were novel in Madrid.

The list begins in 1763 because in that year De la Cruz wrote his sainete *La Civilización* to engage in a dispute with pioneer journalist Francisco Mariano Nipho (1719-1803)¹². Through the sainete’s common-folk characters, De la Cruz declared that common Spaniards were just fine without Nipho’s so-called civilization, and further valorized the rural population as the repositories of Spanishness.¹³ Authors as well as the general population of Madrid disagreed over whether “civilization,” namely the ethos produced by new modes of communication and socialization, had so far helped or harmed the nation.¹⁴

¹² De la Cruz’s *La civilización* has been considered one of the first uses of the term in Spanish language. Inmaculada Urzainqui, “Crítica teatral y secularización: el *Memorial literario* (1784-1797),” in *La secularización de la cultura española en el Siglo de las Luces: Actas el Congreso de Wolfenbüttel* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), 247. José Escobar, “Más sobre los orígenes de civilizar y civilización en la España del siglo XVIII,” *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* (T. 33 No. 1, 1984) 93, 95-97. Diz, *Idea de Europa*, 50; and Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos, “La civilización como modelo de vida en el Madrid del siglo XVIII,” *Revista de dialectología y tradiciones populares* (LVI, 1, 2001), 148. De la Cruz’s sainete *La civilización* has been studied by Álvarez Barrientos in this article, and by José Antonio Maravall in “La palabra ‘civilización’ y su sentido en el siglo XVIII” in *Estudios de historia del pensamiento español. Siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Mondadori, 1991) 213-232.

¹³ José Escobar, “Más sobre los orígenes de civilizar...”

¹⁴ The term *civilization* is found in the writings of the second half of the eighteenth century, like those of Antonio de Capmany (1742-1813), Juan Sempere y Guarinos (1754-1830), Francisco Cabarrús (1753-1810), Juan Meléndez Valdés (1754-1817), and (1755-1813). Alejandro Diz, *Idea de Europa en la España del Siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2000), 50.

Title	Year	Genre
<i>La disputa en la <u>tertulia</u></i>	1763	sainete
<i>Las damas <u>finas</u></i>	1763	sainete
<i>La dama en el <u>tocador</u></i>	1763	sainete
<i>La academia del <u>ocio</u></i>	1763	sainete
<i>El hospital de la <u>moda</u></i>	1763	entremés
<i>La <u>civilización</u></i>	1763	sainete
<i>La <u>tertulia</u> de los jueves</i>	1764	sainete
<i>La <u>crítica</u></i>	1765	sainete
<i>El maestro de <u>rondar</u></i>	1765	entremés
<i>El caballero D. <u>Chisme</u></i>	1765	sainete
<i>El <u>Prado</u> por la noche</i>	1765	sainete
<i>Los <u>ociosos</u></i>	1766	entremés
<i>Las <u>cortesías</u></i>	1766	entremés
<i>La botillería</i>	1766	fin de fiesta
<i>La <u>tertulia</u> [de oficiales]</i>	1767	entremés
<i>La <u>visita</u> de la dama</i>	1768	sainete
<i>Las <u>superfluidades</u></i>	1768	sainete
<i>El baile en máscara</i>	1769	sainete
<i>El juego del <u>tocador</u></i>	1770	entremés
<i>Las <u>tertulias</u> de Madrid [El porqué de las tertulias]</i>	1770	sainete
<i>El maestro de música</i>	1771	sainete
<i>Los viejos a la <u>moda</u></i>	1772	sainete
<i>La <u>tertulia</u> y el ayo</i>	1772	sainete
<i>Los escrúpulos de las damas</i>	1773	sainete
<i>La <u>tertulia</u> hecha y deshecha</i>	1774	entremés
<i>La <u>tertulia</u> de moda</i>	1775	sainete
<i>El cuidado de <u>ronda</u> en el <u>Prado</u></i>	1776	sainete
<i>El <u>café</u> extranjero</i>	1778	entremés
<i>La <u>tertulia</u> general</i>	1779	sainete
<i>El <u>coliseo</u> por de fuera</i>	1782	sainete
<i>La <u>tertulia</u> discreta</i>	1783	sainete
<i>La <u>tertulia</u> extravagante</i>	1789	sainete
<i>La tarde en el <u>Prado</u></i>	1798	sainete

Table 1.2: List of short-theater pieces that criticized the refinement of customs

The idea of civilization in the Madrid of the second half of the eighteenth century embodied modernity, Europeanization, progress, and reform; the possibility that a society could move from barbarism to civilization found expression in the verb “to civilize” (*civilizar*), often cited at the time. In his journalistic publications during the 1760s, Nipho called for a reform

movement in theater that would civilize the general population.¹⁸ He was among the first to recognize the impending power of public opinion and to identify theater as a powerful opinion-shaper. But like the vast majority of Spanish proponents of the Enlightenment, he did not trust common people with steering the nation towards a safe harbor of civilization. Given the public's incompetence, according to Nipho, it fell on the government to determine the functions of theater.

Government surveillance of the arts and the press drove thinkers to flirt with both written and oral media. Although by the 1770s, cafés and salons for intellectuals were nothing new, they became more relevant when royal minister Count of Aranda curtailed journalistic efforts and other outlets for public opinion.¹⁹ In the aftermath of the Esquilache Riots (1766) and the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain (1767), proponents of Enlightenment needed places to meet and discuss national issues away from official entourages.²⁰ Tertulias and cafés thus provided visibility to fellow intellectuals and opacity away from official censorship.²¹

In spite of their particular differences, tertulias and cafés, newspapers, and theaters, may all be considered arenas for the sociability necessary to generate a widespread public opinion in the period. All three opened paths that sidestepped censorship to some extent: *tertulias*, because they took place in private spaces (cafés also preserved some of this privacy); newspapers, because many letters and articles were published anonymously or under

¹⁸ Nipho reflected upon the lack of civilization of Spanish society often through theater criticism. In his May review of the Coliseo del Príncipe he expressed his top-bottom views on the civilizational process: "The sovereignty [the power of the king] in all its power cannot expect to civilize our Nation, as long as lies and deceptions are spread among the Public." ("No puede esperar todo el poder de la soberanía civilizar nuestra Nación, mientras se esparzan por el Público falsedades y engaños.") The lie-mongers in this case were, in general, Spanish comedias at the coliseos, and in particular, the play *El falso nuncio de Portugal* by José de Cañizares (1676-1750). *Diario Estrangero* 1763, p. 120.

¹⁹ Pedro Pablo Abarca de Bolea, Count of Aranda (1719-1798). Aranda's policies provoked the Esquilache Riots in 1766 and caused the Jesuit expulsion in 1767.

²⁰ Sánchez-Blanco, *El Absolutismo y las Luces*, 130.

²¹ Nonetheless, enlightened gatherings often left "a trail of ink" behind them in the guise of pamphlets, leaflets, and parodies, which could compromise participants. Martín González Fernández, "*La philosophie dans le boudoir*," 384-5.

pseudonyms; and theater, finally, because performance distanced or otherwise ironized the personal voice to the point where it was hard to ascertain whether the opinion expressed on stage belonged to the actress, the character, the playwright, or the composer. Moreover, stereotypes, song, dance, and other conventionalized forms allowed for a certain ambiguity. Actor-singers could always claim innocence: after all, they did not write their own lines and songs, and they were at the mercy of poets and audiences.

1.2 FROM MEDIEVAL FAMA TO MODERN OPINION

Censorship laws that limited public expression attempted to resolve the ongoing clash between opinion with political function, and older understandings of opinion closer to *reputation*. The predecessor of public opinion was reputation, or Machiavellian *fama*: an implicit court where a group of people judged the private or public actions of an individual.²² By the eighteenth century, the communal court of reputation effectively altered society's moral norm, in spite of having lost the judicial efficacy it had formerly borne in medieval Roman-canon law courts.²³ Given the fact that the opinions of others might determine a person's fate, criticism in Spain was perceived as slander against the private moral of the individual, and not as an opinion that targeted the political sphere.²⁴

²² Gonzalo Capellán de Miguel, "Introducción. Los 'momentos' de la opinión pública," in *Opinión pública, historia y presente* (Madrid: Editorial Trotta S.A., 2008), 11-12.

²³ Thelma Fenster and Daniel Lord Small, "Introduction," in *Fama. The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 2.

²⁴ In his study of infamy in medieval Spain, Jeffrey A. Bowman has demonstrated that since the early legal treatises of the Visigothic Code seventh century and the Siete Partidas of Alfonso X of Castile, "The Wise" (r. 1252-1284), the reputation of a person acquired juridical dimension: "murmurs," said Bowman, "became legal facts." (A person declared infame by their neighbors could not witness in court.) These treatises record that oral testimony could replace lost documents and ultimately condemn or save a life. In spite of new legal codes, many aspects of the Siete Partidas have remained alive in Spanish legislation, and the long standing of this law compendium has permeated Spanish society and government through the centuries. Bourbon censorship of satire constituted a vestige of the legal implications of reputation for individuals. Jeffrey A. Bowman, "Infamy and Proof in Medieval Spain," in *Fama : the politics of talk and reputation in medieval Europe*, ed. Thelma S. Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).

1.2.1 RUMORS: PABLO ESTEVE'S TONADILLAS *LA PETIMETRA HIPÓCRITA* AND *LOS MORMURADORES*

Before printed press circulated widely, rumor spread news and communicated perceptions. But because it damaged reputation, rumor was also considered dishonest. Several tonadillas of the 1780s condemned rumor in very similar terms to those later used to censor written criticism. Stage tonadillas are one of the most representative genres of Spanish vocal music from the second half of the eighteenth century. They consist of five to ten different vocal numbers, accompanied by a small orchestra; both male and female vocal parts are notated in C clef on the first line, which indicates that the theater companies did not employ bass singers. Solo tonadillas were completely sung, but in ensemble tonadillas, snippets of spoken dialog connect the different musical numbers. Composers and copyists notated vocal and instrumental parts for performers and prompters, but they did not write full scores. The majority of tonadilla manuscripts is preserved in the archives of city theaters, and have not been edited or printed. Production of tonadillas peaked between the late-1760s and the 1790s, roughly coinciding with the classical period of Western European music. Spanish musicologist José Subirá wrote the foundational scholarly work on tonadillas in the 1920s.²⁵ More recently, Elisabeth LeGuin published *The Tonadilla on Stage* in 2014, the most comprehensive study of tonadillas written in English. I am interested in this musical theater genre insofar as it contributed to the genesis of public opinion in Spain.

The tonadillas *La petimetra hipócrita* (1781) and *Los mormuradores* (1779), by Pablo Esteve, for example, reprimanded gossipmongers who defamed their neighbors under the pretense of charitable admonition or desire to improve society. The *coplas* of *La petimetra*

²⁵ José Subirá, *La tonadilla escénica* (Madrid: Tipografía de Archivos, 1928).

hipócrita (see table 1.3) also criticized mores from the standpoint of current policies against luxury and moral objections to *cortejos*.²⁶

Criticism of customs during the last quarter of the century returned to these same topics over and over, whether in print, poetry, satire, theater, or songs. The themes included overspending for the sake of appearance, flirting, squandering husbands' money, illicit love affairs, young women's lack of modesty, and idleness of lesser nobility. For its part, this particular piece focused not on the customs criticized, but the criticizer's own hypocrisy. The performer wore a double disguise: actress-singer Nicolasa Palomera passed for a *petimetra* (modern socialite) who then in turn passed for an altruistic woman. Paradoxically, the performer replicated the conduct she disapproved of; whereas the fictional *petimetra* denounced others and claimed moral superiority, la Nicolasa incriminated society in the closing seguidillas to earn her fans' applause.

	<i>TOPIC</i>
<i>1st copla, verse 1</i>	Ill-prepared lawyers
<i>1st copla, verse 2</i>	Pregnancy out of wedlock
<i>1st copla, verse 3</i>	<i>Cortejos</i>

Table 1.3: Structure of coplas, *La petimetra hipócrita*

²⁶ A close relationship between a woman and a man that involved flirting, but not necessarily sex. It often linked a married woman to a single man. *Cortejo* designated both the relationship and the man in question. Women attached to their *cortejos* in romantic ways unrelated to the circumstances of marriage at the time. *Cortejos* were considered affronts to husbands, especially because they were allowed to enter domestic spaces (like the lady's chamber) once secluded from the outside world. In theater stereotypes women and their *cortejos* were immoral and cunning, and husbands were stupid.

1 st copla REFRAIN	Vecinas vecinas por amor de Dios Que ninguno sepa lo que e dicho yo Que soi enemiga de chismes de onor Y a mi no me gusta la mormuracion	<i>My [female] neighbors, for the love of God let no one know what I have said For I am not fond of honor gossips And I do not like gossip</i>
	En tiendas y tertulias y en muchas casas Quantas honrras se quitan en confianza Que ya que claro està en confianza	<i>In shops and tertulias And in many homes How many honors are lost In private Now that it is clear²⁷, In private</i>
	De unos a otros el mal que estaba oculto Se hace notorio Y prosiga la ydea silencio todos Que ya que claro està silencio todos	<i>Between one another The hidden evil Becomes notorious Let the idea continue, silence all Now that it is clear, Silence all</i>
2 nd copla, verse 1	Women who overspend in shoes	
2 nd copla, verse 2	Courtships among married cousins	
2 nd copla, verse 3	Married women who go out partying and indulge in excess	
2 nd copla REFRAIN	Vecinas vecinas por Dios reparad	<i>My neighbors, my neighbors for the love of God take notice</i>
	Questo no se sepa en la vecindad Que soi enemiga yo de mormurar Y cuanto os he dicho es en caridad Y a mi no me gusta la mormuracion	<i>may this not be known in the neighborhood since I am not fond of gossiping And all I have said is out of charity And I do not like gossip</i>
	Cuantas faltas de muchas no se supieran Si con compasion falsa no se dijeran Que ya que claro està no se dixeran	<i>The faults of many [women] would not be known If with fake compassion they were not told Now that it is clear, they were not told</i>
	Pero sucede que aquel que muerde a otro A si se muerde	<i>But it so happens that he who bites another bites himself</i>

Table 1.3, continued: Structure of coplas, *La petimetra hipócrita*²⁸

Los mormuradores scorned the “vice” of rumor, so ubiquitous that opinions lost all meaning. La Caramba, the famous actress-singer of *Los mormuradores*, stayed above the murky

²⁷ “*Que ya que claro està*” is a stock phrase used to articulate repetitions.

²⁸ Pablo Esteve, *La petimetra hipócrita*, tonadilla, 1781. Manuscript parts: Parte de apuntar, vn1, vn2, fl1, fl2, ob1, ob2, hn1, hn2, db. Biblioteca Histórica Municipal, MUS 91-15.

waters of rumor not because she was morally superior, but because she was on stage. After all, she was La Caramba, and could afford to laugh at the consequences of any rumor due to her fame.

The closing section of the *coplas* in *Los mormuradores* exemplifies how certain music and dance genres of the time enabled actress-singers (and the composers who wrote their parts) to express opinions in funny, coquettish tones. La Caramba sang several *coplas* with humorous examples of gossipmongers, but in the *coplas'* refrain she moved on from what people might whisper about her to her own take on gossiping as a whole:

1. Pero esto yo lo tomo
con gran cachaza
Y alla bà un fandanguito
de tumba y tamba

*1. But all their gossiping
I take it easy
And here goes a fandanguito
with tumba and tamba²⁹*

2. Pero desto a las mozas
se les dà un pito
Y halla bà sobre el caso
un fandanguito

*2. But the girls could
care less about this [gossiping]
And here goes a fandanguito
on the issue*

The *coplas'* refrain changed the rapport between performer and audience not only through the shift from third to first person, but also through heavily dramatic music. As La Caramba sung the ornamented melody that Esteve wrote for her, the tempo was reduced from *allegro vivo* in 3/8 to *andante* in 3/4, and the mode changed to A minor. In social dances, this slow, dramatic introduction to the fandango would may have allowed dancers to take their places. In *Los mormuradores*, however, it turned the spotlight toward La Caramba and her upcoming dance.

²⁹ Onomatopoeias.

Allegretto vivo **Andante**

Pe-ro es-to yo lo to - mo con gran ca - cha za _____ Con gran ca -
 Pe - ro des-to a las mo - zas se les_ da un pi - to _____ Se les_ dà un

6 **Fandango**

cha-za y ha-llà ba_y ha-lla bà_un fan - dan gui-to un_fan-dan gui - to de__tum ba y tam ba__ Jele; voy ha
 pi - to y ha-lla bà_y ha-lla bà_so bre el ca_ so__ so bre el ca - so un__fan dan - gui-to__ Jele; voy ha

13

zer vaylar las a ra ñas con el son so ne te; Di gan de mi lo__ que_ quie - ran que a mi_ no me im por__ ta__
 zer vaylar el contrabajo con el sonso ne te; A- que -llos mis mos__ que_ ha - blan mal_ de_ las po- bres__ mu -

Example 1.2: Los mormuradores, closing section of coplas with beginning of fandango³⁰

The introduction to the fandango opened with the characteristic descending line in the bass, most often a minor tetrachord or arpeggio, but here reduced to D-B \flat -A-A. Esteve wrote only two four-measure rounds of this introduction (mm. 24-27, 28-31), but in social dances as well as in stylized versions of the fandango such as those of Domenico Scarlatti (1685-1757), Antonio Soler (1729-1783), or Luigi Boccherini (1743-1805), the introduction was built as a series of *diferencias* over several measures of descending *basso ostinato*.³¹

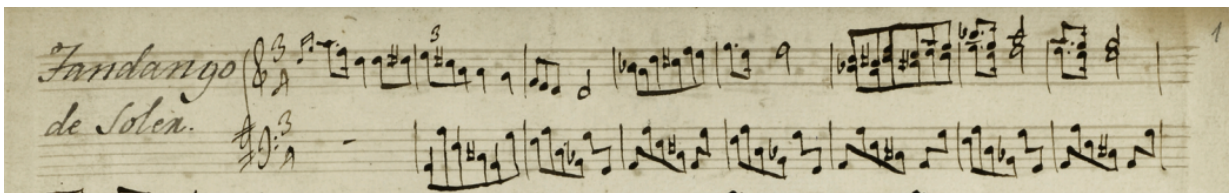


Figure 1.4: Antonio Soler (attrib.), *Fandango de Solea* R 146 in D minor, opening measures showing basso ostinato arpeggiating A major and B \flat 7

³⁰ Transcribed from the *parte de apuntar*. Pablo Esteve, *Los mormuradores*, tonadilla, 1779. Manuscript parts: Parte de apuntar, vn1, vn2, va1, va2, ob1, ob2, hn1, hn2, db. Biblioteca Histórica Municipal, MUS 92-16.

³¹ Domenico Scarlatti, n.d. *Obras inéditas para tecla* (Madrid, 1984). Antonio Soler, attrib., R 146 n.d. (ed. F. Marvin, London 1957-69; ed. S. Rubio, Madrid 1982). Luigi Boccherini, G 341 (II) 1771; G 448 (IV) 1798. (ed. P. Carmirelli, Rome 1970-85).

After the slow introduction in A minor, there followed the fandango *cante* in major mode according to convention (F major, in this case). The fandango *cante* usually consisted of four or five octosyllabic verses set to six musical phrases, the last of which returned to minor mode, although in La Caramba's fandango the next-to-last musical phrase already leads to D minor.³² Fandangos enjoyed widespread popularity, but they also carried with them a risqué aura. Engaging in this suggestive dance, La Caramba briefly challenged those who disparaged actress-singers due to their profession:

<p><i>(text 1)</i> 1. [HABLADO con música]: Jele; Voy hazer vaylar las arañas con el sonsonete;</p> <p>[Cantado] Digan de mi lo que quieran Que a mi no me importa nada Que por mas que de mi digan Siempre he de ser la Caramba (siempre he de ser la Caramba) Ole ole ole ole ole ala [a la orquesta como que les manda callar] Chi he he ay ay</p> <p><i>(text 2)</i> 2. [HABLADO con música]: Jele; Voy hazer vaylar el contrabajo con el sonsonete;</p> <p>[Cantado] 1. Aquellos mismos que hablan mal de las pobres muchachas son los que pierden al cabo por ellas salud y plata (por ellas salud y plata) Ole ole ole ole ole ala [a la orquesta como que les manda callar] Chi he he ay ay</p>	<p>D min: I-V</p> <p>F: I-IV IV-I I-V V D min: VI-V V</p> <p>V/ i</p>	<p><i>(text 1)</i> 1. [SPOKEN over music]: Jele; I will make the chandeliers dance with the tune</p> <p>[Sung] Say what you will about me I do not care at all For no matter how much people say La Caramba I will always be (La Caramba I will always be) Ole ole ole ole ole ala [to the orchestra, as if asking them to be quiet] Hush he he ay ay</p> <p><i>(text 2)</i> [SPOKEN over music]: Jele; I will make the contrabass dance with the tune</p> <p>[Sung] 1. Those men who badmouth the poor girls [the actress-singers] are the same that end up losing their health and money for them (their health and money for them) Ole ole ole ole ole ala [to the orchestra, as if asking them to be quiet] Hush he he ay ay</p>
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Table 1.4: Structure of fandango, *Los mormuradores*

³² The six-verse form in major mode with the last line in minor has been preserved in the folkloric fandangos manchegos and also in flamenco fandangos.

Andante Fandango 19

Jele; voy ha zer vaylar las a ra ñas con el son - so ne te; Di gan de mi lo___ que_ quie - ran
 Jele; voy ha zer vaylar el contrabajo con el son- so ne te; A- que-llos mis mos___ que_ ha - blan

que a mi_ no me im por___ ta___ na - da que por mas que de___ mi___ di - gan siem pre he de ser la_
 mal_ de_ las po- bres___ mu - cha - chas son_ los_ que pier den___ al___ ca - bo por_ e - llas sa lud

___ ca - ram - ba siem-pre he de ser la___ Ca - ram - ba o-le o-le o - le___ o-le o-le a - la
 ___ y___ pla - ta por e - llas sa lud___ y___ pla - ta o-le o-le o - le___ o-le o-le a - la

Example 1.3: Los mormuradores, fandango in the copla's refrain

However, just when La Caramba's fandango became unmistakably familiar with the "ole ole" refrain over the dominant pedal, she interrupted the orchestra ("chi," "he"), perhaps in an attempt to diffuse the erotic connotations of the dance. In this way, La Caramba at first teased the audience (and through her, Esteve teased his critics) with a dance that seemed sexy to Spaniards and licentious to the French and British,³³ but suddenly she switched the atmosphere to comedy in order to alleviate the eroticism: under the excuse of a sore foot, she snapped from the depths of the fandango to a 2/4, A-major song that asked the audience to share an enthusiasm for the dance. In the very last line of this 2/4 section, La Caramba claimed that the entire tonadilla had been a joke.

³³ See Judith Etzion, "The Spanish Fandango: From Eighteenth-Century 'Lasciviousness' to Nineteenth-Century Exoticism," in *Anuario Musical* (48, 1993) 229-250. See also Clara Rico Osés, "De las ceremonias de los bailes: política, identidad y representaciones a través del baile español del siglo XVIII," in *Bulletin Hispanique* (Vol. 114, issue 2, 2012) 660-663.

1. HABLADO:

Detengase usted, que me duele este pie
[Cantado]
Que dicen ustedes Mosqueteros míos
No es la omrra de España este baylezito
Pues vaya de caso de caso atended toditos

2. HABLADO:

Detengase usted, no bè que me a dado el
aquel?
[Cantado]
Que tal Mosqueteros esta Aria española
no es de todo el Reyno la omrra de la gloria[?]
Y con seguidillas doy fin a mi broma

2. SPOKEN:

Stop, my foot hurts
[Sung]
What do you say, my Mosqueteros³⁴
Isn't this little dance Spain's honor
Let the case go on, all pay attention

2. SPOKEN:

Stop, can't you see I've had an
inconvenience?
[Sung]
Mosqueteros, how about this Spanish Aria,
is it not the Kingdom's honor of the glory?
And with seguidillas I end my joke

According to La Caramba, fandangos put Spain on the European musical map as much as arias glorified Italy; in mastering the fandango, she recovered for her country the honor that her profession may have tarnished.

Tonadillas like these two by Esteve added rumor to the list of social sins corrupting the world. Because wide sectors of Madrid still attended the *coliseos*, tonadillas with their catchy tunes and repetitive lyrics effectively framed certain issues of public perception on their own. Once any social practice had become part of the criticism of customs repertory, it affected the perception of other phenomena. In other words, circulation of ideas in print was received with suspicion in Spain, because these new ideas resembled long-discredited rumor insofar as they spread information that harmed others and damaged community relations.

³⁴ *Mosqueteros* were the standing male audiences in the cheap localities, so called because of the *mosquete*, a horizontal wooden beam across the theater courtyard that may have had the purpose of dividing the courtyard into sections. The men standing there sometimes reclined on the *mosquete*.

1.3 SWAMPED IN PAPER: THE EXPANSION OF PRINT CRITICISM

In the Madrid of the 1780s, twenty years after the journalism of Nipho and Clavijo y Fajardo, nascent public opinion disrupted the notion that only the king and the Catholic Church had the authority to prescribe social rules.³⁵ Each new printed, spoken, or singing voice prescribed a different formula for social well-being according to their conception of Spanishness, whether progressive, conservative, or any shade in between: “It seems that now anyone with a hint of enlightenment has attained despotic power to meddle in criticism and publish their leaflets,” wrote Mademoiselle de Bouville, a wealthy French woman residing in the Spanish capital in 1786.³⁶ Incipient public opinion thus encountered resistance from sectors of the public who feared that a new paradigm could threaten the core of Spanish social ethos.

It was only in the last two decades of the eighteenth century that Spain experienced the “journalistic wave” sweeping through Europe.³⁷ Spanish editors and publics were not ready to consolidate press activity until 1781 when production shifted from state or church patronage to a subscription-based market. This shift in funding resulted in newspapers and journals which

³⁵ In the words of Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos, “criticism and journalism played a decisive role in the formation of public opinion [in the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century] and as a medium for expression that opened the ideological and aesthetic debate to new voices theretofore often silenced.” Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos, “Prólogo” to María José Rodríguez Sánchez de León, *La crítica dramática En España (1789-1833)* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de la Lengua Española, 1999).

³⁶ “Parece que ya todos los que tienen alguna tintura de ilustración, han logrado un despótico dominio para meterse á críticos y publicar sus papelillos.” *Criticas reflexiones que hace Mademisselle de Bouville... sobre el estado presente de la Literatura Española, en vista de los innumerables papeles que se dán a la luz pública* (Madrid: en la oficina de Hilario Santos Alonso, 1786), 9. The author may have been Elisabeth de Drouin, the third daughter of French nobleman Charles François de Drouin.

Álvarez Barrientos thinks that even in the 1760s, Madrileños complained about excess of publications: “En los periódicos publicados entre 1761 y 1765 leemos, como si fuera un tópico de género, continuas alusiones a la gran cantidad de papeles públicos que se publican y a los muchos que se dedican a escribir en ese medio, sin tener la preparación necesaria para llevar a cabo los objetivos culturales y de trabajo por la felicidad pública que se proponen.” “El periodista en la España,” 30.

³⁷ Elisabel Larriba, *Le public de la presse en Espagne à la fin du XVIIIe siècle (1781-1808)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998). Guinard, *La presse espagnole*, 219-20. Larriba’s study of the Spanish press from 1781 to 1808 continues the inquiries of Paul Guinard about the period from 1737 to 1791. Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos supports this perspective: “Periodicals as literary vehicles appeared in Spain on the second half of the eighteenth century, when they had been around in the rest of Europe for several decades.” “El periodista en la España del siglo XVIII y la profesionalización del escritor,” in *Estudios de Historia Social* (nos. 52/53, 1990) 30.

were strong enough to generate their own reading public, and to influence collective opinions.³⁸ There had, however, been efforts in previous years, such as José Clavijo y Fajardo's weekly *El Pensador* (pub. 1763-1767), but most of those efforts waned because civil and ecclesiastical authorities actively monopolized public opinion, leaving little room for private journals.³⁹ State authorities shifted back and forth in their support for periodicals.⁴⁰ Under Charles III and Charles IV, the Supreme Council of Castile (Supremo Consejo de Castilla) was the most powerful government organ of the monarchy, and the Count of Floridablanca its most powerful minister. They commanded theater censorship in Madrid and in other important cities like Cádiz.⁴¹ Initially, Floridablanca saw in the press an ally to promote Spanish enlightened progress.⁴²

El Censor was probably the sharpest of the periodicals circulating in Spain during the 1780s, but by no means the only one. The *Correo literario de la Europa* appeared in the same year as *El Censor* (1781); the *Memorial literario, instructivo y curioso de la corte de Madrid* ran from 1784-1808; the *Correo de los Ciegos* started circulation in 1785; the *Diario curioso*,

³⁸ Guinard thinks that subscriptions increased in the 1780s because postal rates decreased, and he interprets the lower prices as a short-lived state effort to encourage printed press.

³⁹ There were in Madrid two official periodicals: the *Gaceta de Madrid*, and the *Mercurio Histórico y Político*. According to Francisco Sánchez-Blanco, newspapers other than the official ones "practically disappeared" after the Esquilache Riots in 1766 (Sánchez-Blanco, *El Absolutismo y las Luces*, 303).

⁴⁰ Francisco Sánchez-Blanco thinks that periodical publications had a revival in the 1780s because by that point public opinion and polemics had escalated to a spike such that the monarchy had no choice but to partially authorize independent newspapers, lest the government was perceived as anti-Enlightenment. *Ibid.*, 305.

⁴¹ Lucienne Domergue explains press censorship in Spain: "In the Spain of the Enlightenment, periodical press like any other print, underwent a double control, a priori and a posteriori, that is, before and after it was printed, when the 'literary' products were already circulating on the street." ("*En la España de las Luces, la prensa periódica, como toda clase de impresos, tenía que sufrir un doble control, a priori y a posteriori, o sea antes de pasar por las prensas y al salir de ellas, cuando las producciones 'literarias' ya circulaban por la calle. Tradicionalmente la censura previa era de las regalías de Su Majestad, que la puso en manos de su Consejo Real de Castilla; este a su vez confió, parcial o totalmente según los casos y las épocas, esta prerrogativa a uno de sus miembros, nombrado por esta razón Juez de Imprentas.*"). "La prensa periódica y la censura en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII," in *Estudios de Historia Social* (nos. 53/54, 1990) 141.

⁴² Larriba, *Le public de la presse*, 124. For example, in 1785, the monarchy supported the critic journal *El Censor* and even defended it from detractors. Still, the royal order emitted this year made the editors responsible for any offense that the journal caused (Royal Order of November 25, 1785). Those attacked by the press could appeal to the judge of printing presses, and if the periodical was found guilty, the editors ought to publicly retract.

erudito, económico y comercial began in 1786, and the *Espíritu de los mejores diarios, El Observador*, and *Semanario Erudito* were all put into print for the first time in 1787.⁴³ The *Diario de Madrid*, the only daily newspaper in Spain, suspended publication between 1781 and 1786, while *El Censor* ran biweekly only from 1781 to mid-1787.⁴⁴ By 1787, the year when Italian opera returned Madrid's Theater of Los Caños del Peral, there were four more periodicals in circulation than at the beginning of the decade. The press was ripe for theater criticism.

1.3.1 THE READING PUBLIC

The consolidation of a reading public was a key element in Spain's rejection of the old regime. The literate body of the country gestated throughout the eighteenth century, as the middle classes gained importance in Spanish society.⁴⁵ The reading public first became evident in the responses to the works of the Benedictine Benito Feijoo in the 1720s, but it only crystallized during the reigns of Charles III and IV. In the 1780s-1790s, half of the titled nobility of Madrid subscribed to at least one newspaper, mostly preferring those devoted to literature and daily news. The clergy in turn favored official newspapers, making up approximately 22% of periodical press subscribers. The largest body of subscribers, however, came from the middle class. This group was composed of physicians, lawyers, army officers, merchants, professors, and civil servants, as well as a few modest tradesmen.⁴⁶ Even though in Larriba's words, "press

⁴³ *El corresponsal del Censor* appeared in 1786.

⁴⁴ According to Yolanda F. Acker, the *Diario* was the first daily newspaper not only in Spain, but in all of Europe. The *Diario de Madrid* first appeared in 1758, under Ferdinand VI (r. 1746-1759) as *Diario noticioso, curioso-erudito y comercial, público y económico*. It suspended editions between 1776 and 1778, and then again between December 1781 and June 1786. Yolanda F. Acker, *Música y danza en el Diario de Madrid (1758-1808): noticias, avisos y artículos* (Madrid: Gobierno de España, Ministerio de Cultural-Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escénicas y del la Musical, Centro de Documentación de Música y Danza, 2007), 12.

⁴⁵ "This phenomenon [of the reading public]," postulates Alejandro Diz, "will be linked to that of the creation or expansion of the middle classes." Diz, *Idea de Europa*, 259-261.

⁴⁶ Larriba, *Le public de la presse*, 233-7, 251-3, 305-25. Larriba collected her data from subscriptions; the less affluent portion of the middle classes may have represented a larger portion of the readership in Madrid because they often purchased journals and newspapers by the issue. Guinard comes to a similar

remained a luxury product,” the new reading public that emerged in the last third of the eighteenth century ranged from nobles to artisans, united by a desire to form and express their opinion.⁴⁷

The format of journals further facilitated the birth of a reading public, because in comparison to books, journals offered periodic, short, topical texts that seemed more accessible to those unaccustomed to reading. Nipho and later Sempere y Guarinos noticed these advantages: “Undoubtedly, a small work is read without inconvenience,” wrote Nipho in his *Caxón de Sastre*, “and gives taste a chance to rest before continuing to read, because since the space of a week intervenes, the work at hand is read more than once, and that which is waited for is more eagerly desired.”⁴⁸ Newspapers like the *Correo de los Ciegos* also filled the role of digesting information for the general public. The *Correo* presented current issues but not necessarily the latest news, and its main goal was “the vulgarization of educational information,” in other words, the translation of scientific and literary knowledge from all around Europe into a format legible to its readers. The newspaper’s educational character thus supplied a tool to implement new ideas in the middle- and upper-class populace. This trickling-down of enlightened principles, especially those related to agriculture and economy, also served the interests of the state.

It is hard to quantify the press readers of the period, given that one edition might circulate through several individuals or families. Guinard estimates that one issue of a learned periodical reached one to five readers, whereas informative and critical journals like the *Diario de Madrid*, *Memorial*, and *El Censor*, could reach up to ten or fifteen.⁴⁹ Furthermore, literate

conclusion that middle classes consumed periodical press more than any other group in the Madrid society. *La presse espagnole*, 84-89.

⁴⁷ “En fait, la presse semble avoir touché, bien que de manière inégale, tous les secteurs de la société.” Larriba, *Le public de la presse*, 333 and 173.

⁴⁸ Álvarez Barrientos, “El periodista en la España,” 33. Nipho’s quote is from the *Caxon de Sastre*’s prologue/prospectus in vol. 1 (Madrid: en la imprenta de D. Gabriel Ramírez, 1761) XXXIV.

⁴⁹ Guinard, *La presse espagnole*, 70.

people transmitted an oral version of what they read in the press to illiterate friends and family in conversation or simply through reading aloud.

Theater in major Spanish cities like Madrid and Cádiz fulfilled a similar role to newspapers: that is, it presented information and ideas in compact formats to which the public could easily relate. In fact, theater reached a much wider and more diverse audience than newspapers. In 1795, Larriba states, the editors of the *Correo de Cádiz* were impressed by the power of periodicals to carve public opinion, both wanted and unwanted:

Out of one hundred people we can establish that ninety-five form the public; readers do not make up three percent. According to these numbers the public would be tiny; but it is not, for in those three readers out of a hundred are included *those who form their own opinion, and make those who do not read do the same*; and hence they bring publicity up to the number of ninety-five [percent]. Every one man that reads speaks his mind before a family; *and a man, or a woman in a theater can shape the opinion of a couple of thousand people in a few minutes*. In this public are found all professions, all interests, all views and all needs for progress.

The rest of the *Correo de Cádiz* article makes it clear that not all professions, interests, and views satisfied the editors, however. Much to their chagrin, they had to admit that their readership, and their “extended” readership by word of mouth, included both the educated and the common people. At the same time that the *Correo de Cádiz* editors were democratizing information for the public through their newspaper, they also feared that they were too exposed to that public’s uninformed judgments.

1.3.2 A TONADILLA TURNED NEWSPAPER: *EL DIARIO* (LASERNA, 1787)

Tonadillas in the 1780s and early 1790s shared a similar function and format with newspapers: they both aggregated a number of different genres in order to entertain and inform.⁵⁰ For instance, in the tonadilla *El monstruo del gusto público* discussed later in this

⁵⁰ Guinard, for example, describes the *Correo de los Ciegos*, as a “pot-pourri” of short comments, anecdotes, allegories, short stories, verses, short essays, letters and longer features that continued from

chapter, actor-singer Manuel Garrido (1745-1807) personified Comic Theater in this way: “I dress up in medley, thus I intend to show / the diversity of costumes that often adorn me.”⁵¹ In the 1770s and 1780s, tonadillas featured a range of musical numbers from folkloric fandangos and seguidillas to arias and recitatives. Because of their shorter format, tonadillas could be produced faster than full-length *comedias*, and so could keep up more readily with daily life.⁵² Furthermore, authors of tonadilla texts were rarely named, which enhanced the perception that the views they expressed belonged to the community and not merely one individual.⁵³ Whereas comedias of the seventeenth-century Spanish Golden Age were regularly staged a century later because audiences continued to favor them, tonadillas experienced a shorter shelf life.⁵⁴ Subirá, Lolo, and Le Guin all maintain that from the 1790s onwards (roughly corresponding to the reign of Charles IV), the melodies and subject matters of tonadillas became repetitive and fixed, offering less and less variation and inventiveness.⁵⁵ According to the chronology proposed by

one issue to the next, to the point that the journal seemed inarticulate. Guinard, *La presse espagnole*, 233-236.

⁵¹ “Me visto de miscelania y asi pretendo mostrar/ la diversidad de trajes que me suelen adornar.”

⁵² Begoña Lolo sees in the tonadilla “An element to disseminate the frenzy of new events, a journalistic newscast of sorts to bear witness to the demands of the actor-singers and the world of theater itself, to the setbacks or successes of businesses, to romantic customs and the convenience of courtships... and endless topics that settled naturally in the music and verses of this kind of lyrical theater, with great popular acceptance.” Lolo, “Itinerarios musicales,” 16, 20.

⁵³ Nonetheless, some of the best-known writers of the second half of the eighteenth century authored tonadillas. Lolo names Luciano and Joaquina Comella, Ramón de la Cruz, Tomás de Iriarte, Luis Moncín, Sebastián Vázquez, Gaspar de Zavala y Zamora, Vicente Rodríguez de Arellano, and Manuel Fermín Laviano, among others. In the 1780s-90s, coliseo head composers wrote many of the lyrics of tonadillas as part of their annual contracts, given that otherwise they had to pay librettists out of pocket. *Ibid.*, 17.

⁵⁴ For an analysis of the reception of Spanish Golden Age theater in the eighteenth century, see René Andioc, *Teatro y Sociedad*, chapter 1.

⁵⁵ At the same time, tonadillas in the 1790s grew longer and incorporated more Italianate numbers, to the point that they resembled a Madrid version of opera buffa. Whereas for Subirá (1928-30) this meant the corruption and eventual demise of the genre, Le Guin (2014) interprets the formal rigidity as possible resistance facing economic and social decline as a result of war with France starting in 1793. Lolo, like Subirá, thinks that tonadillas lost their essence as they moved away from traditional Spanish folklore and turned formulaic. After 1791, assessed Subirá, “denationalization,” “hypertrophy,” and excessive moralization of tonadillas resulted in “decrepitude” that in the 1800 collapsed under new genres like operetta and bailes. Le Guin, *Tonadilla in Performance*, 209, 213-16. Lolo, “Itinerarios musicales,” 22. Subirá, *Tonadilla*, 205-7. Le Guin suggests that operettas prevailed due to the José Bonaparte’s preferences, Napoleon’s brother who ruled Spain 1808-1813, and bailes (dances) because “autochthonous music and dance... on the stages of the coliseos... moved closer and closer to something ostensibly

these three scholars, the solo tonadilla *El Diario* (1787), by composer Blas de Laserna, appeared right before the genre became, if not “decrepit” like Subirá claimed, less given to “sustain critical dialogue with [its] surroundings,” in the words of Le Guin.

The tonadilla examples analyzed in this chapter either do not narrate a fictional story, or they are allegorical. Solo tonadillas, in contrast to those written for an ensemble, often lacked dramatic plots and emphasized direct communication between performer and audiences. In contrast, pieces for multiple performers frequently contained a non-allegorical, storyline plot, usually an imbroglio that mixed comedy with moral admonition; the structure suggested below does not necessarily apply to them.

<i>Basic structure</i>	<i>Subsections</i>	<i>Function</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>
Introduction	(Instrumental introduction)	Presents the main melody, key, meter, rhythm	
	Entable or sung introduction	Sets the situation Presents a problem Announces the intentions of the performer	May add a recitative
Transition		Addresses the audience and demands their attention	
Coplas	Body of coplas	Itemizes aspects or instances of the problem	Strophic Two or three stanzas Octosyllabic Parallel verse lines
	Closing refrain - retransition	Offers the moral of the story and resolves the issue Signals further coplas or the end	
Seguidillas	Could be substituted by other strophic song	Further comments on the issue or dilutes it with a completely disconnected topic ⁵⁶ Bids farewell, asks for approval and mercy from the audience	Ornamented, even virtuosic vocal line Strophic Basic metrics of verse: 7+5

Table 1.5: Standard sections of solo tonadilla

folkloric, and at the same time even further from language, from representation - and from any possibility of sustaining critical dialogue with their surroundings”. Le Guin, *Tonadilla in Performance*, 215.

⁵⁶ Seguidillas of the 1790s and later tend to be unrelated to the main argument of the tonadilla.

El Diario reproduced the separate newspaper sections in their *coplas* (verses): sales, purchases, job advertisements, and lost and found, among others. Lolo considers the *coplas* the main section of a tonadilla because, unlike seguidillas, the metric regularity of the coplas poetry allowed composer and listeners to focus on the central argument of the piece.⁵⁷ Le Guin also analyzes this metric regularity and argues that the paired octosyllabic verses of the *coplas* provided the backbone for musical rhythm and for the development of meaning, based on the opposition and balance that resulted from different pairing combinations within the ten-line stanza.⁵⁸ The importance of the coplas notwithstanding, the introductory and closing sections of tonadillas also offer prime spots to discern the ways in which opinions were communicated to a public through theatrical music.

In Laserna's *El Diario*, for example, the coplas' body takes up the longest portion of the tonadilla, but the introduction, transition, and coplas' closing refrain (which functions as a retransition for the next copla) present brighter vocal lines, faster harmonic rhythms and more varied progressions. The following example extracts a third of the coplas (mm. 171-203 and 204-236, repeats in mm. 138-170, with different texts). In total, there are six coplas sung to the same music (see example 1.5).

⁵⁷ "... La parte central o llamada también propiamente tonadilla, en la que se cantaban las coplas, que era métricamente la más regular. Argumentalmente era donde residía el mayor interés dramático ya que era la sección en la que se situaba el meollo de la historia que daba nombre a la tonadilla..." Lolo, "Itinerarios musicales," 18.

⁵⁸ Le Guin, *Tonadilla in Performance*, 95 ff.

Example 1.4: Body of coplas (verses), *El Diario*⁵⁹

Compare the opening phrases of the coplas to the introduction. The vocal line of the coplas moves in quarter and eighth notes within the range of a sixth, mostly by step, with only two jumps of a third near the end of each text line (mm. 141, 145). The bass moves as little as possible, merely to support the articulation of the sung text. The first musical sentence stays in the tonic, and the second ends in the dominant. The overall harmonic movement of the coplas traces a simple arch from I-V in the **a** section to V-I in **b**.

In contrast, the vocal line of the introduction alternates rhythmic values from a dotted quarter note to a thirty-second note, and although the range remains within a fifth, there are more frequent and larger jumps, as well as syncopation on mm. 3, 9. The bass moves in eighths, featuring a chromatic passing note on m. 3, which highlights the dominant chord that is the goal of this sentence. Laserna marked “forte” in the bass line intervening between the two iterations of the vocal line, to further stress the participation of this instrument.

⁵⁹ Examples 1.4, 1.5, 1.6, 1.7, and 1.8 transcribed from the *parte de apuntar*. Blas de Laserna, *El Diario, Tonadilla, 1791. Parte de apuntar. BHM Mus 87-5*.

Un dia rio muy nue - bo quie - ro pre sen - tar y
 En el se rre - fie - re y se da a no - tar mil

co - sas es - tra - ñas en el - se ve - rán Y co - sas es - tra - ñas en
 co - sas que al - gu - nos no com - pren - de - rán Mil co - sas que al - gu - nos no

el se - ve - rán Tie - ne ven - tas tie - ne a - llaz - gos tie - ne a
 com pren - de - rán Los de - fec - tos bien se en - tien - den y de -

sun - tos li - te - ra - rios to - do tie - ne en con - clu - sion en con - clu - sion
 se - o que se en mien - den pa - ra lo - gar mi in - ten - cion si mi in - ten - cion

Example 1.5: Introduction, beginning of vocal melody, *El Diario*

This introduction follows a three-part harmonic plan much like the one of Esteve’s seguidillas in *La botilleria*: **a** (yellow highlight) shifts to the dominant, and **b** begins “standing on the dominant” (blue highlight), followed by a I⁶-V-I progression. In general, seguidillas and other high-energy pieces were characterized by a direct rapport between performer and audience. In the introduction of *el Diario*, for example, the actress-singer tried to woo the public’s interest in her newspaper proposal.

<i>El Diario</i> , Blas de Laserna, 1787. INTRODUCTION	<i>Section</i>	<i>Key</i>	<i>Met.</i>	<i>Tempo</i>	<i>Subse ction</i>	<i>Harmonic movement</i>
Instrumental	A'	Bb	3/4	Allegro		
Un diario muy nuebo quiero presentar Y cosas estrañas en el se verán Tiene bentas tiene allazgos Tiene asuntos literarios Todo tiene en conclusion Pero solo se dirige a enmendar el fiero orror	A	Bb	3/4	Allegro	a b c	I-V V I ⁶ -V-I
En el se rrefiere y se da a notar Mil cosas que algunos no comprenderán Los defectos bien se entienden Y deseo que se enmiendan [sic] Para lograr mi intencion Y asi queridos del alma Prestadme buestra atencion	A				a b c	I-V V I ⁶ -V-I
COPLAS		Key	Met	Tempo	Sub s.	
I. Ablado: (Literatura) Por un escritor de moda Se imprime un librito nuebo Que contiene doce ciencias Y puede ir por el correo Los sabios modernos Que acudan a suscribirse Perderan tiempo y dinero	C	A	6/8	Allegro	a b	I-V V-I

Table 1.6: Structure of introduction and first copla (verse), *El Diario*

These two levels of meaning - the actual tonadilla and the imaginary newspaper - come to unison at the end of the introduction, when the singer affirms that her fictive publication is intended solely “to amend fierce horror.” Laserna did not clarify which fierce horror exactly needed to be amended, but it is safe to say that he was referring to the horror of error, the corruption of customs. The composer drew attention to the word “horror” with a long melisma descending an octave and a half from tonic (B ♭ 4) to dominant (F3) over a subdominant pedal,

to prepare the final cadence of the section. Laserna seems to specifically make use of the word “horror” rather than “error” here in order to more effectively move the audience’s affects.

The “fierce horror” (*fiero horror*, see Example 1.6) of the introduction is later echoed in the “ugly evil” (*maldad fea*, see Example 1.7) of the closing refrain in the first set of coplas. Again, a virtuosic flourish magnified the word “ugly,” followed by two more melismas, one on “finds [motive],” (*motivo encuentra*) and one on “vices.” Only the showpiece finale surpasses these melismas with those written over the words “affections,” “humility,” (paradoxically, but common in seventeenth-century musical rhetoric), and the concluding long vocalise rising to C6, where Laserna seems to be at loss for words lofty enough to match the melody (see Example 1.8). Exceptionally, *El Diario* closes with a highly virtuosic, showpiece “*Final*” instead of the usual seguidillas, perhaps indicating Laserna’s foresight that public preference would soon favor buffa style.

Introduction	Singer presents the project of the newspaper, calls for the public’s attention
Transition	Elaborates on the intentions of the singer and her plan to achieve her goals
Coplas’ body	Contents of different sections of the newspaper, the title of each section announced in speech
Coplas’ refrain	Singer recapitulates her intentions and views about newspapers and criticism in general
Final	Singer thanks the public’s favor, apologizes for any shortcomings in the piece, and asks for their understanding.

Table 1.7: General overview, *El Diario*

383

ved re-com - pen-sar a

387

391

393

re - com - pen - sar sa -

cres. *f*

Example 1.8: Excerpt from “Final,” *El Diario*

In the introduction to *El Diario*, Laserna warned that the newspaper would include “things that some [people] will not understand,” hinting at his satirical intentions. The composer was repeating a cliché widely invoked in Spain during the last third of the eighteenth century, according to which critics and journalists used bombastic yet meaningless language.

Skeptics of the press believed that journals and books babbled in inaccessible terms to obscure their lack of true knowledge. For example, a 1789 letter in the *Diario de Madrid* accused a preceding missive of inventing jargon, and the 1792 *Crotalogía o Ciencia de las Castañuelas* by Juan Fernández de Rojas specifically satirized the *Diario de Madrid* from an anti-scientific position: “Sciences have their Mysteries, and their *Sancta Sanctorum*, and a Diario must have them even more so, for it is in everybody’s hands, and it is unfair that everybody understand it, or be able to penetrate the devilish nooks where such beauties are produced.”⁶⁰ Yet beneath *El Diario*’s critique of newspapers, Laserna through the singer’s persona criticized specific groups of people. And so he warned the listeners again in the second coplas’ refrain, right before the finale:

Las coplas del diario claro se advierte Que tienen mas malicia que no parece	<i>The newspaper coplas, it is clearly noticed, Are more cunning than it seems</i>
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In point of fact, Laserna had a personal interest in the press beyond newspapers’ growing fashion among the public in 1787. He worked under the patronage of the Duchess of Osuna together with playwright Luciano Francisco Comella (1751-1812), a prolific author during the last quarter of the eighteenth century in Madrid, mocked for his heroic *comedias*.⁶¹ Both Comella and Laserna would later try their luck in the press (the former with better results than the latter), and the playwright might well have written texts for some of Laserna’s tonadillas, given their connections. Comella, in collaboration with Lorenzo Burgos, ran the *Diario de las*

⁶⁰ “Pero las Ciencias tienen sus Misterios, y su *Sancta Sanctorum*, y con mucha mas razón lo debe tener un Diario, que anda en las manos de todos, y no es razón que todos le entiendan, ni penetren los endiablados escondrijos de donde se producen tan bellas cosas.” Juan Fernández de Rojas, *Crotalogía o Ciencia de las Castañuelas* (Madrid: en la Imprenta Real, 1792), 16.

⁶¹ As late as 1904, Rafael Mitjana referred to Comella negatively in his *Ensayos de crítica musical*, referring to his comedy *Cristóbal Colón* (1790): “The work of the famous poetaster, so battered by [Leandro Fernández de] Moratín, could not be worse or more vulgar...” Mitjana, *Ensayos de crítica musical* (Madrid: Fernando Fé, 1904) 88-9.

Musas from 1790-91, which focused on theater criticism and elaborated a plan for theater reforms. However, publication of the *Diario de las Musas* was interrupted in February, 1791, when the Count of Floridablanca proscribed all periodical press.⁶² In 1795, Laserna, together with Fernando Romero and Pedro Rodríguez, requested permission to publish a journal titled *Espíritu del teatro*, exclusively devoted to theater and music criticism, but the permit was denied because the 1791 ban remained effective.⁶³ In the prospectus for *Espíritu*, Laserna and his two co-editors proposed to inform audiences and instruct composers and playwrights, offering analyses of the plot, literary devices, and context of the pieces to be presented in theaters. As he explained:

When the drama were set to music, the lyrics of those arias, rondos, etc. with precepts or singularities worthy of attention, will be offered in advance, as will be the lyrics of tonadillas, which most of the time fail to generate in the audience the intended feelings because their intelligence is robbed, slipping past the composer's endeavors, by imprecise notes, or the obscure pronunciation of actors.⁶⁴

The prospective editors also aspired to write about technical aspects of music in very conservative terms harking back to the music theorists of the past centuries, and even the philosophers of antiquity:

Given that music is one of the main adornments of theater and one of the *imitative* fine arts that deserves better acceptance among *cultured and educated people* and, considering the great influence that philosophers of all times have attributed to music in the physical and the moral, it shall have its place in this publication, which will deal with instrumental [music] as well as with counterpoint and composition, rules, *tonos*, and ways to fulfill with perfection its purposes in the temple, *in society*, and in theater, and

⁶² Except for the official newspapers *Gaceta de Madrid* and *Mercurio Literario*.

⁶³ Claude Morange, *Paleobiografía (1779-1819) del "Pobrecito holgazán" Sebastián de Miñano y Bedoya* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2002) p. 129.

⁶⁴ "Cuando el drama fuere en música se anticipará la letra de aquellas arias, rondoes, etc. que contengan sentencia o particularidad digna de atención, y asimismo la de las tonadillas que las más veces no producen en el público la sensación que debieran a causa de robarles su inteligencia, burlando el esmero del compositor, la precisión de los tonos, o la oscura pronunciación de los actores." Excerpt from the 1795 petition, published in María José Rodríguez Sánchez de León, "Tres intentos fracasados de publicar una revista de teatros (1795, 1802 y 1804), in *El siglo que llaman ilustrado: homenaje a Francisco Aguilar Piñal* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1996).

for what concerns the latter, talking in particular of our own characteristic [music] to point out the mistaken *opinion* that foreign countries have about it...⁶⁵

Laserna leaned towards traditional discourses on music perhaps to maximize the chances for the journal's approval, even though in his tonadillas he performed criticism in less guarded terms. But in spite of this old-school approach to music, the 1795 prospectus for *Espíritu del teatro* showed concern with public opinion, both foreign and local, while still limiting the idea of public to the "cultured and educated." In the time between Laserna's *El Diario* in 1787, and the journal prospectus in 1795, the French Revolution had increased Spanish fears of printed opinion and exacerbated anxiety over the image of Spain; however, the need to defend the patria had been present in the press since the mid-1780s, before the Revolution. Censorship measures imposed by Charles III's ministers starting in 1788 show their efforts to control criticism.

1.4 THE VALIDITY OF PUBLIC OPINION: THE RIGHT TO AUTHORITY

1.4.1 CENSORSHIP AND CRITICISM

Legislation of the press tightened up in 1788, culminating in Floridablanca himself banning all press in 1791, largely to curb criticism. On October 2, 1788, the Supreme Council of Castile enacted a law that forbade personal and political satires. By 1788, the most progressive of Spanish intellectuals showed interest in the democratic models of the British parliament and the United States republic.⁶⁶ Pre-revolutionary social ferment in France loomed over the Bourbon government of Charles III, and fear that men of letters would push for a new political regime,

⁶⁵ "Siendo la música uno de los adornos principales del teatro y una de las bellas artes imitadoras que más aceptación merece entre la gente culta e instruida y, añadiéndose a esto, la grande influencia que los filósofos de todos los tiempos le atribuyen en lo físico y en lo moral, tendrá su lugar en esta obra, tratándose tanto de la instrumental como del contrapunto y composición, reglas, tonos y modo de llenar con perfección sus fines en el templo, en la sociedad y en el teatro, hablándose por lo que a éste respecta, con particularidad de la propia característica nuestra para indicar la errada opinión en que está de ella en el extranjero..." Ibid, 746.

⁶⁶ Sánchez-Blanco, *El absolutismo y las luces*, 351.

perhaps monarchical but not absolutist, urged conservative factions to increase control. After the French Revolution, Floridablanca entrusted book censorship to the Inquisition to create a “sanitary barrier” that protected Spain from emancipatory aspirations and potential revolts.⁶⁷ Authors and translators of theater were admonished not to publish “... satires of any kind, not even about political matters, or things that discredit people, theaters, and national instruction, and by no means those that denigrate the honor and esteem of Communities, or of any kind of people, of any state, dignity, or profession...”⁶⁸ Spaniards observed the convention that one should “mention the sin, but not the sinner;” in other words, one should expose the wrongs of society and could reprove individuals, but one should not name any names. Newspaper editors and pamphlet authors circumvented this rule through metaphoric references, and satire offered them the perfect vehicle for allegories and metaphors.⁶⁹ Critics who did not want to write satire could still safeguard their reputations if they framed their critiques in Christian intentions of helping authors and composers improve their craft.⁷⁰ In response to strategies to dodge censorship, the 1788 law prohibited all satire, whether published by individuals or performed in the theaters, which were supposed to be institutions for the public instruction.

Both the censoring authorities and writers denied that criticism harbored any edification purposes, and feared that it discredited other writers and attacked the personal reputation of those criticized.⁷¹ Satire was expected to follow the Christian spirit of admonition, and many readers could not understand the kind of civic commentary like the one exercised by *El Censor*.

⁶⁷ Mario Onaindía, *La construcción de la nación española* 2nd. ed. (Barcelona: Ediciones B, 2002), 252-3.

⁶⁸ *Novísima recopilación 1805-7*, Vol. 4, Libro VIII, 150-1.

⁶⁹ This is what *El Censor* did in his discourses about *Cosmosia* and the *cosmosianos*, an allegory of Spain and its nationals. See chapter 1, footnote 10.

⁷⁰ “Since the *Diario de los literatos* [1737], the subject of the stimulating value of criticism surfaces multiple times. As severe as critics may present themselves, they always strive to make it clear that their admonitions are not born of a sour and pretentious temperament, but recommendations dictated by the sincere desire to help the writer contribute to the progress of literature.” Urzainqui, “La crítica literaria,” p. 531.

⁷¹ Guinard, *La presse espagnole*, 258. In spite of the increasingly stringent legislation of the press, Guinard observes that starting in 1788 the literary journal *Memorial literario* ventured bolder opinions.

Common people were not willing to accept judgment from their peers without the mediation of a higher authority because the horizontal axis of the public sphere did not stand on its own. The merger between the Catholic Church and the monarchy had constituted the single vertical axis of authority since the times of the Catholic monarchs, and when the Bourbon kings curbed the power of the church during the eighteenth century, each institution remained a bastion of power, sometimes allies, sometimes adversaries. As late as the eighteenth century, scholastic interpretations of Aristotle dominated Spanish universities and theological arguments. Neither modern philosophy or science nor newspapers had a place in public discourse like they had in France or England, so when critic journalism appeared during the reigns of Charles III and Charles IV, editors needed to invent the functions of their products, and to convince readers that their work mattered.⁷² In other words, editors and writers had to secure the right to criticism.⁷³ In addition, criticism had yet to attain its own status as an intellectual activity separate from philosophy and science. Up until the early decades of the nineteenth century, *crítica* and *filosofía* (less often *ciencia*) remained synonymous and indistinct.⁷⁴

1.4.2 OPINION, TASTE, AND ERROR

When it came to deciding who had the right to opinion, music-related debates brought to the surface the issue of taste, both personal and collective. Reliable opinion could only come from those with good taste. From the learned, officially-sanctioned perspective, taste in late eighteenth-century Spain was both aesthetic and moral, and had little to do with personal preferences. Rather, it provided a compass that oriented judgment to choose beauty and truth,

⁷² The periodical press, as Urzainqui recognizes, arrived in Spain as a new cultural instrument that “had to be affirmed and established, gain recognition, conquer its own space, and outline its strategies.” Inmaculada Urzainqui, “La crítica literaria en la prensa del siglo XVIII. Elementos de su discurso teórico,” in *Bulletin Hispanique* (Tome 102, no. 2, 2000), 525, 531.

⁷³ Rodríguez Sánchez de León, *La crítica dramática*, 27.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 25.

in accordance with natural law.⁷⁵ Since taste oriented judgment, good taste guaranteed rightful, justified criticism, hence those with good taste ought to be in charge of printed opinion and of any other ideas that would reach the general public. Spaniards easily grasped the nexus between good taste and judgment because they already understood opinion as an implicit court of moral behavior or reputation. It made sense that the judges that arbitrated the validity of public opinion were those endowed with good taste. Critics were expected to achieve this high standard, for their printed opinions had to guide society; in other words, their internal good-taste compass attuned to natural law could lead their less-enlightened compatriots in the appropriate directions. Despite being separate concepts, taste and opinion were both considered by late-Enlightenment thinkers as key means to rescue Spain from error and put it in the path of progress.

In the 1785 tondadilla *The Monster of Public Taste* (El Monstruo del gusto público), Pablo Esteve captured the belief that, to avoid error, taste had to be refined, civilized, and made to conform to reason. If a person had bad taste, his opinion amounted to error, and could contaminate his peers. Good taste separated the intellectual elite from the rabble; the elite was supposed to lead Spain to Enlightenment and progress, and the rabble was supposed to follow suit without asking questions. Every evening the tasteful sat in the balconies and the tasteless men (*mosqueteros*) stood in the *coliseos*' patios, driving each other crazy (little came to light about the female rabble of the *cazuela*, enclosed by the lattice). The patio men shouted their preferences during the sung numbers, and the elite contended from the newspapers to have the last word regarding musical entertainment. Around 1785, at the apogee of press production in Madrid, Esteve and the actor-singers that worked with him felt at a loss between the two vociferous pools of opinions, one live during the show, one in print or at the café. It seemed

⁷⁵ In the words of Ana Hontanilla, taste in eighteenth-century Spain had an epistemological and critical purpose. Hontanilla, *El gusto de la razón*, 65. See also 69.

impossible to please both sides and comply with government censorship while maintaining ticket sales.

Esteve's tonadilla *The Monster of Public Taste* tried to address more than a century of disputes about taste. Whereas the origins of reputation or *fama* harked back to medieval legal treatises, taste was tied to ethic and aesthetic moderation characteristic of the elite, expressed in Baltasar Gracián's *El Héroe* (1637), *El Discreto* (1646), and *Oráculo manual y arte de prudencia* (1647), which partly recall Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (1528). For Gracián, good taste was acquired through cultured sociability rather than through books; taste was *practical* knowledge, not theoretical knowledge, and it led the subject to admire objects of the highest value. In *El Héroe*, he used the term "court of taste" to refer to the moral and civic arbitrating function of taste.⁷⁶ The knowledge of taste separated the men of good taste from the masses. "The masses are made of the foolish," wrote Gracián in his *Oráculo*, where he described the masses as a monster with multiple heads, eyes, and tongues ready to destroy reputation, very similar to the monster that afflicted Esteve when he wrote his tonadilla.⁷⁷ Only the cultivation of good taste, said Gracián, could redeem men from barbarism.

Against the prevalent posture derived from Gracián's writings, early-Enlightenment philosopher Benito Jerónimo Feijoo (1676-1764) defined taste exclusively in terms of affinity with pleasure. In his 1726 essay "Virtue and Vice" he pondered the fallibility of taste, and while initially he saw taste too prone to error, later in his career he concluded that there was not such a thing as bad taste as long as taste was kept in the realm of the delectable and not taken as an indicator of truth or utility. By 1734 Feijoo wrote the essay "Reason of Taste," where he

⁷⁶ Helmut Jacobs, *Belleza y buen gusto: Las teorías de las artes en la literatura española del siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2001), 182-5.

⁷⁷ [Baltasar] Lorenzo Gracián, *Agudeza y arte de ingenio* (Antwerp: En Casa de Geronymo y Iuanbaut. Verdussen, 1669), 379; "Tiene el vulgo muchas cabeças, y assi muchos ojos para la malicia, y muchas lenguas para el descredito," *ibid*, 392.

separated taste from virtue, thus sparing it the possibility of error.⁷⁸ He also suggested that reason could modify taste, at least partially. Thinkers after Feijoo emphasized the connection between reason and taste that he suggested, but tied taste back to the domain of the moral and returned the concept of good taste to its status as a behavioral guidance.

More than a century later, Nipho, unlike Gracián, thought that taste could be improved by reading good books, and that intellectual knowledge of the sciences and the arts would result in the appropriate practical choices. In his *Caxon de Sastre* (1760-1) Nipho translated excerpts from Batteux's *Les beaux arts réduits à un même principe*, but as Helmut Jacobs has remarked, Nipho departed from Batteux's aesthetic theory in that he considered taste a faculty of intellect and not of feeling.⁷⁹ Nipho experienced theater as a metonymical space for the nation: ordinary audiences acclaimed comic and musical numbers while disdaining serious drama; likewise, popular opinion resisted the government's duty to transform "a coarse and ferocious people" into a civilized nation.⁸⁰

The best allegory of moral and civic bad taste that Nipho could find were the working-class audiences of the Madrid theater that destroyed good taste through their applause. With a nod to Gracián, he called them "the audience of the foolish" [*el público de los necios*]. At the opposite extreme of the audience of the foolish Nipho posited the *tertulia* of good taste. In volume one of his *Caxon de sastre* he tweaked the trope of the *theatrum mundi* to fit the social life of 1760s Madrid: in life, as at the theater, Nipho pondered, error "ambushed" and lured men with popular tunes:

⁷⁸ Feijoo's views concurred with those of French Jesuit Dominique Boudoirs (*La manière de denser dans les outrages de l'esprit*, 1687), for whom "taste is a natural feeling independent from reason." Hontanilla, *El gusto de la razón*, 71.

⁷⁹ "... es efecto del juicio, y no del ingenio" Nipho, *Caxon de sastre* vol. 4, 257.

⁸⁰ "Una nación civilizada es mucho más fácil de gobernar que un pueblo grosero, y feroz." From Nipho's translation of (Jakob Friedrich) Baron of Bielefeld's *Institutions Politiques* (Liège, 1760). Translation in "Carta VIII" of the *Correo General de Europa* (I, pp. 70-83), cited by Escobar in "Más sobre los orígenes de civilizar," 105.

I do not want to move away from the beneficial, even if the sectarians of bad taste conspire against me. I know well, that following the way of the *seguidillas* one goes, as if taking a shortcut, to where popular esteem is found; and that the rabble of the *mosqueteros* of this great *theatrum mundi* boos gravity, and acclaims absurdity.⁸¹

The applause of the standing audiences in the Madrid *coliseos* represented a rudimentary form of collective opinion that Nipho saw as a metaphor of what could happen on a broader level if the uneducated had a vote in the Republic of Letters. In fact, Jacobs affirms that starting in the 1770s, theater became a barometer for national taste, but we can already see the connection between public taste and theater one decade earlier in the work of Nipho. Jacobs's idea matters because he observes that in theater, taste turned into a national issue.⁸²

Nipho and his contemporary neoclassicists built their views about taste not only on the Spanish tradition of Gracián and Feijoo, but also on Muratori's ideas. Muratori's perspectives on good taste found their way to Spain in the 1730s through Gregorio Mayans (1699-1781), the other major figure of the early Spanish Enlightenment next to Feijoo, and also through Luzán. Muratori's ideas resonated with Gracián's (1601-1658), hence their popularity in Spain. Via Mayans and Luzán, the Muratorian understanding of good taste prevailed in Spain all through the eighteenth century. His essays *Delle forze dell'intendimento umano, o sia il pirronismo confutato* and *De pregi dell'eloquenza popolare* were printed in Madrid in the original Italian in 1777 and 1780 respectively. Antonio Moreno Morales translated *La filosofía morale: esposta e proposta a i giovani* (1749) in 1780, followed by Juan Sempere y Guarinos (1754-1830) with

⁸¹ “Yo no quiero apartarme de lo provechoso, aunque se conspiren contra mi los sectarios del mal gusto. Bien conozco, que por el camino de las seguidillas se va, como por el atajo, á donde se dexa hallar el popular aprecio; y que la chusma de los Mosqueteros de este gran Theatro del Mundo silva à la seriedad, y victorea a la ridiculez.” Nipho, *Caxon de Sastre* vol. 1, 212.

⁸² Jacobs, *Belleza y buen gusto*, 231.

Delle riflessioni sopra il buon gusto nelle scienze e nelle arti in 1782 and *Della pubblica felicità, oggetto de'buoni principi* in 1790.⁸⁴

Sempere y Guarinos's 1782 translation of Muratori's *Riflessioni sopra il buon gusto* showed a categorical choice of the moral over the pleasure-oriented definition of taste. According to Sempere y Guarinos, error had distorted all sciences and arts, but those open to the public (including all the fine arts) had suffered more. Even though rhetoric, poetry, and music were founded "on the true and solid principles of nature, they are exposed to the daily, *mutable taste of the peoples*, and of the times. Thus they follow the same variations as the whims of men."⁸⁵ Those who wished to practice the "art of criticism" ought to be especially careful to escape the risks of mutability, said Sempere y Guarinos, because critics "often look at everybody with a certain superiority, and disdain." Furthermore, the translator of the *Riflessioni* saw criticism as a court, very similar to Cabarrús's "court of public opinion:" writers were brought to the "severe Court" of criticism to be "harshly judged, and sentenced."⁸⁶ So risky was the art of criticism for Sempere and Guarinos, that he saw little occasion to actually print criticism. Nonetheless, conceded Sempere y Guarinos, good criticism built judgment and good taste in readers.⁸⁷

In the 1780s, Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos reiterated Nipho's belief that the opinions of those lacking in taste were false and "destroy[ed] the [elements and rules] of art" with the *superficiality* and artifice of their bad taste. Jovellanos separated taste in the sense of pleasure from good taste that adjusted to truth and to natural beauty. According to neoclassicist narrative, Jovellanos mapped good taste onto the sixteenth century and the second half of the

⁸⁴ *La devoción arreglada al cristianismo* was the first of Muratori's works translated into Spanish in 1763.

⁸⁵ Juan Sempere y Guarinos, *Reflexiones sobre el buen gusto en las ciencias, y en las artes* (Madrid: en la Imprenta de Don Antonio de Sancha, 1782), 163.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 175-6.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 191.

eighteenth, and bad taste onto baroque aesthetics of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth. He thought that the applause of the masses corrupted taste, leading artists to abandon the natural principles of classical antiquity and give in to extravagance and whim.⁸⁸ In 1788 he praised architect Ventura Rodríguez (1717-1785) for rescuing his art from the barbarism of common taste. Jovellanos compared baroque (Churrigueresque) architecture to monsters fostered by public applause:

Amidst the general corruption of principles [of the baroque], Rodriguez realized that the *torrent of opinion* dragged architects to error [...] In seeing the *monsters begotten by bad taste and aborted by ignorance applauded* from the Court [of Madrid] to the poorest village, who could divert them [the architects] from a path that so certainly led to riches and applause?⁸⁹

Taste became opinion when expressed communally: even though Jovellanos used “taste” in the context of aesthetics, he imbued the concept with public responsibility. He perceived opinion in a negative light, yet acquiesced about its power to shape society. A contemporary of Jovellanos, José Isidro Cavaza, called popular opinion “the Queen of the world” who “has usurped” the place of merit in the “Court of Good Taste” (the Republic of Letters).⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Jovellanos wrote in his 1788 eulogy of architect Ventura Rodríguez: “In this age of corruption [the seventeenth century, which corrupted the sixteenth century], the principles of building once more abandoned, the architects’ whim again adopted all the extravagances that sculptors and painters had invented,” (*En esta edad de corrupcion, abandonados otra vez los principios del arte de edificar, volviô á adoptar el capricho de los arquitectos todas las extravagancias que había inventado el de los escultores y pintores.*) Jovellanos, “Elogio de Don Ventura Rodríguez,” in *Obras del Excelentísimo Señor Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos*, ed. Venceslao de Linares y Pacheco (Barcelona: Imprenta de D. Francisco Oliva, 1839) 187

⁸⁹ “En medio de la corrupción general de principios, Rodriguez observó que el torrente de la opinion iba arrastrando los arquitectos hacia el error [que habían autorizado ya los escultores y pintores]. Viendo aplaudir desde la Corte hasta en la mas humilde aldea los monstruos que engendrabá el mal gusto, y que abortaba la ignorancia, ¿quién podría separarlos de una senda que conducía tan seguramente á la riqueza y al aplauso?” *Ibid*, 187-8.

⁹⁰ “In the past, the merit of works gained their Authors everlasting praise, but nowadays this right has been appropriated, usurped, by the Queen of the world, which is the opinion based on the mute and absurd physiognomies of the ignorants.” (*Antiguamente el mérito de las obras hacia digno de un elogio eterno a sus Autores, pero hoy ya se ha apropiado, como usurpado, este derecho la Reyna del mundo, que es la opinion fundada en las mudas y ridículas fisonomias de los ignorantes.*) José Isidro Cavaza, *Carta muda de la Corte del Buen Gusto* (Madrid: en la Imprenta del Consejo de Indias, 1785), 51.

1.4.3 *EL MONSTRUO DEL GUSTO PÚBLICO*, 1785

Neoclassicists and regalists discredited comic theater because it made bawdy references, skipped verisimilitude rules, included allegorical or fantastic characters, and showed vulgar and immoral behaviors on stage, such as cheating, lying, stealing, and other staples of comedy of errors. Yet the *coliseo* functions had to satisfy the demand for traditional dramatic forms derived from baroque conventions that neoclassicists loathed. The vast majority of musical theater available to Madrileños from the 1770s to the mid-1790s was comic because mythological zarzuelas had fallen out of favor, Italian opera became publicly available only in 1787, and neoclassicist plays ideally dispensed with music.

While audiences favored spectacle and comedy, critics and the government pulled in the opposite direction.⁹¹ The elite's endeavor to cultivate public taste stemmed not only from rational conceptions of taste developed in the eighteenth century in Italy, England, Spain, and France, but also from the regalist civilizational program of the king, his ministers, and most Spanish enlightened thinkers. In Madrid, contrary to what happened in a city like Berlin (at least until Frederick II's death in 1786), no single authoritative figure prescribed the rules of taste – in spite of the absolutist aspirations and regalist policies of Charles III.⁹² Since the 1770s, the Madrid elite composed of government ministers, aristocrats, and intellectuals, did not have a current courtly entertainment model to emulate. As a result, they sometimes looked back to the splendor of Farinelli-Metastasio court opera under Ferdinand VI, and sometimes looked at models in other European capitals. Whereas court opera began to lose influence in local entertainment starting the 1760s, the theoretical apparatus created by Luzán and the Academia del Buen Gusto around the middle of the century remained strong, shaping official policies and

⁹¹ See René Andioc, *Teatro y Sociedad*, chapters I-III, VI, for a detailed study of audience preferences in eighteenth-century Madrid.

⁹² For the influence of Frederick II in Berlin's public sphere, see Matthias Röder, "Music, Politics, and the Public Sphere in Late Eighteenth-Century Berlin" (Dissertation, Harvard University, 2009).

criticism alike. Perhaps the paragon of concert life in a city like London, based on a “principle of exclusivity” which simultaneously granted and restricted public access to entertainment, encouraged proponents of the Bourbon civilizational discourse to join forces with the neoclassicists’ attack on eighteenth-century comic theater.⁹³

Whether the elites liked it or not, the audience’s taste weighed heavily in theater programming, as can be seen in the events that took place in 1783-4 to celebrate a royal birth. In an attempt to rekindle monarchic presence in the city’s entertainment, government authorities organized a contest of dramatic works, as part of a series of events to celebrate the birth of the future Charles IV and Maria Luisa of Parma’s twin sons, Charles and Philip. The events were also meant to commemorate the Treaty of Paris, which ended war with England in 1783. Just two years before Esteve’s *El monstruo del gusto público*, the contest aimed at choosing two new plays worthy of “contributing to public rejoicement,” to be presented at the coliseos of La Cruz and El Príncipe.⁹⁴ The prize went to two plays closely following neoclassicist precepts: *Los menestrales*, by Cándido María Trigueros, and the bucolic piece *Las bodas de Camacho*, by Juan Meléndez Valdés (1754-1817).⁹⁵ Both plays were presented with high-cost productions at the coliseos, but the audience rejected them. Madrid *corregidor* José Antonio de Armona recorded the strong, unforgiving reaction of the audience in his 1785 *Memorias cronológicas sobre el teatro en España*:

⁹³ Following Simon McVeigh (*Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, 1993, p. 12) Mary Hunter explains the “principle of exclusivity” that governed London’s concert life in the late-eighteenth century: “McVeigh has shown that concert life in London operated on what he... has called a ‘principle of exclusivity,’ by means of which only people in the upper reaches of society (defined variously by birth and money) were able or expected to attend the more prestigious concerts...” Mary Hunter, “Haydn’s London Piano Trios and His Salomon String Quartets: Private vs. Public?,” in *Haydn and His World*, ed. Elaine Sisman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 105.

⁹⁴ José Antonio de Armona y Murga et al., *Memorias cronológicas sobre el teatro en España (1785)*, Alaveses en la historia (Vitoria: Diputación Foral de Alava, Servicio de Publicaciones, 1988), 217.

⁹⁵ An opera seria of unknown author titled *Scipione nella Iberia* (possibly after Apostolo Zeno’s libretto *Scipione nelle Spagne*, 1709-10). Jovellanos, part of the jury for the contest, censored this work because it was sung, in Italian language, and did not strictly conform to the rules of tragedy. *Ibid.*, 226.

Pero los dramas no correspondieron bien a la esperanza del público. Duró pocos días la representación, porque el poeta que no excita los afectos del ánimo, le enfría; falta luego el interés de la ilusión y cae de sí misma la obra, aunque sea buena la versificación. Entonces [inundó Madrid] un torrente de sátiras contra los autores ya conocidos, y contra los jueces, ya desengañados; una crisis poética exaltada que nada perdona.⁹⁶

However the plays did not respond well to the audience's expectations. They were staged only for a few days, because the poet who does not excite the affections of the spirit, cools those affections down; then the interest of thrill is missing and the play falls under its own weight, even if the style of the verse is good. Then a torrent of satires inundated Madrid, against the playwrights, by then made known, and against the juries... a poetic crisis which forgives nothing.

Armona continues his memories quoting several sonets published in response to the plays, among them, the following one declares that *none* of the different audience sectors (*patio, aposentos, gradas y luneta*) liked the neoclassicist, pastoral dramas:

¡Oh, *Bodas de Camacho*! ¡Oh, sin ventura
y mísera y mezquina y malhadada
fábula pastoral! ¡Ay me, cuitada,
llena de languidez, y de tristura!

*Oh, Bodas de Camacho! Oh hapless
and miserly and paltry, and unfortunate
pastoral fable! Poor pitiful me,
full of languor, and of sadness!*

¡Oh *Menestrales*!, pieza insulsa y dura,
de invención de tabernas arrastrada;
de una moral, que ni a la plebe agrada,
aún cuando ve de los nobles la censura!

*Oh Menestrales!, tough and bland piece,
dragged out of a tavern's creation;
of a morality unpleasant even to the rabble,
even when they see the censorship of the noble
ones!*

Gemelos sois, por más que los briales
alce la Prado, y luzca en la opereta
la Tordesillas: fastidiáis iguales,

*You are twins, no matter how high
La Prado lifts her skirt, and how much La
Tordesillas shines in the operetta: you are
equally tiresome
for the patio, aposentos, gradas, and luneta
Now, these are impartial judges,
as opposed to those offered by the Gaceta!*

patio, aposentos, gradas y luneta.
¡Estos sí que son jueces imparciales,
y no los que ofrecía la *Gaceta*!⁹⁷

The anonymous author of the sonnet grants the maximum decision power to the audience, over that of the nobility, the contest judges, and even the newspapers. One year after these events, when Esteve composed *El monstruo del gusto público*, both actor-singers and city authorities knew well that the coliseo audience constituted an influential body of public opinion,

⁹⁶ Ibid., 231.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 234.

looming large over local entertainment. “Monstrous taste, be civilized!” the characters in Esteve’s tonadilla pleaded, in an effort to safeguard the *coliseos*’ reputation and secure ticket sales.

Esteve wrote *El monstruo del gusto público a tres* in December, near Christmas season, an occasion for special programs at the Madrid coliseos. The bonus for this trio tonadilla were some short choruses, two of them labeled “*bailetes*” (from the Italian *balletto*, ballet or scenic dance) and one at the end simply labeled “chorus,” which included tambourines. During the *bailetes*, the actor-singers may have danced or gestured, but the *bailetes* had the main purpose of giving the tonadilla an aura of festival, much like ball scenes in opera.⁹⁸ The *bailetes* represented masked balls: the score dictated that the performers wear costumes “without masks” (*máscaras sin careta*). The tonadilla hoped to reconcile public taste with performers in order for the latter to secure their *aguinaldo*, a Christmas bonus expected in Hispanic cultures to this day. Theater makers feared that now that criticism and opinions had become fashionable, more viewers would find fault in them and stop buying tickets.

El monstruo del gusto público had three main allegorical characters: Justice, Comic Theater, and Public Taste, played by *graciosos* (comic actor-singers) La Ybañez and Garrido, and the *galán* Alfonso, all working for the Manuel Martínez company.⁹⁹ Like several other tonadillas, *El monstruo del gusto público* took the format of a trial where a final opinion must be decided; like so many others, the issue under judgment came to an end with catchy seguidillas and no real solution. The trial format presented different sides of an argument, and accommodated the Spanish tradition of allegorical characters from autos sacramentales and mythological zarzuelas, the former forbidden and the second unfashionable during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Faith, Trinity, Air, Fire, and the demons of the autos, or the

⁹⁸ See Monika Fink, “The Function of Dance and Ball in the Opera Spectacle,” in *Studia Choreologica* (v.1, 1999) 85-103.

⁹⁹ Victoria Ibáñez, Miguel Garrido, and Alfonso Navarro.

shepherds, gods, and nymphs of the mythological zarzuela, were replaced in Esteve's tonadilla by Justice, Comic Theater, and Public Taste.

Ybañez came first on stage for the three-part introduction, joyful that she had been selected for the tonadilla of the day, dancing a bit and blowing kisses to the audience with a pleasant G major melody (section A). Her line then moved to E minor to explain the matter at hand over a walking bass that suggested pensive pacing. Monstrous Public Taste posed objections to everything Comic Theater did; thus, Comic Theater wanted to confront Public Taste, and she in her role of Justice would mediate between them (section B). The introduction ended on a light note back to section A, with further references to merry dance.

Garrido came then on stage to repeat the introduction and present himself as Comic Theater (section B). The libretto suggests that either each character had a sign that let audiences know what they represented, or else another actor came on stage holding a card to announce each character. Garrido probably donned different costumes and accessories to signify the motley nature of Comic Theater, and the structure of the tonadilla supported the representation of Comic Theater as a variety show with its *bailetes* and choruses.

Que soy el teatro jocoso
la targeta a dicho ya...
...Me bisto de miscelania
y asi pretendo mostrar
La diversidad de trages
que me suelen adornar

*That I am the Comic Theater,
the card has made clear...
I dress up in medley,
thus I intend to show
the diversity of costumes
that often adorn me.*

Once the introduction concluded, the chorus in unison praised "our theater, that chastises while laughing," referring to the Horatian ideal of *delectare et docere* to counter neoclassicist and regalist accusations against theater writers and performers.

A	Nuestro teatro viva viva su placer que instruye y doctrina riyendo castiga el vicio cruel	<i>Long live our theater Long live its pleasures which teach and indoctrinate, laughing chastise ruel vice</i>
B	Alegremonos alegremosle y justos aplausos los sabios le den	<i>Let us be merry Let us make it merry And let the wise ones Give it fair applause</i>

Table 1.8: “Bailete primero,” *El monstruo del gusto público*

The B section of this *bailete* was especially dance-like and even pastoral, the vocal and bass lines following uniform rhythmic patterns on 6/8 anchored on the tonic D major, almost like a drone. The three women and three men of the chorus sang in unison:

Vailete 2o.

197
A - le gre - mo - nos A - le gre - mos - le

201
y jus - tos a - plau - sos los sa - vios le den y jus - tos a - plau - sos los sa - vios le

den los sa - vios le den

Example 1.9: “Bailete segundo,” same as B section of first baileto, *El monstruo del gusto público*¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ Examples 1.9, 1.10, 1.11, and 1.12 transcribed from the *parte de apuntar*. Pablo Esteve, *El monstruo del gusto público*, Tonadilla, 1785. Parte de apuntar. BHM Mus 171-1.

But soon Monstrous Public Taste ended the leisure of the *bailete* and when Justice brought him on stage to sing a B-minor passage that reminisced a compressed rage aria in ternary form mixed with the seguidilla style.

<i>Mm.</i>		<i>Poetic lines</i>	<i>Poetic form</i>	<i>Tonal plan</i>	<i>Cadences</i>
205-211	rit				Dec. (208) PAC (211)
212-223 212-217 218-223	A <i>a</i> <i>b</i>	1-4 1-2 3-4	Seguidilla simple	I-V sequence	Dec. (213) PAC (217) HC (223)
224-228	B	5-8	hexasyllabic	V standing on dominant	-
229-234	A'	9-10		I	Dec. (230) PAC (234)
234-238	rit			I	-

Table 1.9: Public Taste - character solo, *El monstruo del gusto público*

Several signs indicated to the audience that Public Taste was out of control. Unlike the other two characters, he did not enter the stage by himself, but Justice had to drag him along. His solo featured more chromaticism than any other section of the tonadilla, and the fastest vocal line, mostly composed of 16th notes twirling in rapid ornamentation. Esteve increased the tension for this character through deceptive cadences on IV⁶ (208, 213, 230), which allowed him to hang on G in the bass as an upper semitone to F# and to delay the arrival to the dominant chord. Especially in mm. 214-215 and 228-229, Monstrous Public Taste seems lost in the text and in the melodic line until he can finally figure out the cadence (see example 1.10).

Andante *Sale la graciosa y trae al Gusto Publico*

211
Soy el_ mons-truo del gus to soy_ el_ mons-truo del gus - to fie-ro ym pi - o_

216
soy_ el_ mons-truo del gus-to_ fie-ro ym - pi-o_ fie-ro ym-pi-o_ fie-ro ym-pi-o

222
por ser gus-to fun - da do_ so-lo en ca pri-chos por ser gus-to fun-da do_

227
so-lo en ca pri chos so-lo en ca pri - chos a-si po-cas ve zes_ juz-go con ra- zon.

233
y tras si me lle ba_ ne-ze-da o pa- sion ne-ze-da o pa-sion so-lo_ mi_gus to_ si-go so-lo_

239
mi_gus-to si - go y es-te he si - do y soy_ so-lo mi_gus-to si - go_ y es te he si do y_

244 *Representan ynterin el Ritornelo*
soy y es te he si do y_ soy *Representan: endechas*

Example 1.10: Public Taste – character solo, *El monstruo del gusto público*

Soy el Monstruo del Gusto fiero impio por ser gusto fundado solo en caprichos	<i>I am the Monster of taste, fierce, ungodly because I am founded on whims only</i>
Asi pocas veces juzgo con razon y tras si me lleba nezeda o pasion Solo mi gusto sigo y este e sido y soy	<i>Thus seldom do I judge with reason and I trail behind foolishness and passion Only my taste I follow, this I am and I have been</i>

This B-minor verse sung by Monstrous Public Taste's ended in a ritornello during which the three main performers enacted *endechas*, that is, an old form of lament or funeral song, in this case, the gestures that accompanied that song (see example 1.10).¹⁰¹ The characters mourned the derangement of Public Taste.

The ensuing chorus asked the audience to attend the theater, lest it die out, and then Comic Theater, personified in Garrido, ceremoniously (tongue in cheek) asked the forgiveness of Public Taste. Unlike solo tonadillas, ensemble ones included *parolas*, passages of spoken text that varied in length. The *parolas* in *El Monstruo* serve only as short interventions that articulate the different musical sections. For example, after Comic Theater asked forgiveness, a short *parola* introduced the *coplas* to follow:

Garrido: Gusto Publico discurro que nuestra amistad reviva
Alfonso: No lo sè
Ybañez: En tanto se save, responde à estas preguntitas; (coplas)

Comic Theater: Public Taste, I reckon that our friendship be restored
Public Taste: I don't know
Justice: While we find out, answer these questions; (coplas)

¹⁰¹ *Endechas* possibly originated in the Canary Islands. One of the poetic forms of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Canarian *endechas* consisted of hexasyllabic quartets, the same used in the B stanza of Public Taste's solo. This may be a coincidence, or Esteve possibly knew the tradition. For more on *endechas*, see Lothar Siemens, *La música en Canarias: Síntesis de la música popular y culta desde la época aborigen hasta nuestros días* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: El Museo Canario, 1977).

The censors must have crossed out the second of the three coplas that mocked amateur and professional critics, the heroic comedies (tragedies) of Luciano Comella and his peers, and the neoclassicist dictum that tragedies were the only acceptable dramatic form.¹⁰² Censors had no issue with the other two *coplas* that ridiculed the popular audiences of the *patio*.

El monstruo del gusto público, second copla (eliminated)

Justice:	Dime dime a los criticos de moda que funciones mas les peta	Tell me, tell me, which functions do modern critics like best?
Public Taste:	Comedias de arcabuzados y sobre todo tragedias	Comedies with armed men And tragedies above all
Comic Theater:	Y son los primeros ellos si tragedia se executa que salen del coliseo diciendo que secatura	And they are the first ones if a tragedy is played who leave the coliseo saying: This is dry as dust!
Public Taste: PT and CT:	Esso se disputa hallà en el café Alli se gobierna el teatro muy bien y que de vestidos nos cortan de mue	That is disputed at the cafe; there they manage theater very well and so many fancy dresses they cut for us!
All three:	Ay del que a diversos a de complazer En tiempo que el gusto espirar se bè	Wretched is he who must please all in times when taste is dying out

The confrontation between Comic Theater and Public Taste ended in a full-chorus, D major allegro seguidillas that pleaded to please the audience and dance with joy to the sound of the tambourines. At this point in time, finale seguidillas for tonadillas had expanded to include their own coplas. The seguidillas in *El Monstruo* maintained some of the same basic features of the simple ones in *La botillería* (studied earlier in this chapter), yet treated them with more complexity. The seguidillas proper encompassed the first stanza, which alternates seven- and five-syllable lines and followed a binary musical form:

¹⁰² The second copla is bracketed in the score, with the legend “no.” Censors made their annotations on manuscript librettos later used by the prompters, but in this case the libretto is not available.

Nuestro afecto rendido a
 corte venigna
 Desea complazerte b
 con alma y vida

As in *La botillería*, the first two lines (a in the binary) were set to the tonic, ending with a PAC approached by an upper triplet in the vocal line.

359

nig-na cor-te ve- nig na cor-te ve-nig - na cor-te ve-nig - na
 ri - da cor-te que-ri - da cor-te que-ri - da cor-te que-ri - da

Example 1.11: Upper-triplet approach to cadence in vocal melody, final seguidillas, *El monstruo del Gusto Público*

The third and fourth lines (b in the binary) were set to the dominant. However, instead of returning to the tonic at the end of b as he did for *La botillería*, for *El Monstruo Esteve* confirmed the PAC on the dominant A major, and then inserted a B section that is not a seguidilla anymore, but a regular-meter *redondilla*, an eight-syllable quatrain set to d minor. The B section functions as a *copla* for these finale seguidillas: the syllabic, slow-paced, and unadorned vocal line delivered one last admonition against fan clubs that seized the right to opinion in theaters. Nonetheless, the actor-singers would not let the monster take them down, not at least while on stage, and so they recited: “But what does fortune matter, one is none [*una no es ninguna*], courage and perseverance, and never fear!”¹⁰⁴ Their self-confidence renewed, they once again cheered for their audience and after silencing the tambourines, arrived at the crux of the matter, the punch line, delivered fandango style over dominant harmony: *el aguinaldo*, the Christmas bonus.

¹⁰⁴ The Spanish idiom “una no es ninguna” is used to rest importance to an event, meaning that one single instance of something can always be overlooked or overcome.

Hablado

gan se los lle-vo Ba-rra-gan Mas que importa fortuna, una no es ninguna,
constancia y valor, y nunca temor:

406
Vi - va_ vi-va la a - le- gri - a fue-ra pe-nas y vai-lar y al pu-bli-co

411 *alto los panderos*
le_ pi - da - mos lo que es-tas le - tras di-ràn el a-gui-nal-do el a-gui-nal-do pa

416
ra a - gui - nal do com - prar pues - cer - ca es - tà Na -

419 **D.S.**
vi - dad el a - gui-nal-do el a - gui-nal-do

Example 1.12: Final seguidillas, end of B section, *El monstruo del Gusto Público*

The passage sounds “Spanish” partly because the bass mimicked the fandango pattern that alternated arpeggios of V and I_4^6 . In addition, Esteve approached this “standing on the dominant” via a b IV-V progression on mm. 567-8. The B b chord on m. 567 served as a pivot between F major and D minor, but it also arrived at the dominant A major via the upper semitone, creating the stereotypical Phrygian sonority associated with Spain. The seguidillas finished with dal segno to the tonic portion of the A section, which resulted in a ternary plan ABA’.

	Section	Key	Measure s	Cadences	Met	Tempo	Subs ec.	Harmonic movement
Instrumental introduction	A	D	342-350	PAC 345 PAC 347 PAC 349	3/4	Allegro	-	I-V
Nuestro afecto rendido corte venigna	A	D	351-362	PAC 354 PAC 362	3/4	“	a	I
Viva viva Viva Desea complazerte con alma y vida		A	363-374	PAC 369 PAC 373	3/4	“	b	V
Dime que cosa es aquella de que uno no a de fiar Fortuna y Apasionados como a suzedido acà Que en un volber de caveza se los llebo Barragan	B	d	375-405	PAC 379 HC	2/4	“	-	i-ii ^o -V III-iv ⁶ -V-i
Viva viva la Alegria fuera penas y vailar y al publico le pidamos lo que estas letras diran: el aguinaldo para Aguinaldo comprar pues cerca està Navidad		F d	406-413 414-423	PAC/F 410 HC/d 414	 3/4	 “	 -	F:I-IV-I-V- IV d:V
Nuestro afecto rendido corte venigna	A'	D			3/4		-	I

Table 1.10: Structure of final seguidillas, *El monstruo del Gusto Público*

In the seguidillas, the actor-singers address the Madrid court (dear court/*corte querida*, benign court/*corte benigna*) as the judge of taste, in the physical and symbolical absence of the king's persona that stands at the core what Habermas called “representative publicness.”¹⁰⁵ While the reverential attitude and language of the performers is there, there was no ruler whose acceptance determined the value of the performance, or whose preferences oriented the

¹⁰⁵ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 5 ff.

aesthetic choices of composers and authors. The practical absence of the ruler notwithstanding, the public dialogue that took place in musical theater considered the entire city of Madrid to be a court that needed to be pleased.¹⁰⁶ Thus, the audience took, to a certain extent, the representative place of the ruler. Exceptionally, as in the case of the *loas* for the king's name day (St. Charles), the Madrid coliseos would turn into a traditional court theater, but these instances were few and far between enough that they could not prescribe taste. In *El monstruo del gusto público*, Esteve responded to this lack of physical representative publicness by creating a character that embodied taste, albeit a monstrous one.

Taste in Esteve's tonadilla had become a monster, no longer the compass for judgment, because instead of abiding by reason the audiences of the *coliseos* yielded to their natural inclinations. Esteve's portrayal of public taste replicated what intellectuals like Feijoo, Nipho, and Jovellanos had written about opinion: that it could easily deform if left to the public. In his *Lógica* (1781), physician and philosopher Andrés Piquer affirmed that public opinion as *vox populi* more often than not erred because it was not dictated by reason. Opinion needed to civilize and dignify, to become the "respectable audience" (*el respetable público*).¹⁰⁷ However, Esteve could hardly civilize taste by putting it in the hands of an elite, because the Madrid coliseos did not survive by pleasing the elite alone. Writers and authors could not please the different audience strata and keep their income steady, and at the same time maintain their

¹⁰⁶ "Court" in *El monstruo del gusto público* and many other tonadillas stands for "court," "audience" and "public," since the current Spanish word for "audience" (*público*) was not yet in use.

¹⁰⁷ "... For public opinion to become the 'queen of the world' that several authors had already crowned, a process of 'opinion dignifying' (Álvarez de Miranda, 1992) was needed. A circumstance that did not take place [in Spain] so much due to a mutation in the term 'opinion,' but to a change in the subject of opinion. The masses, the ignorant rabble, attacked by Feijoo and many other enlightened thinkers, must transform into the 'respectable audience.' (... para que la opinión pública llegara a convertirse en esa 'reina del mundo' que ya muchos autores habían coronado sería preciso un proceso de 'dignificación de las opiniones' (Álvarez de Miranda, 1992, 579). Una circunstancia que no se produjo tanto por la mutación del significado del término 'opinión' como por el cambio de sujeto de la misma. El vulgo, la ignorante plebe, contra la que arremetieron Feijoo y muchos otros sabios ilustrados del período, tendría que convertirse en el respetable público") Fernández Sebastián and Capellán de Miguel, "Historia del concepto de opinión pública," 26.

reputation as setters of good example. So who controlled opinion, the “Queen of the world”: The critics in print, or the audiences in the coliseum with their applause and purchase of tickets? The struggle occupied public debates for much of the last two decades of the century.

1.5 THE NEWSPAPER GOES TO THE THEATER: PERFORMERS VS. CRITICS

1.5.1 *EL TEATRO Y LOS ACTORES AGRAVIADOS*, 1787

The confrontations between critics and theater staff that started with Nipho and Ramón de la Cruz continued into the 1780s and 1790s. Criticism went not only from press to music, but also in reverse, as both parties struggled over the authority to decide repertoires, modes of performance, and interaction with audiences. The actor-singers of tonadillas often appeared on stage as themselves and addressed their audiences in second person to discuss the current state of affairs, which compensated for the lack of press representatives for the *coliseos*. In February of 1787, an anonymous letter in *El Correo de los Ciegos* complained about how the performers in the tonadilla *El teatro y actores agraviados* by Pablo Esteve bashed critics for complaining about the comedies programmed in Madrid theaters.¹⁰⁸ The open letter in the *Correo* denounced that “the *cómicos* [actor-singers] insist on continuing in their gibberish despite all that writers say.” The author protested that the critic’s duty was to denounce, the playwright’s duty to write better comedies, and the actor’s duty to learn a diverse repertory. For this critic, the primary culprit was the composer, in this case Pablo Esteve, because he abused his salaried position. He demanded that control over theater be reclaimed from “mercenary composers” and given to censors. As in the controversy between Simplicio Greco vs. Manuel Cavaza, the rivalry erupted between the sayer (the critic) and the doer (the performer/author).

¹⁰⁸ This tonadilla was performed during the second intermission of a *comedia* at the Coliseo de la Cruz.

In *El teatro y actores agraviados*, three actor-singers discussed their concern that printed criticism would be the end of theater. Garrido tried to soothe the restlessness of his colleagues La (Josepha) Torres and Alfonso (Navarro), listed respectively as one of the *damas* (ladies) and *galanes* (leading men) of the Manuel Martínez company at the Coliseo de la Cruz.¹⁰⁹ Garrido appeared on stage first, holding “newspapers, censors, and papers” in his hand. With this indication, Esteve likely meant that Garrido had to carry with him actual issues of *El Censor* among other periodicals. Towards the end of the first verse of the introduction, Garrido equated criticism with murmuration:

De quantos papelotes oy los criticos sacan todos sobre los theatros todos descargan Actores y comedias los muerden y los rajan y todo se critica con furia y rabia	<i>Of the many papers That critics today issue All of them on the theaters All of them unload Actors and plays They bite and tear And everything is criticized With rage and fury</i>
---	---

Paciencia Garrido mas paciencia no que callar no quiero a tanto baldon Teman mi venganza teman mi furor esos escritores que an salido oy Criticos satiricos que sin compasion a todos ultraga su mormuracion	<i>Patience, Garrido... but no patience! For I do not want to remain silent before such ignominy Fear my revenge, fear my frenzy Those newly-appeared writers Satirical critics (that) without compassion Everybody is insulted with their murmuration</i>
---	--

Both *parolas* in this tonadilla were very short, and each eased the transition into the next musical number. The first *parola* continued the martial tone of the introduction’s end, calling for a drum roll for the actor-singers to fire back with their own “ammunition:” their songs on stage.

¹⁰⁹ The Coliseo de la Cruz took its name from the street where it was located, and is unrelated to playwright Ramón de la Cruz.

Garrido: Pero decid, ¿que ay de nuevo?

Muger: Escucha

Alfonso: Dame atencion

Los dos: Y arma contra los Herodes
del teatro

Garrido: Toca tambor

Y pues su cañón nos tira
sufra nuestra munición

Pray say, what is new?

Listen

Pay heed

*and arms against the Herods
Of theater*

Drum, play,

*And since their cannon fires
let them suffer our ammunition*

Allegretto

Muger

Tal tur-ba de cen-so-res_____

99

Se han le- van - ta - do. Se han le- van- ta- do_____ Se han le- van - ta - do. Que a sa-ti-ras des

107

Garrido

tru- yen_____ Nues-tros the - a - tros Nues tros the - a tros_____ Mas que ce-lo es in- dus - tria Sus pa-pe

115

lo - tes Pa-ra sa-car los quar - tos a los lec - to - res Pa-ra sa-car los quar - tos a los lec-to - res

125

Alfonso

De co-rre-gir el mun- do_____ a-blan los ta- les. a-blan los ta les_____ A-blan los

124

Example 1.13: *El teatro y los actores agraviados*, second musical number (Between the introduction and the coplas)¹¹⁰

In the ensuing transition section (see example 1.13) Josepha and Alfonso further explained the problem by modulating up to C major from the introduction in Bb, in a faster tempo, and with rapid melismas. Garrido stoked their indignation with interjections on the dominant, to denounce the pecuniary interests that hid behind the alleged moral purposes of the periodicals. Later on the piece, Garrido confessed that the actor-singers also wanted to make money, and the attacks of the press were not helping.

In the *coplas* (verses) of the tonadilla, the actor-singers disparaged the apologetic tone of printed criticism and questioned the intentions of publishers. They blamed the critics who published *papeles públicos* because they decried the quality of the comedies yet offered no solution. The critics, according to the coplas' refrain, were intruders disguised in modesty that professed to know more than the rest of the madrileños,

Mas chito chitito que pueden oír
los sabios sujetos critica-defectos
que sus malos picos
tratan de borricos
a los de Madrid

*But hush, hush, for they may hear,
The wise subjects, criticizers of faults,
Whose evil beaks
Call the people of Madrid
asses*

and laughed at the shortcomings of the actor-singers (second copla).

Se rien de que en las magias
nos ven si invisible estamos
y critican que vailemos
con los disfraces de diablo

*They laugh at us because in "magics"
They see us when we are supposedly invisible
And they criticize that we dance
In devil costumes*

¹¹⁰ Examples 1.13 and 1.14 transcribed from the *parte de apuntar*. Pablo Esteve, *El teatro y los actores agraviados*, Tonadilla, 1787. Parte de apuntar. BHM Mus 146-3.

This second copla touched on a hot issue: neoclassicist rejection of Spanish Baroque authors and of the very popular *comedias de magia* (“magics”). Sure enough, neoclassicists frequently complained about the lack of verisimilitude of plays with special effects, supernatural characters, *deus ex machinas*, and historical *comedias* that portrayed a whole army with just a few men on stage. Furthermore, they derided the limited technical resources of the Madrid city coliseos, from using the same set designs over and over, to having angels hanging from ropes instead of wires, to wearing low-budget costumes and hairdos - which the actor-singers had to pay for themselves.

In the coplas, as Esteve usually did for this cast of actor-singers, Garrido replied to every problem that the other two more “serious” characters posed. For example, in the second copla, the actress-singer complained that critics made fun of the plays that the theater offered to the people of Madrid. Garrido responded: let them write their own, and we shall see if they fare any better at the theater. The witty comments by Garrido ensured that the atmosphere remained light, and kept the audience’s interest during the otherwise repetitive coplas:

236

§

Muger: Los e - ru - di-tos in - tru-sos de dis-cre-tos bla-so-nan-do, de dis-cre-tos bla-so-nan-do
 Garrido: Pues que es - cri-ban e-llos u-nas y ve - re-mos en el thea-tro, y ve - re-mos en el thea-tro
 Muger: Nin - gun hom-bre de ta-len-to ha-ze de sus di-chos ca - so, ha-ze de sus di-chos ca - so
 Garrido: Si los po - e-tas an - ti-guos se vie-ran tan di - fa - ma-dos, se vie-ran tan di - fa - ma-dos

245

se bur-lan de las co - me-dias que al pue-blo re - pre-sen - ta-mos, que al pue-blo re - pre-sen - ta-mos
 si sus o-bras son me - jo - res que las que es-tan cen-su-ran-do, que las que es-tan cen-su-ran-do
 que es me - jor bui - tre que a - la - ba que cis - ne bi - tu - pe - ran-do, que cis - ne bi - tu - pe - ran-do
 à sus crí - ti - cas y à e - llos los co - mie - ran a vo - ca-dos, los co - mie - ran a vo - ca-dos

Example 1.14: *El teatro y los actores agraviados*, extract from coplas

The composer and performers of this tonadilla felt so vexed that they called critics “the Herods of theater.” They also dubbed them *quijotes*, pursuers of futile causes. This last accusation of *quijotismo* underlined the public perception that written discourse escaped reality to build castles in the air, and consequently detracted from progress. In fact, intellectuals and writers were often perceived as self-appointed *quijotes* who felt the moral urge to fix society, without any palpable results.

The tonadilla intended to cleanse the honor (*desagraviar*) of the composers and performers publicly ridiculed by critics, but some of the harshest accusations it made against the press were crossed out from the score, probably due to censorship. The final seguidillas lost an entire verse that blamed Spanish authors for plagiarism:

Algunos solo copian antiguas poesias y con ajenas plumas de grandes se acreditan... ... Los otros se producen con obras francesillas que a todos los asuntos les viene de perilla Y asi ellos logran ensuciar las esquinas limpiar las bolsas	<i>Some of them just copy old poetry And with the other people's pens they claim to be great [authors]... Others make a name for themselves through French works Which come handy in any situation And thus they manage to pollute corners and clean pockets</i>
---	--

Esteve went as far as to suggest that some writers robbed readers charging for inferior publications, and called rubbish the newspapers sold in the street. The damage did not stop in print, warned *El teatro y los actores agraviados*, but dragged out onto conversation:

Y en cafeès y corros hablan de malo y bueno como cotorros	<i>And in coffee shops and conversation circles They speak of good and evil Like parrots</i>
---	--

Even though the libretto with the censors' annotations is unavailable in the archives, most likely they did not allow such impeachments that would have violated regulations against

for a tonadilla titled *La crítica del teatro* in 1782, and Laserna also authored *Los quejosos del teatro* (The complainers of the theater) in 1785. Earlier, in 1776, José Ibáñez wrote the sainete *La disputa del teatro*. These precedents notwithstanding, the exchange between stage music and printed discourse in 1787 and 1788 expanded as periodical publications became more popular and the Teatro de los Caños del Peral served as a point for comparison. Press reviews constituted a new medium for which theaters were not prepared, and 1788 proved a year of constant quarrels between press and theaters in the frame of the ancient (Spanish Golden Age) vs. the modern (neoclassicism). Such quarrels resulted in a tighter regulation of the press. During June and July of 1788, several letters in the *Diario de Madrid* debated the worth of Madrid's *cómicos* (actor-singers).

Most of the attacks came from neoclassicist Cándido María Trigueros under the pseudonym E.A.D.L.M.¹¹² In the years following the very negative reception of *Los menestrales* in 1784, Trigueros placed the responsibility for theater reform on the shoulders of the *cómicos* and berated the plays they performed. Composers and performers resented the attacks of critics and responded to them on stage, given that there were not enough writers to defend them in print, as the editors of the *Diario* complained: “We regret that our national actors have not managed to make use of better-trimmed pens, even if they had to hire them, to defend and protect their cause.”¹¹³ The editors saw the need to insert this note after an open letter that failed in its intentions to defend theater performers; in addition to good writers, composers, and performers, theaters needed at that point critics to justify their art.¹¹⁴

¹¹² The pseudonym stands for El Autor De Los Menestrales.

¹¹³ “Nos lastimamos de que nuestros actores nacionales no acierten en valerse de plumas mas bien cortadas, aunque les costase alquilarlas, para defender y amparar su propia causa.” *Diario de Madrid* no. 198 (07-16-1788) p. 787.

¹¹⁴ “Parece que hoy los buenos ingenios han desertado del teatro; pues ni hay autores que compongan buenas comedias, ni escritores que sepan justificar á los comediantes.” *Ibid.*

Polemics like the one around *El teatro y actores agraviados* in 1788 and newspaper letter exchanges in 1788 arose from Spanish belief that criticism attacked people and destroyed their reputation. They spoke for the conflicts that Spanish society and government experienced in the transition from opinion as reputation to modern public opinion. Rodríguez Sánchez de León estimates that the quarrels of 1788 influenced press judges and censors as late as 1802, when censor Santos Díez González responded with caution to a request for a theater journal for fear that performers and critics would flare up again.¹¹⁵ Because authorities continued to see in theater criticism an aggression to performers, there were not any theater-specific periodicals in Madrid until the early-nineteenth century.

1.6 CONCLUSION: THEATER BETWEEN ORAL AND WRITTEN TRADITION

Several authors (Sánchez-Blanco, Franco Rubio, Diz) insist that tertulias offered a horizontal or transversal field where public opinion emerged from conversation and reading aloud, as opposed to the vertical hierarchy of the state and the class roles. The same can be said of theater shows, and even of certain kinds of books and periodicals. Theaters offered a place where different social classes could be together without necessarily mingling, a field that was both horizontal and vertical. From the stage, performers pointed at different sections of the theater where very specific groups of people seated (or stood), as they addressed them in song. Wealthier patrons sitting in boxes could look at the rowdy crowd of the patio down below, while the women sitting in the general area of the *cazuela* could sometimes only hear the boisterousness, for precautions were set in place to avoid too much contact between female and male audiences. In *Vicios de las tertulias*, clergyman Quijano condemned theaters not only because the plays promoted vice, but also because audiences “recreated” stage action:

¹¹⁵ The request for a theater journal titled *Diario de los teatros* was submitted by printer Eusebio Álvarez and journalist Julián de Velasco.

The admirer and the [married] lady who are very attentive, not to what the actor-singers says, but to what suits them best to show to each other their dishonest affections, repeat between them the arias and recitatives with the same gestures and actions of the actor-singers; yet much livelier, for they are said with greater passion: All the accompanying sighs and half-eyed looks are represented, much better than in the Theater [stage], because there it is fake, but in the [theater] box it is real.¹¹⁶

The horizontal conversation appealed to the public sphere in tertulias and theater, but also in print. One of the strategies of newspapers and books to create a public was to address them in the second person in their prefaces or proposals. Froldi says of Luis García del Cañuelo, the editor of *El Censor*, that he targeted readers personally in the first issue; Diz presents Feijoo and Leandro Fernández de Moratín designating “the public” to act as the ultimate censors of their work.

The highly popular tonadillas of the 1780s and 1790s were not unlike the letters frequently published in newspapers or as stand-alone pamphlets in the sense that they made an open address to a collective, even if significant differences set them apart. Published letters were anonymous more often than not, or written under pseudonyms. In them, an individual, almost always male, responded to a previous letter or addressed the readers. Given the restrictions on satire and criticism, authors engaged in metaphor and allegory meaningful to their contemporaries. In tonadillas, either one or a small group of singers addressed the public, in very similar terms used in the letters. Because the coplas that formed the core of the tonadilla are strophic by nature, the text was crafted in formulae that allowed one metaphor to be applied to different social issues. For example, the formula could be the contrast between the old (Habsburg) and the new (Frenchified) social habits, constructed in parallel phrases and rounded

¹¹⁶ “El Cortejo y la Dama que están muy atentos, no à lo que dicen los Cómicos, sino á lo que es mas proprio para descubrirse reciprocamente sus afectos poco honestos, repiten entre los dos las arias y recitados con los mismos gestos y meneos que los Cómicos; mas con tanta mayor viveza, quanto es mayor la pasion con que se dicen: Se representa todo el acompañamiento de suspiros y miradas de medio ojo, mucho mejor que en el Teatro, porque en este se finge, pero en el Palco vá de veras.” Quijano, *Vicios de las tertulias*, 229.

off with a refrain. In this sense, the stereotypes sung in tonadillas were more rigid than those allowed by the prose of letters. The addressees of tonadillas were at once real and imagined: theater audiences anonymized under general rubrics like “cazuela” or “patio.” As in a published letter, the power of tonadillas lay in the illusion of a personal communication.

However, tonadillas almost always began with an apology to the interlocutors, with a plea of humility that granted the audience the judgment over the competence and truthfulness of the singer. In the introduction, the performer voiced his/her limited capabilities, and submitted the tonadilla to public verdict: any value or truth that the piece produced would be by the grace of the listeners, rather than the aptness of the singer. On the contrary, letters rarely apologized, but rather asserted their points of view strongly, without bringing in evidence. The letter writer was shielded behind his anonymity; the tonadilla performer was shielded behind her humbleness and slipped out of agency by making the audience responsible to judge whether the song delivered truth or error.

Actor/singers could express an opinion, comment on social and political events, and even engage with the press without risking being blamed for being anti-Spanish or pretentious. Thus they were able to cater to both liberal and conservative patrons to a certain extent. In a way, the performance left no printed trace that could be stepped on. Furthermore, when the spoken word seemed too discourse-like, they could move into song and dance. Writers, composers, and performers had to achieve a difficult balance, because royal policy sponsored education and basic literacy, but censored many foreign ideas. Tonadillas and sainetes allowed theater people to walk the line between nescience and affectation. You wanted to know, but not too much, and in any case, you wanted to keep a humble attitude about your knowledge.

Songs had the additional benefit of staying in the audiences’ memories longer than a conversation at the café, but perhaps not as permanently as a book or newspaper. Lolo believes

that seguidillas and *tiranas*, the closing song in tonadillas, accompanied audiences as they left the theater: “The audience hummed them [seguidillas] in the theater and the blind sang them by the corners of urban Madrid, so that oral transmission became a decisive element when their popularity increased and possibly induced their permanence beyond stage.”¹¹⁷ Indeed, the *Diario de Madrid* frequently advertised new printed collections of seguidillas and *tiranas* for domestic consumption, newly composed or arranged for the guitar or the psaltery from those performed by the orchestra at the coliseo. These song forms repeated text lines even more than the rest of the pieces in the tonadilla, featured specifically Spanish melodic turns and ornamentations borrowed from popular tradition, were accompanied with castanets and often danced. All of these components, plus their key position at the end of the tonadilla, made seguidillas and *tiranas* musical hits that satirized social behaviors, spread news, and engraved points of view in the ears and minds of the public.

In 1787 the editors of the *Correo de los Ciegos* tried to limit the benefits of oral expression when they asked the Madrid *Corregidor* (mayor) José de Armona to hand them the texts of the tonadillas and sainetes performed at La Cruz and El Príncipe “to expand moral satire, which will result in the benefit of the audience, and will be useful to [theater] companies.” The *autores* (administrators) of each of the two city coliseos protested in rage that the *Correo* editors in reality intended to profit from selling the texts of tonadillas. *Autores* Eusebio Rivera and Manuel Martínez further argued that once audiences could read the lyrics, they would stop attending the theater, or worse, they would count on too many arguments to criticize the performers. Rivera and Martínez claimed to be defending the interests of the performers, who would suffer at the expense of an excessively informed audience. In their view, the printed texts would nullify the novelty of theater, and “any blind man singing on a corner would claim to be

¹¹⁷ “El público las tarareaba en el teatro y los ciegos las cantaban en las esquinas del Madrid urbano, de modo que la transmisión oral se convirtió en un elemento decisivo a la hora de acrecentar su popularidad e incidió posiblemente en su permanencia mas allá de la escena teatral.” Lolo, “Itinerarios musicales,” 20.

better than the actors.” The Madrid theater companies have done well, the *autores* said, without the new enlightened editors! (*ylustrados editores*). They sensed that the press critics interfered with the success of theater employees, and defended them accordingly.

Theater as a medium for public communication relied on the familiarity of the Spanish people with oral tradition. Even at the end of the century, the efficacy of the press on readers remained unclear given the relative novelty of widely-distributed printed discourse. In 1790 the prospectus of the short-lived journal *La Espigadera* (1790-91) recalled that detractors of the press objected to written discourse because they doubted that readers qualified as receptive interlocutors. In other words, the reading public was still in the making, whereas the audiences of the Coliseos de la Cruz and Del Príncipe had been around for almost two centuries in Madrid.

CHAPTER 2: STAGE AND PRESS RECEPTION OF THE ITALIAN OPERA THEATER OF LOS CAÑOS DEL PERAL

A major event took place in the musical life of Madrid in 1787: the reopening of the Italian opera theater of Los Caños del Peral after nearly fifty years of inactivity. In February of 1786, the Junta de Hospitales of Madrid (the board that administered the city hospitals and the city theaters) declared that they intended to reinstate the Teatro de Los Caños del Peral, a building dedicated to Italian opera dating from the early-eighteenth century, which up until 1817 stood close to the current Teatro Real of Madrid.¹ The revenues from opera would go to the city hospitals, and Madrid audiences would once again enjoy the musical spectacle that had been sweeping across Europe. The Junta had been studying the viability of such an enterprise, and they officially petitioned for the lease of the theater from the reigning king Charles III (r. 1759-1788) the same day that *El Censor* published Discourse 97.² The reopening of Los Caños kindled public life in Madrid and stimulated discussions regarding music, theater, and social entertainment.

In Spain, like elsewhere, modern public opinion did not form in the void: it ripened around specific issues that differed from one society to another. In the Madrid of the 1780s-90s, theater was one of these core issues. Continuing the sixteenth-century tradition of the *corrales de comedias* (open-air theaters like those of Elizabethan England), eighteenth-century indoor coliseos occupied the mind and hearts of city dwellers more than any other cultural activity.³

¹ The theater first opened in 1737, supported by Philip V's (r. 1683-1746) fondness of opera.

² The King approved the petition of the Junta de Hospitales on June 4, 1786. Malcolm Boyd and Juan José Carreras López, *La música en España en el siglo XVIII* (Madrid ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 41.

³ In 2003 the mayor of Madrid considered local theater "An essential chapter in the city's history": "Of all the cultural manifestations that characterize Madrid, ever since 1561, when the city became the capital of the Monarchy, theater has perhaps been the strongest one through history." The passion of the Madrid people for theater was first manifest in the *corrales de comedias*, and since the mid-eighteenth century in the new dramatic spaces, the Italian-style *coliseos*... " (*De las manifestaciones culturales que caracterizan a Madrid, desde que en 1561 adquirió la condición de capital de la Monarquía, tal vez sea*

When the theater of Los Caños del Peral reopened in 1787 to revive Italian opera, comparisons between opera and Spanish theater flooded the press.

2.1 OPERA IN THE LANDSCAPE OF MADRID THEATER IN THE LATE-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

2.1.1 ITALIAN OPERA IN MADRID UP TO 1787

Between Luzán's *Poetics* (1737) and the translation into Spanish of Boileau's (1787) *Poetics*, the inhabitants of Madrid were exposed to numerous Italian opera performances and had their chance to form opinions about the genre. Farinelli arrived in Spain in 1737. He brought an Italian company to Madrid in 1738, and started a two-decade-long series of Italian operas at the royal sites.⁴ Construction of the building of the Teatro de los Caños del Peral also began in 1737 to substitute for the old *corral* that stood at the site.⁵ According to Juan José Carreras, the first Italian company composed of professional singers performed in Madrid in 1738-39 at the newly built Teatro de los Caños del Peral.⁶ The old *corral* at Los Caños hosted Italian opera companies intermittently between ca. 1708 and 1738, when the new indoor theater opened.⁷ The coliseo in the royal palace of El Buen Retiro, had likewise hosted an Italian company in 1703, long before Farinelli arrived in Madrid. After the famous castrato left in 1759,

el teatro la que ha adquirido más pujanza a lo largo de la historia." "*La pasión del pueblo de Madrid por el teatro se manifiesta primero en los corrales de comedias y desde mediados del siglo XVIII en los nuevos espacios teatrales, los coliseos al estilo italiano...*"). José María Álvarez del Manzano y López del Hierro, foreword to *Paisajes sonoros en el Madrid del S. XVIII. La tonadilla escénica*, Madrid, Museo de San Isidro, 2003.

⁴ Italian operas organized by Farinelli came to a halt with the death of Queen Barbara of Portugal (wife to Ferdinand VI) on August 27, 1758.

⁵ The Teatro di San Carlo of Naples was founded this same year.

⁶ Juan José Carreras, "'Terminare a schiaffoni': La primera compañía de ópera italiana en Madrid 1738/39," *Artígrama* (núm. 12, 1996-97) 99-121.

⁷ A *corral* consists of a stage and a *patio* or courtyard for the spectators, but no formal seating. Corrales are open theaters. The three main public theaters of Madrid (La Cruz, El Príncipe, and Los Caños del Peral) all started as corrales and were only substituted by closed theater buildings in the eighteenth century.

some Italian operas were performed at this palace between 1767 and 1776.⁸ The public coliseos of La Cruz and El Príncipe also made their stab at opera in the Italian style, with Spanish texts and music composed by Italians working in Spain such as Francesco Corselli (1705-1778) and Francesco Corradini (1700-1769).⁹ The Spanish were well acquainted with Metastasian librettos, which Farinelli had heavily edited in consultation with Metastasio.¹⁰

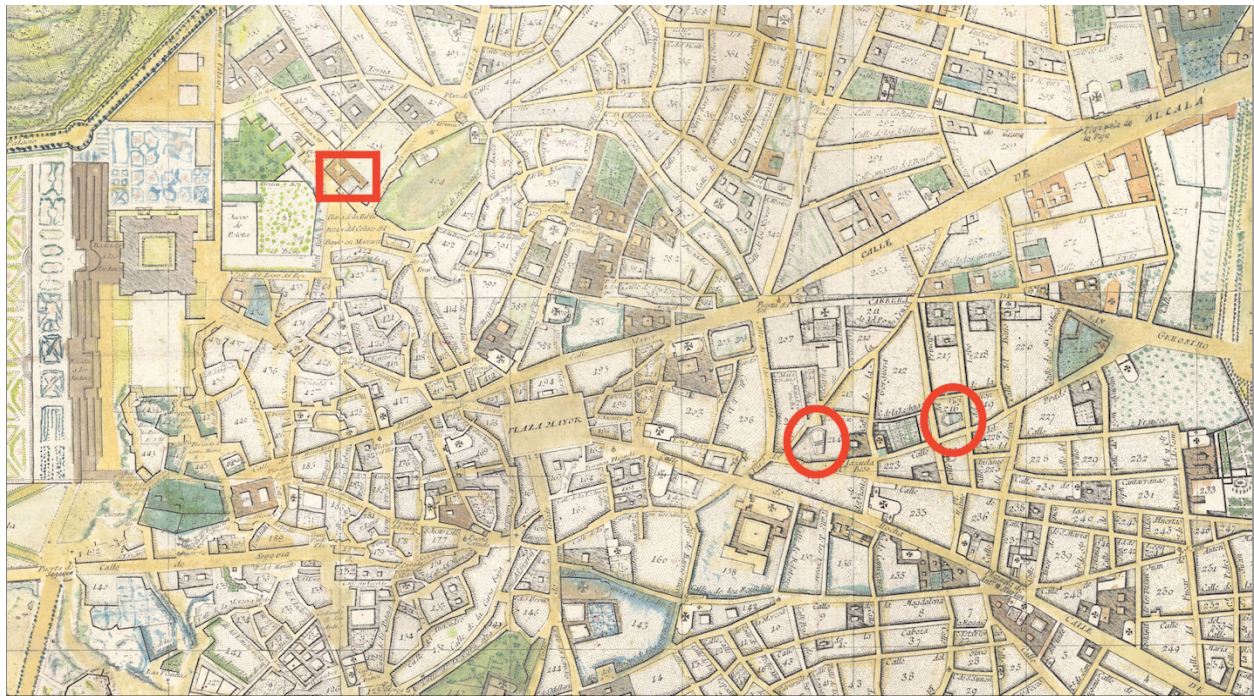


Figure 2.1: Central Madrid showing the two city coliseos (circles) and the Theater of Los Caños de Peral (rectangle). Source: Plano geométrico de Madrid, dedicao y presentado al Rey Nuestro Señor Don Carlos III por mano del Excelentísimo Señor Conde de Floridablanca; su autor Don Tomás López, Geógrafo de S.M., 1785

⁸ Luis Carmena y Millán, *Crónica de la ópera italiana en Madrid desde el año 1738 hasta nuestros días* (Madrid, Impr. de M. Minuesa de los Rios, 1878) 16-18.

⁹ Corradini and Corselli also composed the music for some of the operas that Farinelli staged at El Buen Retiro.

¹⁰ Carreras notes that when the first professional Italian singers came to Madrid in 1738, “these virtuosi came to a city where Italian instrumentalists and composers had been settled for a while both in the spheres of the court and the nobility, and in the public theaters, where they collaborated closely with Spanish musicians and playwrights. Moreover, Metastasian theater had been already performed both in some of the private theaters belonging to the nobility, and in the city corrales. In the latter, a company of Spanish actresses had performed, between 1735 and 1737, a series of Spanish adaptations of different plays by the imperial poet.” “Terminare a schiaffoni,” 103.

Through the course of the eighteenth century, Italian opera became part of the musico-theatrical vocabulary of Madrid musicians and audiences of all kinds. Members of the royal families owned several opera libretti printed in Italy, which attest to their interest and familiarity with the genre. The nobility and high administration whom the king invited to the royal theaters like El Buen Retiro were familiar with the works of Hasse, Conforto, Galuppi, Jommelli, Mele, Piccinni, and other Italian composers.¹¹

Later on, those who attended the theater at Los Caños del Peral from 1787 to 1799 enjoyed works Paisiello, Cimarosa, Sarti, and Anfossi, among others.¹³ According to Carmena y Millán's chronology in *Crónica de la ópera italiana en Madrid: desde 1738 hasta nuestro días* (1878), the first Italian opere serie to be performed at Los Caños del Peral in 1787 were *Medonte* (Sarti/Gamerra), *Caio Mario* (Cimarosa/Roccaforte), and the first opera buffa was *I viaggiatori felici* (Anfossi/Livigni). Later that year followed the buffe *La frascatana* (Paisiello/Livigni), as well as *La ballerina amante* and *Chi dell'altrui si veste presto si spoglia* (Cimarosa/Palomba). The quick shift from opera seria at the beginning of Los Caños's first season, to opera buffa later in the season, showed that Madrid audiences had a strong preference for buffa.

¹¹ The audience that attended these performances [of Italian opera at the royal sites] consisted mainly of the official circles and the nobility. They were invited through cards, and metal medallions were used as entry tickets... And since the number of people who aspired to attend exceeded the number of seats available at the theater, even though it was the largest in Madrid, they [the royal house] tried to follow a roster as exactly as possible. All in all, sometimes because of the unpleasant weather or because the play had been repeated too many times, some seats were empty; then the king's servants spread along the Prado and invited passersby to watch the opera performance. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Historia de la zarzuela desde su origen a fines del siglo XIX* (Madrid 1934), 181.

¹³ For a complete list of the Italian operas performed in Madrid during the eighteenth century, see Carmena y Millán, *Crónica de la ópera italiana*.

2.1.2 MUSICAL THEATER AT THE SPANISH COLISEOS

Besides opera at the royal sites and at Los Caños del Peral, the general public had a good variety of musical theater to choose from at the coliseos. Many of the genres available at the time have been called short (*breve*) or minor theater.¹⁴ Most current scholars reject the term “minor theater” because it implies a major, better theater. I will prefer *teatro breve*. The genres encompassed under this umbrella term are manifold and change through time.¹⁵ Along with *teatro breve* we find *comedias* of longer duration, also within the popular tradition. In practice, *comedia* meant any full-length theater piece, not necessarily comic, but involving comic elements to varying degrees, and definitely not tragic.

Comedias, *sainetes*, and *tonadillas* all included music to a different extent. In the eighteenth century, *comedia* regularly included two to three songs, in addition to instrumental music. A full show could include an introduction or *loa*, first act of the *comedia*, *sainete*, second act, *tonadilla*, third act, and another *tonadilla* or a *fin de fiesta*. On occasion, the songs interpolated in spoken theater and even in *tonadillas* were arias or duets borrowed from Italian opera. A *sainete* is very brief, so it may only include one musical number (or several--there is no standard), and a *tonadilla* is mostly sung, similar to an *intermezzo*, but can also include spoken dialog in verse.¹⁶ All three genres intend to portray everyday life, as opposed to the aristocratic characters and heroic plots of neoclassicist *tragedias* and *opera seria*. Neoclassicists disapproved of the stereotypical plots and characters of popular theater and of their dubious

¹⁴ Leandro's father, Nicolás Fernández de Moratín, was also a writer, and a member of the *Academia del Buen Gusto*, hence a neoclassicist of the previous generation.

¹⁵ Two of the most prominent ones during the second half of the eighteenth century are *sainetes* and *tonadillas*.

¹⁶ This definition of *tonadilla* applies only to the second half of the second century. During the first half of the century, the term designed a collection of sung numbers at the end of a *sainete* or a *baile*. María Encina Cortizo, “Tonadilla escénica,” *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, dir. Emilio Casares Rodicio (Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, 2002), 343.

moral probity, not to mention the fact that most musical theater violated the norms of verisimilitude.

2.1.3 THE ADOPTION OF OPERATIC TRAITS INTO SPANISH MUSICAL THEATER

Throughout the century, a substantial portion of theater audiences in Madrid may never have participated in the ritual of “attending the opera” as their wealthier counterparts or fellow Europeans did, yet they had some familiarity with the genre. Beyond formal opera, the middle- and working-class audiences that attended the public coliseos made acquaintances with arias, cavatinas, and duets that formed part of zarzuelas, comedias, and *teatro breve* pieces. Surviving manuscripts of libretti and music of all genres teem with these bits and pieces of opera, and with references to them. Madrid audiences of all classes knew, for example, that opera came from Italy, composed and practiced by professional musicians and singers. They realized that operatic singing was virtuosic, mostly in the form of flowery ornamentation, and that it required training, preferably under an Italian maestro. Moreover, they knew Italian opera was not Spanish music, regardless of similarities in the score. Common perceptions put arias, cavatinas, rondos, and duetti in one box; seguidillas, boleros, and tiranas in a different box.¹⁷ Other styles like the ensemble pieces called *quattros* or *cuattros* (quartets) and choruses lingered in blurrier categories depending on the amount of counterpoint vs. homophony. The reception of this

¹⁷ Seguidillas, boleros, and tiranas are three music and dance genres of popular origins. Seguidillas matter the most because they became a common staple of the tonadilla (sung intermezzo); for a concise history, description, and analysis of this kind of song see Le Guin, *Tonadilla*, 108-118. The 1783 *Diccionario de la Academia* defines seguidilla only in its literary sense, as a type of verse: “metric composition of four feet, in which the second is assonant with the fourth one, both of five syllables, and the first and third [feet] of three [syllables]. Used frequently for the jocose and the satiric.” To this definition, the 1739 dictionary adds: “So called for the playing that accompanies them, which is consecutive and running.” *Tonada* designed any verse written for song, and *fandango* “a dance introduced by those who have been in the Indies, to the pace of festive and merry playing.” (*Diccionario de la Academia*, 1783).

general bundle of operatic elements and tools ranged from endorsement to repudiation, from mere acknowledgment to amusement.

The *autores* (impresarios), writers, and composers of the coliseos of La Cruz and El Príncipe assimilated the practice of opera also in the wider sense of a long play pervaded by singing.¹⁸ Such pieces were announced under the most diverse labels, such as “opera,” “drama músico,” or “ópera en música,” and the proportion of singing vs. spoken dialog fluctuated. In the last two decades of the century, all of these denominations substituted for the “zarzuela” that predominated until the 1770s. For example, Comella’s libretto for *El Puerto de Flandes* (1781), set to music by Esteve, lists a chorus, duet, recitative and aria, aria, copla and recitative and aria, chorus, coplas, solo, and final chorus. Because it comprises so many musical numbers, it would have been called a zarzuela two decades earlier, but the composer presented it instead as a “musical piece in one act.” One of the censors who read the libretto for this “musical piece” crossed out the lyrics of the female singer in the duet, and suggested singing “an aria or rondó” as a substitute, according to the practice of substituting musical pieces in a play for others that were more attractive, modern, or better suited to a singers’ capabilities.

In the opinion of René Andioc, opera in Madrid belonged in the same category as the zarzuela and royal festivities in terms of spectacularity.¹⁹ Both Andioc and John A. Cook maintain that around 1787, when the Teatro de los Caños del Peral reinstated public opera, audiences had a strong preference for spectacular theater.²⁰ Following this view, opera gratified the Spanish penchant for the sensational and the sumptuous. Andioc’s and Cook’s premise that

¹⁸ The *autores* were the coliseo managers. Like the writers, composers, and performers, they were government employees. Often they came from families of performers, and they could on occasion act, translate, or fulfill other functions.

¹⁹ René Andioc, *Teatro y Sociedad*, 58.

²⁰ “It seems that the public at this time had developed an inordinate taste for plays with spectacular stage settings. The opening of the Italian opera on January 20, 1787, had introduced to Madrid audiences a type of performance which not only offered an attraction to lovers of music, but also, in the splendor of its settings, stood out in marked contrast to Golden Age comedies and to neo-classic translations of tragedies and comedies from the French and Italian theaters.” John A. Cook, *Neo-classic Drama in Spain*, 330.

music was another means for spectacle coincides with the 1787 article in the *Memorial*, in which the author agreed to discuss opera in his series of articles because music formed part of the theatrical apparatus.²¹

Occasionally, theater composers wrote arias and even recitatives to move a *comedia* (long-duration play) from the category of “ordinary” to that of “theater,” the former in plain dialog, the latter adorned with machinery, dance, special effects, and extra music. They followed the same principle in *teatro breve* pieces written for special occasions, like *tonadillas generales* and *loas*. These stood apart from regular *tonadillas* and *sainetes* because they included more musical numbers, and all the members of the company performed. Consider, for example, the “Loa de empezar temporada” that Esteve wrote for the Coliseo del Príncipe in 1782.²² *Loas* usually praised the royal family for political purposes; they started as a court genre in the seventeenth century, but at the time of Esteve they were performed in the public theaters before the main *comedia*.²³ Esteve’s *loa* is adorned with a chorus, a duet, two recitatives, a *cavatina* and *seguidillas* to wrap up. In pieces like this one, recitatives, arias, and *seguidillas* were all songs and served the purpose of providing music for the theater. In this sense, they incorporated Italian music into the Spanish tradition of interspersing music throughout a theater performance.

Serious opera influenced the settings and plots of a particular kind of neoclassicist-oriented tragedy popular in the last two decades of the century, the heroic tragedy (also called heroic comedy or drama). Playwrights like Comella and Gaspar Zavala y Zamora (1762-1814) tried to follow neoclassicist precepts while leaving room for pageantry. They wrote numerous heroic tragedies in the 1780s-90s. Several of them adapted or translated French tragedies or

²¹ *Memorial*, February 1787, p. 259.

²² Biblioteca Histórica Municipal, Mus 35-7. The head composer of each of the two city coliseos had to write a *loa* or introductory piece to open the comic year that started in Easter.

²³ Germán Labrador, *La imagen de la monarquía: Loas en honor de Carlos IV y María Luisa de Parma*

Metastasian librettos, and some others praised European “enlightened” monarchs like Charles XII of Sweden, Frederic II of Prussia, or Catherine the Great of Russia. Heroic tragedies mixed Metastasian solemnity with sentimental undertones. While a few included several musical numbers, many of the scores for these heroic tragedies amount to only one to three one-stanza-length choruses. The influence of serious opera then resided not so much in the music (sparse in heroic tragedies), but in providing dramatic forms, characters, and plots alternative to those of standard seventeenth-century comedias. Comella and Zavala y Zamora (1762-1814) were criticized by another neoclassic author, Leandro Fernández de Moratín, most notably in his meta-theatrical play *La comedia nueva o El café* (1792).

Alternatively, writers and composers incorporated operatic music as a comic element. In her study of tonadillas, Le Guin interprets the presence of Italian characters who teach or sing arias as “yet another example of the infinite gyrations of comic theater around the idea of foreignness.” At the same time, she recognizes that composers found in Italian characters an excuse to display virtuosic singing.²⁴ She further observes that “tonadilleros freely borrowed the gestures and expressive codes of opera seria, but this *mudanza* [from the serious to the comic register] inevitably transformed their borrowings into more or less overt parody.²⁵ This approach enabled writers and composers to offer ear candy to the public, yet still separate conceptually (if not always musically) the Italian from the Spanish.

2.2 INITIAL PRESS REACTIONS TO LOS CAÑOS DEL PERAL: 1787

2.2.1 MONTALDI’S LETTERS TO THE *DIARIO DE MADRID*: PREPARING THE AUDIENCES.

Starting in mid-January 1787, the *Diario de Madrid* published a series of articles about opera, clearly aimed at preparing the Madrid audiences for the reopening of the theater on the

²⁴ Le Guin, *Tonadilla in Performance*, 103.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 93.

20th of January. The author was Juan Bautista (Giovanni Battista, in Italian) Montaldi, a Genovese banker residing in Madrid. His first article (January 17) recounted past instances of Italian opera performance in the city, in particular those at Los Caños del Peral in 1738 and at the Coliseo del Buen Retiro from 1747 to 1758.²⁶ Thereafter, noted the author, opera had been performed only at the *reales sitios* (stages in the royal palaces in and around Madrid).

Audiences anticipated the new theater of Los Caños all the more because they had not had access to a public opera performance by an Italian company in decades – admission to opera at the *reales sitios* was controlled through a series of tokens distributed hand-to-hand by the royal family, their entourage, and the king's ministers.

In his *Diario de Madrid* articles, Montaldi noted that Italian opera had come to a complete halt when Charles III closed the city *coliseos* (theaters) in 1777, referring to the Coliseos de La Cruz and El Príncipe, the two civic theaters in Madrid active during the second half of the eighteenth century.²⁷ Every evening at the coliseos included music, whether in the main play or in the intermissions. The city employed all the theater workers, including writers and composers, distributed in two companies, one for each coliseo. Actresses and actors, known as *cómicos/as*, musicians, composers, writers, and even the wardrobe keeper reported to city authorities, and ultimately to the king. All of the *cómicos* and *cómicas* were Spanish, and they performed all musical and spoken theater in Spanish, with isolated exceptions. The new theater

²⁶ This second period was the Golden Age of Farinelli in Madrid, under the patronage of Barbara of Portugal. Charles III dismissed Farinelli upon his arrival to the throne in 1759. Nonetheless, the powerful Count of Aranda consolidated a double theater company for the royal sites, with one section for spoken French theater, and one for Italian musical theater. Xoán Manuel Carreira, "Ópera y ballet en los teatros públicos de la península Ibérica," in *La música en España en el siglo XVIII*, ed. Malcolm Boyd and Juan José Carreras (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 35.

²⁷ Cofradías from Madrid started out these theaters as open-air corrales since the late-sixteenth century, but in the eighteenth century they passed to city administration. The Coliseo del Príncipe was rebuilt in 1745, and the Coliseo de la Cruz in 1737. J. E. Varey, N. D. Shergold, and Charles Davis, *Teatros y comedias en Madrid, 1719-1745 : estudio y documentos*, Colección Támesis Serie C, Fuentes para la historia del teatro en España (Madrid: Tamesis, en colaboración con Fundación Caja de Madrid, 1994), 43.

of Los Caños del Peral, by contrast, would import an Italian opera company, impresario included.

Public theater in Italian raised aesthetic concerns about verisimilitude and about the primacy of language in art, which lay at the core of literary neoclassicism as formulated by Luzán. In spite of their differences, both Simplicio Greco in “Discourse XCVII” and Montaldi in the *Diario de Madrid* appealed to the privilege of words over music to comply with the neoclassical rules of verisimilitude, while still validating song. In Simplicio’s view, virtuosity impaired both sacred and theater music because it favored ornamentation over declamation. From a pro-opera position, Montaldi admitted that opera buffa broke the rules of dramatic poetry, but proposed Metastasian opera as a model for musical drama in which music heightens poetry.

Once both authors established that music should follow speech and not the other way around, they faced the problem of language. The issue of words and music preoccupied writers and men of letters, but the issue of language touched the sensitive terrain of Spanish identity for general audiences. Critics had to resolve whether and how music sung in a foreign language could move the affections of performers and listeners. Simplicio Greco replied in the negative: composers and performers deformed sacred music because they did not understand Latin.²⁸ Montaldi chose to flatter his readership and affirmed that no language other than Italian suits music drama except Spanish. Perhaps their mutual desire to avoid xenophilia led them to quote the same authoritative text for matters of musical aesthetics, the didactic poem *La Música* by Spanish writer Tomás de Iriarte, first published in 1779 (Cavaza too cited Iriarte in his lengthy

²⁸ “How many Latin compositions are there among us by people who ignore this language, and at the most, have only an idea that a Miserere ought to be sad, a Gloria merry, and on Christmas day everything ought to be festive, even the Kyries, the meaning of which they ignore?” (“¿Quántas composiciones latinas hay entre nosotros de personas que ignoran esta lengua, y quando mas, solo tienen idea de que un Miserere ha de ser triste, un Gloria alegre, y que en un día de Navidad todo ha de ser festivo, aunque sean los *Kyries*, que no saben lo que significan?”). García Cañuelo y Heredia, “Discurso XCVII,” 534.

reply to *El Censor*). For their part, the authors of *El Correo de los Ciegos* decided to help audiences appreciate and like opera by offering to publish synopses of the Italian operas, given that most of those who attended the opera seria *Medonte* (Sarti/Giovanni de Gamerra), the opening piece at Los Caños del Peral, could not understand the plot.²⁹

Unlike Simplicio Greco y Lira, Montaldi had a personal interest in educating the *Diario* readers and priming them to get excited about the new opera theater. The Genovese banker would become the first administrator of Los Caños del Peral, yet for a very short time he must have been aware that the coliseos were successful and that some theatergoers might be suspicious of theater in Italian.³⁰ Therefore, he began by reminding them that Italian opera was the preferred spectacle of queens and kings in Madrid throughout the century. He continued the following day writing a general history of opera, with emphasis on Italy and France, and warning that “one cannot do without the rules of art when [writing] opera,” as opera buffa composers do, “because they follow rules contrary to reason and to nature.”³¹ He protected opera against possible attacks from the *neoclásicos*, who dismissed any non-diegetic music in theater on the basis of verisimilitude.

Montaldi was a businessman who sought to ingratiate himself with the royal house through the venture of opera. He planned the opening performance for Los Caños del Peral on

²⁹ *El Correo de los ciegos de Madrid*, no. 35 p. 140, February 6, 1787. They included the plot of the ballets for the intermissions as well.

³⁰ Felipe Bartolomey, an Italian from Rome, was supposed to be co-impresario with Montaldi, but that never materialized (see Carreira, 44). The Junta de Hospitales initially leased the theater to Montaldi and Bartolomey for six years, three mandatory and three optional. However, Montaldi went broke in May of 1787 and by July of the same year he had lost his contract as impresario of Los Caños del Peral. According to Earl J. Hamilton, Juan Bautista Montaldi had amassed a fortune in Madrid by taking high financial risks. Montaldi’s bankruptcy shook the Bank of Spain. The bank’s directors of foreign exchange had allowed Montaldi to sign papers without enough joint signatures because he was friends with Francisco Cabarrús (1752-1810), one of the most prominent financial advisors to Charles III and Charles IV and a promoter of enlightened economic policies in Spain. (Earl J. Hamilton, “The First Twenty Years of the Bank of Spain, II,” *Journal of Political Economy* Vol 54, No. 2, Apr. 1946, 116-140.) A public announcement in the no. 73 of the *Gaceta de Madrid*, March 11, 1816, calls for help in locating Montaldi, whose whereabouts were unknown at that point in time.

³¹ Montaldi, “Continuación de las noticias sobre la ópera,” *Diario curioso, erudito, económico y comercial* no. 202 (Madrid, January 18th, 1787), 74.

December 9, 1786, in honor of the birthday of María Luisa of Parma (1751-1819), the Princess of Asturias, wife to the soon-to-be Charles IV (r. 1788-1808). María Luisa of Parma was, unlike Charles III, a renowned music lover, born and bred in Parma until age fourteen, when she married the Bourbon Spanish prince. Even though the premiere of *Medonte* in Madrid had to be postponed to January 21, 1787, Montaldi dedicated the bilingual printed libretto to Princess María Luisa. An unknown author wrote a prologue to be performed before the opera. In it, the allegorical characters Comedy and Tragedy, spurred on by the fury of Mars, chased after the Opera to kill her. When Opera asked what she had done to deserve death, Comedy accused her as follows:

Tu tierno corazón y tus cariños,
 Tus voces armoniosas, tal vez fueron
 Contrarias á mi honor. El vulgo pide
 Solo mis agudezas. Amor halla
 En mi seno la paz debida; pero
 Siempre es falaz un canto lisongero.

*Your gentle heart and your affections,
 Your harmonious voices, were maybe
 contrary to my honor. The masses demand
 my wit only. Love finds
 due peace in my bosom; yet
 a flattering song is always deceitful.*

Opera replied that this was a mistake, that singing and drama came from the same father, Apollo. Jupiter then intervened to calm the situation and initiated a commendation of the king. Opera wrapped up the dispute exhorting everybody to pay homage to the just monarch, and to “manifest to the world the happy day when Spain, at last, appreciates and honors the Italian muses.” The plot of the prologue appealed to the stereotype of the fatherly king to resolve the opposition between Spanish theater and Italian opera.

2.2.2 THE TRANSLATION OF ALGAROTTI'S *SAGGIO SOPRA L'OPERA IN MUSICA*

At the same moment that both Montaldi's articles in *El Diario de Madrid*, and the opera synopses and informative texts in *El Correo* and the *Memorial* appeared, the Spanish

translation of Francesco Algarotti's *Saggio sopra l'opera in musica* was made available to the public. The translation came out in January 1787, over two decades after its Italian counterpart and just in time for the opening of the Teatro de los Caños del Peral. The *Diario* announced its publication with a brief summary on January 27; the author of the *Diario* article called for audiences to read the *Saggio* in order to "contribute to the reformation of national [Spanish] theater."³² Like the preceding articles in the *Diario*, this one reserved a final comment for dance and pantomime as a constitutive part of Italian opera.³³ Several copies of Algarotti's book in Italian survive in Spanish libraries as testimony to pre-1787 availability, but the Spanish edition was intended to reach a broader audience. The title page specified that the *Saggio* was translated into Castilian "for the instruction of those who wish to attend the new Italian Theater." The pro-Italian opera articles in the main newspapers and the translation of Algarotti demonstrate that the performances at Los Caños del Peral were initially welcomed, and that several men of letters tried to reconcile the project of the new theater with the royal interests. However, Italian opera at Los Caños del Peral had to withstand the attacks of the neoclassicists that dictated the rules of drama in Madrid since the mid-eighteenth century.

2.2.4 THE REVIEW OF *MEDONTE* IN THE *MEMORIAL LITERARIO*: NEGOTIATING WITH NEOCLASSICISM

A few days after the opening of *Medonte*, on February of 1787, another important Madrid periodical reviewed the piece, and briefly discussed opera as a genre. The monthly issue of the *Memorial Literario, Instructivo y Curioso* (*Memorial* hereafter) spanned over a hundred pages.

³² Right before its article about opera, the *Memorial literario, instructivo y curioso* offered a review of Algarotti's work that focused on contents rather than on educational value: "[*Ensayo sobre la ópera en música*] Speaks of the flaws in the selection of subjects for musical drama; of those [flaws] perpetrated by musicians in fitting the harmony [to the libretto]; of the actor-singers, of the interpolated ballets; of theatrical decoration, and of the best architectural shape for the theaters." *Memorial* 1787, vol. X, p. 258.

³³ The *Ensayo sobre la ópera* was advertised again in the *Gaceta de Madrid* on February 2, 1787, and April 8, 1788.

It specialized in culture, science, art, and literary reviews, and it catered to the uppermost classes. It routinely included a note on the plays at the coliseos of Madrid, with a plot summary and a short commentary.³⁴ The commentary assessed whether the comedias observed or broke the Aristotelian unities and evaluated the verisimilitude of different components of the play; the February 1787 issue included *Los Caños del Peral* for the first time. The theater reviews section of the *Memorial* opened with an “Introduction” intended to educate readers about different aspects of drama. In this February issue, the author announced that he would interrupt the planned sequence of these introductions to discuss opera, evidently motivated by the opening of the new theater. The point of this succinct history of sung theater in the *Memorial* was to prove that singing and dancing always accompanied recitation in Greek and Roman choruses, hence that opera imitated classical tradition.

The author of the *Memorial* legitimized opera because it originated in the choruses of Greek tragedy, and because singing and dancing are natural to the human condition: “Making verses is as natural to the spirit of man as singing, inventing and playing musical instruments, and dancing with concerted harmony and orderly movements, for all these arts are born of the imitation of nature and of actions.”³⁵ He probably knew that opera might cause suspicion among theatergoers because it lacked spoken dialogue, the common-currency vehicle for action in Spanish comedias. Together with opera, attendees would have seen two pantomime ballets during the intermissions, instead of the usual sainetes or tonadillas. This meant that the

³⁴ Joaquín Ezquerro (1750-1820) and Pedro Pablo Trullenc founded the *Memorial Literario, Instructivo y Curioso* in 1784 by. According to the description of the Hemeroteca Digital Hispánica of the Biblioteca Nacional de España, the *Memorial* had gone beyond the parameters “... set by eighteenth-century Spanish press such as the *Mercurio [Literario]*, the *Correo Literario*, and the *Diario de Madrid*, paying less attention to social critique, and at the same time introducing theatrical and literary critique. It publishes articles about practically every matter concerning culture, science, and art, literary history (Spanish, French, etc.), natural history... “.

³⁵ “Tan natural es al genio del hombre hacer versos, como cantar, inventar y tocar instrumentos músicos, y danzar con acordada harmonia y arreglados movimientos, pues todas estas artes nacen de la imitación de la naturaleza y de las acciones” *Memorial*, Tomo X, 259.

audience had to stretch its ways of communicating with the stage beyond the familiar conventions and beyond its native language. The author of the *Memorial* tried to soothe these discomforts and to bring opera/ballets closer to the experience of Madrid audiences. He invoked mimesis, which according to Luzán was the principle of all arts, to associate all stage arts in one ideal projection of reality that extended everyday life into the theater space.³⁶ This idea of opera as the harmonious blending of the arts had been formulated by Iriarte in the poem *La Música*.

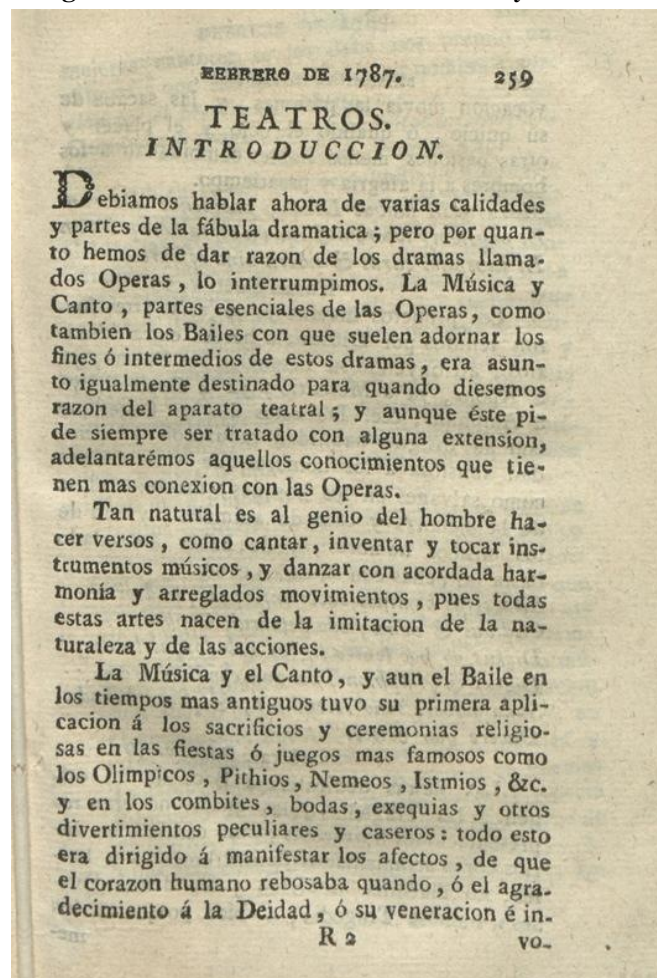


Figure 2.2: Review of Medonte in the *Memorial Literario*, first page

³⁶ “For the representative eighteenth-century critic, the perceiving mind was a reflector of the external world; the inventive process consisted in a reassembly of ‘ideas’ which were literally images or replicas of sensations; and the resulting art work was itself comparable to a mirror presenting a selected and ordered image of life.” M.H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp* p. 69, in John Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 5.

More specifically, according to the *Memorial* autor of the *Medonte* review, music and dance served in Greek and Roman antiquity to express *affects* in ceremonies and rituals, public and private. Cautiously, the author noted that music can express lofty emotions – for example, when humans praise deities – or dangerous ones, such as passion. His flexible posture in this article allowed him to sanction opera while at the same time complying with neoclassicist precepts of verisimilitude, and nodding to regal policies of order and moderation. He confirmed the latter in the following paragraph, in which he recounted that Orpheus and Amphion domesticated or civilized the savage, nomadic humans living in forests, calling them to live in society. Indeed, Urzainqui believes that while Ezquerria and Trullenc (the founders of this periodical) set the *Memorial* at the forefront of late Spanish Enlightenment, they stayed away from heterodoxy.³⁷ Nonetheless, this article emphasized expression over moral instruction.

After tracing the origins of opera, the author addressed the mechanisms through which music moves the affections. He agreed that music prolongs poetry insofar as it adds a new dimension to language. However, unlike Simplicio Greco in the 1786 Discourse 97 of *El Censor*, he did not claim that music should remain close to declamation, or that only melody holds the power of expression. On the contrary, he recognized three different components of opera, each with its own use for music. First came the *recitado*. In *recitado* music denotes the subject “without any particular affection,” yet opera could also “penetrate the heart” in arias and cavatinas. Finally, the *sinfonias* served a mimetic function when they depicted storms “and other horrible images of nature,” always within the confines of verisimilitude. In this the author abided by the conception of opera as a mimetic, representational expression of affects. His inclusion of instrumental music as a cardinal constituent of the expressive potential of opera is

³⁷ <http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/details.vm?q=id:0012137660&lang=es> Consulted on 10/2/2014. According to Guinard, Joaquín Ezquerria was the main editor of the *Memorial Literario*. Guinard assumes that Ezquerria was a priest because he had studies in philosophy and canonic. Paul J. Guinard, *La presse espagnole de 1737 á 1791: Formation et signification d'un genre* (Paris: Centre de Recherches Hispaniques, 1973): 252.

consistent with his discrimination between music and song throughout the text. The article in the *Memorial* concluded by deferring to the Italians for the beauty of their music and the sweetness of their language, but the author remained hopeful that thereafter a Spanish opera could bloom and maybe even come to parallel the Italian.

At the same time that the article in the *Memorial* prepped the general readership for the shows at Los Caños del Peral, it addressed the concerns of the neoclassicists regarding the ethic and aesthetic status of music with regards to poetry. The author carefully chose evidence from ancient texts that linked poetry and music at the origins of theater without once writing the word “poetry,” employing instead “to make verses,” (259), “measured words,” and “declamation” (262). He may have kept in mind that Ignacio de Luzán had differentiated between poetry and versification in his *Poética* of 1737: “... common opinion... places the essence of poetry in the imitation of nature; so much so that Aristotle excludes from the catalogue of poets those who would not imitate, even if they wrote in verse....” But even imitation could not define poetry for Luzán, because imitation characterized all the arts. Still, he wanted poetry to stand separate from and above music and dance; he disagreed with the definition of poetry of critic Antonio Minturno (1500-1574) because it included harmony and rhythm, and thus declared, following Pietro Vettori (1499-1585), “For in fact, what do the moving of the feet or the tone of the voice have to do with poetry? This would be to confound and mistake the terms “musician,” “dancer,” and poet; neither can these arts aim to more (...) than to be intrusive ornaments of poetry.” What distinguished poetry from all the other arts, in Luzán’s opinion, was its *useful* or *delectable* (or both) character.³⁸

³⁸ “... la común opinión... coloca la esencia de la poesía en la imitación de la naturaleza; tanto, que Aristóteles excluye del catálogo de poetas a los que no imitaren, aunque hayan escrito en verso...” / “Pues de hecho, ¿qué tienen que ver con la poesía el movimiento de los pies o el tono de la voz? Esto sería confundir y equivocar los términos del músico bailarín y poeta; ni estas artes pueden pretender más (...) que ser adornos advenedizos de la poesía.” / “... se podrá definir la poesía, *imitación de la naturaleza en lo universal o en lo particular, hecha con versos, para utilidad o para deleite de los hombres, o para uno*

Luzán was suspicious of opera and did not believe that ancient Greek tragedy was sung, but limited the music and dancing to the choruses. In his view, the choruses had simply disappeared from drama, and the musical numbers of the theater of his time had nothing to do with Greek choruses. He even rejected Aristotle's definition of tragedy, precisely because it included music (harmony) and dance. As Helmut Jacobs notes, for Luzán "poetry and painting ... have the same value, and music and dance are subject to poetry, only as 'newly arrived ornaments.'"³⁹ Moreover, Luzán feared that music would stir the affections in the audience too much, and thus overshadow the art of the poet. He mistrusted the use of music in drama, especially in opera, because he thought music appealed directly to the senses bypassing reason and discourse.⁴⁰ For the *Poética*, Luzán drew heavily from Muratori's *Della perfetta poesia* from 1706 (among many other works), and agreed with the Italian author's verdict that stage music corrupts the soul.⁴¹ Following Horace's reading of the classics, Luzán declared that poetry, and all arts, should delectare et docere, yet the enjoyment of the ear was inferior to that of the mind.

y otro juntamente." Ignacio de Luzán, *La poética o Reglas de la poesía* (Barcelona: Selecciones Bibliófilas, 1956) Vol. 1, 56-58.

³⁹ Helmut Jacobs, "La función de la música en la discusión estética de la Ilustración española," in *Dieciocho: Hispanic Enlightenment* 32.1 (Spring 2009, p. 54).

⁴⁰ Luzán adapted some of his ideas from the preface to a book titled *Teatro italiano o sia scelta di tragedia per uso della scena*, printed in Verona in 1723. Jacopo Vallarsi printed it; Scipione Maffei was the editor, and possibly the author of the preface. Luzán quotes this preface at least twice in his *Poetics*. The following paragraph follows the anonymous Italian author. "Por lo que toca a representarse toda una tragedia o comedia en música, me parece que no es del todo acertado, y que mejor efecto hará, y deleitará más, una buena representación bien ejecutada por actores hábiles y diestros, que todo el primor de la música. Porque aunque es verdad que la música mueve también los afectos, nunca puede llegar a igualar la fuerza que tiene una buena representación; demás que el canto, en los teatros, siempre tiene mucha inverisimilitud, a la cual unida la distracción que causa su dulzura, con que enajena los ánimos y la atención, desluce todo el trabajo y esfuerzo del poeta y todo el gusto y la persuasión de la poesía, introduciendo en vez de este deleite (que podemos llamar *racional*, porque fundado en razón y en discurso) otro deleite de *sentido*, porque es producido solamente por las impresiones que en el oído hacen las notas harmónicas, sin intervención del entendimiento ni del discurso." Luzán, *Poética*, 101-2.

⁴¹ Russell P. Sebold has traced Luzán's sources for the *Poética* in his article "Análisis estadístico de las ideas poéticas de Luzán: sus orígenes y su naturaleza." Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2001. Digital edition from *El rapto de la mente: poética y poesía dieciochescas*, (Madrid: Prensa Española, 1970), 57-97



Figure 2.3: “Music and Poetry: The same lyre we shall play,” Engraving in Iriarte’s didactic poem *La Música*.

The prevalence of Luzán’s ideas in late-eighteenth-century criticism should not be underestimated; in the case of music, Luzán’s tenets had been filtered through Iriarte. All the authors so far discussed, including Cavaza, articulated their ideas about music and opera in compliance with Luzán and/or Iriarte. Opera fulfilled the neoclassicist ideal of *delectare et docere*, but contradicted Luzán’s exclusion of music from drama. Moreover, opera buffa

jeopardized the primacy of tragedy that he stipulated. The newspaper articles were able to face Luzán's strict rules because Iriarte had diverged from Luzán when he defended opera in the fourth canto of *La Música* (1779). Even more at hand, authors in the 1780s had the opening plate (out of six) published with the poem, captioned with the closing lines of the whole text: “Music and Poetry / the same lyre we shall play.” This image has since been evoked to argue in favor of opera (see figure 2.3).

The promoters of Italian opera at Los Caños del Peral toiled to present both opera seria and buffa as “the most sublime, noble, and decorous of theater representations,” completely within neoclassicist precepts, Luzanian or Iriartian.⁴³ Some of them hoped that audiences would choose opera as an alternative to the entertainment provided by the city coliseos of La Cruz and El Príncipe.

2.3 THE RULES FOR THE NEW THEATER: OPERA, REGULATIONS, AND EUROPEAN SPAIN

Mid-eighteenth-century *preceptismo* encountered the official version of the Spanish Enlightenment in the belief that discourse needed to be cleansed of unrealistic components and made subject to reason. For Luzán, writing in 1737, neoclassicist drama would launch Spain forward into European progress. Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos posits that the state supported neoclassicist precepts because they were perceived “... as part of the measures that tended to civilize Spain, to set it up in the modern trends of the time, and to drive the country to participate in European movements.”⁴⁵ Likewise, the efforts of newspaper articles to educate the

⁴³ Montaldi, “Continuación de las noticias sobre la ópera,” *Diario de Madrid* no. 203, 1/18/1787, pp. 74-5.

⁴⁵ “... [El apoyo del gobierno al neoclasicismo] se insertaba en las medidas que tendieron a civilizar a España, a instalarla en las corrientes modernas del momento y a contribuir a que el país tuviera parte en los movimientos europeos...”

prospective attendees at Los Caños del Peral in 1787 followed the Bourbon project of modernizing and cosmopolitanizing Spain.

2.3.1 OPERA WITHIN THE COSMOPOLITAN ASPIRATIONS OF THE MADRID HIGH NOBILITY AND OF THE BOURBON AGENDA

The project of Italian opera counted on the support of some powerful people in Madrid. A group of nobles had remained interested in financing Italian opera even when it was only available at the Reales Sitios, between 1738 and 1777.⁴⁶ Several of them gathered in 1786, with the Marquis of Astorga at the head, to form a council that would decide the matters of the opera, supervise the impresario and all monetary operations, and function as an intermediary with the king.⁴⁷ This council, along with the impresario and administrators, formulated the enterprise in terms of the Bourbonic rhetoric of progress, civilization, and Europeanization. Many of the top-tier noblemen had traveled to other European cities, and even those wealthy Madrileños who had not sojourned abroad knew that opera, more than Italian, was a pan-European form of entertainment. Madrid could not lag behind other European capitals.⁴⁸ The balance between European and Spanish guided the efforts of politicians and men of letters in the late phase of the Spanish Enlightenment.

⁴⁶ Spanish companies performed Italian operas translated into Spanish at the Theater of Los Caños del Peral between 1743 and 1746. Michael F. Robinson, "Financial Management at the Teatro de los Caños del Peral," in *Music in Spain during the Eighteenth Century*, eds. Malcolm Boyd and Juan José Carreras (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 29.

⁴⁷ Between 1791 and 1795, this council was called Society for the Performance of Italian Operas (Asociación para la Representación de Óperas Italianas). It "consisted of a group of opera-loving aristocrats who agreed who take over the assets and liabilities of the company" after two Italian theater directors succeeded Montaldi (dancer Domingo Rossi, April 1788-March 1790; Santiago Panati, April 1790-March 1791). Robinson, "Financial Management," 32.

⁴⁸ Open letters in newspapers pushed to place Madrid among the top European cities. A letter published in the *Correo de los Ciegos* on April 18, 1787, begins the description of the new theater saying that it was rehabilitated "to fill the void that foreigners noticed as soon as they got to know the [Madrid] court." (*Correo* no. 51, 206). Another example appeared in the *Diario de Madrid* in 1790 that extolled Spanish as the "greatest, most cultured, most beautiful people" that *deserved* an Italian opera theater (*Diario* no. 16 1/16/1790, 61-3).

The upper classes of Madrid became friends or foes, and supported or attacked musical activities as circumstances changed. If partisans of the government endorsed Los Caños del Peral as space for the reform of Madrid mores, some members of the high nobility were personally invested in the patronage of opera. The Junta de Hospitales de Madrid (Madrid Hospital Board), could never have rehabilitated Los Caños without the support of the board formed by members of the nobility. The powerful María Josefa Pimentel y Téllez Girón (1750-1834), Duchess of Osuna (from 1787 on, also Countess of Benavente after her mother's death), sponsored the arts indefatigably. In January 1787 she provided significant support for Los Caños de Peral when she paid in advance for a box for 150 opera performances.⁴⁹ She was the only woman on the board of Los Caños, formed by four members of the high, old nobility established in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, two politicians with newly acquired nobility titles, and a former Italian prince.⁵⁰

The king and his ministers constituted a power faction separate from the high nobility, with some interests in common, and others at odds. The Bourbon project to keep Spain as a competitive state can be understood as one of Spanish Europeanization, especially under Charles III. Their perspective asserted Spain as a constitutive element of Europe in its capacity as the metropolis of an empire, but also as a bastion for culture and civilization. The government pursued Spanish Europeanization by regulating and by presenting regulations framed in specific forms of discourse that morphed continuously in their details, yet preserved the overall rhetoric

⁴⁹ The box amounted to 7,500 reales de vellón. She delivered the amount to Juan Bautista Montaldi, the impresario for Los Caños del Peral that wrote the articles about opera in the *Diario de Madrid*. The receipt from Jan 24, 1787 is in BNE Mss/14016/3-194. Montaldi did not measure up to the role of impresario and Melchor Ronzi, the director, assumed the administration of the theater.

⁵⁰ The rest of the members were Vicente Joaquín Osorio de Moscoso y Guzmán (1756-1816), Marquis of Astorga/Count of Altamira; Pedro de Alcántara Fernández de Híjar y Abarca de Bolea, Duke of Aliaga; Vittorio Filippo, former Prince of Masserano in Piemonte; Gabriel Antonio Beltrán de Santa Cruz y Aranda, former Count of San Juan de Jaruco; Jerónimo de Mendinueta y Muzquiz (1757-1817), Secretary of the Council of the Inquisition and later Count of La Cimera; Pedro de Alcántara Álvarez de Toledo y Salm-Salm (1729-1790), Duke of the Infantado (BNE Mss/14052/3, 1793).

of progress and national prowess. Intellectuals and wealthy patrons configured the regulatory discourse through books, pamphlets, periodicals, and theater.

2.3.2 THE “REGULATIONS FOR THE BETTER ORDER AND POLICÍA OF THE OPERA THEATER” PUBLISHED IN THE *DIARIO DE MADRID*

Regulatory discourse reached Madrileños orally and in written formats, ranging from edicts with numbered lists of norms to elaborate symbolic representations. In the articles about opera in el *Diario de Madrid* surrounding the reopening of Los Caños del Peral, Montaldi adopted an informational tone punctuated with ethical hints. He summarized the history of the genre in a way that construed opera as a valuable asset to covet. The same *Diario* printed on January 19 the “Regulations for the better order and *policía* of the Opera Theater,” and on April 16-17, 1787 an edict announced the rules and prices for the food and beverages sold at Los Caños del Peral. The rules were intended to regulate the behavior of opera attendees as much as possible “to avoid excess and confusion.”⁵¹

The regulations for the new opera theater epitomize the extent to which Bourbon regulators tried to micro-manage the attitudes of Madrileños. They dictated that patrons board their carriages promptly and that no men stand idle near the theater gates. All areas of the theater were to be fully illuminated so that the local authorities that attended each performance could survey them. Special attention was paid to the *cazuela*, the big balcony with banisters designated exclusively for women. The new opera theater should have a separate entrance for the *cazuela* so that women not mingle with male spectators entering the common areas of the *lunetas* and the *tertulia*. All members of the audience sitting in common areas were forbidden to stand up and make noise, or to demand that the performers repeat a number, two behaviors common at the Madrid coliseos that these regulations hoped to eliminate. Complementarily,

⁵¹ *Diario de Madrid* no. 203, 1/19/1787, pp. 79-84, paragraphs IV and VII.

performers were not to acknowledge praise and applause from the audience or gesture toward them. In other words, neither public nor performers were to behave as they normally did when they attended the coliseos. Regulations also determined how patrons were to carry themselves while they socialized in the refreshment area: they could not smoke, sing, or whistle, and their gestures and conversation had to manifest decorum. It is unlikely that spectators abided by such minute rules, but indeed the gesture of hugging, the duration and number of public greetings, and gathering around a table to talk indicated ideological inclinations and could even signal liberal political beliefs.⁵²

The new Italian opera theater opened a utopian space for the men of letters and “personas de distinción” (distinguished people) who aspired to Spanish Europeanization in their own way, perhaps different from that of the Bourbon government. They hoped for a cosmopolitan public space where audiences would not yell at the performers, a true theater with opera and ballet far from the seventeenth-century *corrales de comedias*. The author of the February 1787 letter to the *Correo* wished that the barbarism of the corrupted Madrid coliseos (de la Cruz and del Príncipe) would submit to the policía of Los Caños del Peral, so meticulously codified. In fact, for this correspondent, theater was “an essential branch of policía.” Another letter, from April 1787, portrayed the Italian opera performers at Los Caños as a model for the cómicos of the coliseos because they did not break out of character by interacting with the

⁵² Álvarez Barrientos quotes José Cadalso’s *Cartas Marruecas* (1789), about the changes in the manners of the urban upper classes: “Suddenly [we] are wrapped in a whirlwind of daily visits, of continuous bows unattainable to whomever lacks a body made of hinges, tight hugs and continuous amiable expressions so long to recite” (“Ha sobrevenido un torbellino de visitas diarias, continuas reverencias impracticables a quien no tenga el cuerpo de goznes, estrechos abrazos y continuas expresiones amistosas tan largas de recitar.”) A few pages later, Álvarez Barrientos adds: “The very consumption of coffee or chocolate became ideologized, so that to choose one or the other drink, just like dressing in this way or the other, immediately labeled the person as either as *castizo* or as supporter of the new. An opposition that remained during the first decades of the nineteenth century, identifying absolutists and liberals” (“El mismo consumo de café o chocolate se ideologizó, con lo cual tomar una u otra bebida, igual que vestirse de uno u otro modo, colocaba inmediatamente al que lo hacía el marchamo de castizo o de partidario de lo nuevo. Oposición que se mantuvo en las primeras décadas del siglo XIX, identificando a serviles y liberales.” Álvarez Barrientos, *Ilustración y Neoclasicismo*, 129, 133.

audience.⁵³ This second letter observed that the architecture of the theater made possible the exemplary behavior of both performers and audiences. Yet one more letter advised that the posters announcing the theater programs be printed like those at Los Caños and at other European theaters, and not manuscript. The same correspondent suggested ways to expedite access by the public to the inside of the building.⁵⁴

These three letters depicted Los Caños del Peral as a utopian microcosmos (micro-state?) of *policía*, a haven of orderly and composed socialization very different from the coliseos of La Cruz and El Príncipe. Even though the ideal functioning of the new theater did not correspond to the facts, it speaks of the aspirations of a certain kind of upper-class Madrileños to improve their city in order to match other European capitals. The social groups that advocated for Italian opera theater had been paying attention to European mores for almost three decades. Álvarez Barrientos has pointed to the 1760s as a key moment for polemics about what it meant to be civilized, and for the struggle of the upper classes to adopt what they perceived as universal norms of social behavior and public interaction.⁵⁶

2.4. OPERA IN COMPETITION WITH NATIONAL THEATER

2.4.1 COSTUMBRISTA REACTION TO OPERA IN THE 1760S: RAMÓN DE LA CRUZ'S *EL DESEO DE SEGUIDILLAS*.

Opera also functioned as a contrast element for the development of topoi of musical theater that built “folklore” around music and dance. *Costumbrismo* referred to opera in order

⁵³“¿Por qué no se han de observar en estos teatros corrompidos, las sabias reglas ó precauciones que se han establecido para el de la Opera?” (*Correo* no.39, p. 156). “Todos guardan bien el carácter que representan, y se nota que se revisten de él. No hay cuchicheos entre ellos, señas ni besamanos á los expectadores, ni se observan entre bastidores mirones, pisan bien las tablas y se señorean del teatro: en fin, en muchos adminículos pueden tomar reglas de ellos nuestros mejores cómicos.” *Correo* no. 51, p. 207.

⁵⁴ “Yo en ninguna Corte he visto que los carteles que sirven de anuncio á un tan respetable Publico (en el que entran la Grandeza, Ministros, Embajadores) sean manuscritos...” (*Correo* no. 52, 214).

⁵⁶ Álvarez Barrientos, *Ilustración y Neoclasicismo*, 126-7.

to offer a counterweight to traditional music and dance, in a dynamic similar to the one between servants and aristocratic characters established by *commedia dell'arte*.⁵⁷ Figaro appears doubly witty and appealing against the confused Count Almaviva; likewise, seguidillas and boleros offset arias and cavatinas. Ramón de la Cruz (1731-1794) was perhaps the first playwright to recurrently exploit music and dance to create *costumbrista* theater starting in the 1760s.⁵⁸ He is also credited for the revival of zarzuela from the mid-1760s to the mid-1770s, when he shifted the plots from mythology to everyday life.⁵⁹ He capitalized on realistic, local settings for his numerous sainetes, the *teatro breve* genre that made him famous. Because he consistently defied neoclassicist standards that called for refined, cosmopolitan entertainment, Ramón de la Cruz spawned numerous critiques and debates, to which he responded from the stage in his sainetes. Two of his stock characters were the *majos* and *petimetres* (*petit-maître*), respectively the working-class extramural Madrileño and the wannabe petty aristocrat. *Petimetres* and *petimetrás* were vacuous, and fashion ruled their lives, making them ideal subjects of ridicule and contrast characters. In fact, for Alberto González Troyano, the *majo* (the native) could not

⁵⁷ Even though the term *folklore* was not coined until 1846, it describes accurately the theater that resorted to popular tradition during the second half of the eighteenth century in Madrid. I opted for the term “*costumbrismo*” following Alberto Romero Ferrer (“El sainete y la tonadilla escénica en los orígenes del costumbrismo andaluz,” in *Teatro y Música en España: los géneros breves en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII*, eds. Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos and Begoña Lolo [Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008]).

⁵⁸ Mireille Coulon remarks that music played more of an incidental or environmental role in the early sainetes of Ramón de la Cruz (1757-1764). However, after ca. 1766, De la Cruz started using music for dramatic purposes. (“Música y sainetes, Ramón de la Cruz,” in *Teatro y Música en España*, 294).

⁵⁹ Ramón de la Cruz wrote most of his zarzuela librettos between 1768 and 1776, collaborating with different composers such as Nicolás de Conforto, Antonio Rodríguez de Hita, and Pablo Esteve. The signal works for the introduction of popular themes into zarzuela were *La Briseida* and *Las segadoras de Vallecas* (*The Harvesters of Vallecas*), both from 1768. Vicente Cristóbal believes that the mythological subject of *La Briseida* may have been De la Cruz’s brief and isolated flirtation with neoclassicism. (Vicente Cristóbal, “Homero y Ovidio en clave de zarzuela: la *Briseida* de Ramón de la Cruz,” *Revista de Estudios Latinoamericanos* 1(2001, 169-188) 172). Several scholars, among them Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, Mireille Coulon, Antonio Martín Moreno, and Louise Stein agree that R. de la Cruz transformed zarzuela from a courtly, mythological entertainment, to the popular genre of musical theater that thrived in the nineteenth century. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Historia de la zarzuela*; Mireille Coulon, “Música y sainetes. Ramón de la Cruz,” in *Teatro y música en España: los géneros breves en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2008).; Antonio Martín Moreno, *Siglo XVIII, Historia de la música española* 4 (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1985), 398; Louise Stein, “Zarzuela I.1,” in *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, 1144.

have been etched without the *petimetre* (the foreign); the *majo* was born to supply a stage model of the national when rejection of the foreign became insufficient.⁶⁰

Starting in the 1760s, members of the upper classes adopted the fashion and life style of the *majos* and *majas*. Affluent people who lived in the center of the city were attracted to these barrios that mixed the rural with the urban, because they saw in them an aura of authenticity. Hence, this particular strand of costumbrismo is also called *majismo* or *casticismo*, since the word *castizo* means authentic or pure. Ramón de la Cruz frequently set his *sainetes* in the barrios de *majos* (*majo* neighborhoods) like Lavapiés, Maravillas, El Rastro, and Barquillo. Towards the end of the century, not only the upper classes but also some high aristocrats endorsed *costumbrismo*, led by the powerful Duchess of Alba. Francisco de Goya painted his famous *maja desnuda* in that time frame. At this point, high nobles appropriated *majismo* to differentiate themselves from the bourgeoisie *petimetres* who preferred foreign fashions.

Italian opera together with French and English contradances helped to represent *petimetría* and its obsession with fashion, while *seguidillas*, *boleros*, and *tiranas* belonged to *majos* and *majas*. Opera as a metonym for difference became topical beyond the work of Ramón de la Cruz. Composers of *tonadillas* in the 1780s-90s continued to build some of their *teatro breve* pieces around the dichotomy between Italian (or French) and folkloric music. Some examples include *La prueba* (*tonadilla*, 1792), *La ópera casera* (*tonadilla*, 1799), and *Los dos tutores* (*sainete*, 1801) by Pablo del Moral; *El italiano fingido*, which includes an aria by Sacchini (*sainete*, 1785), and *La maja alegre* (*tonadilla*, 1770s) by Blas de Laserna, with text in

⁶⁰ “... Even though in that *castizo* world [the *costumbrista* world of the *sainete* as a genre], the rejection of the foreign came instinctively, it was however less easy to discern which should be the representing signs of those traditional values to embrace them than flaunt them” (“... En ese mundo *castizo*, si bien podía ser muy instintivo el rechazo de lo foráneo, no era tan fácil, en cambio, discernir cuáles debían ser los signos representativos de esos valores tradicionales para asumirlos y hacer consecuente ostentación de ellos. Y de ahí pudo venir la necesidad teatral de la figura del *majo*.”) Alberto González Troyano, “La figura del *majo*: Conjeturas y aproximaciones,” in *Teatro español del siglo XVIII*, ed. Joseph Maria Sala Valldaura (Lleida: Universidad de Lleida, 1996) pp. 480-1.

Spanish, Catalan, and French. Even though some sainetes and tonadillas (like the ones mentioned above) featured actual Italianate vocal pieces, or French canzonetas and contradances, oftentimes the mere reference to the world of opera sufficed to create the contrast necessary to define the ethos of the *majo*. For example, Mireille Coulon quotes an excerpt from the sainete *El hospital de la moda* (Ramón de la Cruz, 1761), where a majo muleteer recited:⁶¹

Yo no entiendo
de *resucitados*, arias,
cavatinas, ritornelos,
ni drogas; soy del Barquillo,
adonde sólo sabemos
seguidillas y tonadas
con que los machos arreo.

*I don't know anything
of resucitados, arias,
cavatinas, ritornellos,
or drugs; I am from El Barquillo,
where we only know
seguidillas and tonadas
with which I lead the mules.*

In this sainete, a “doctor of the mores” (*médico de costumbres*) sent to the hospital several characters afflicted with fashion: a hairdresser who does coiffure, a couple of critics who speak in Gallicisms, a poet who writes *petit pièces*, a couple of *petimetres* who ride a cabriolet and eat *fricassé*. Fashion and Frenchness seem to be almost synonyms for De la Cruz; only when it comes to music does he engage with Italian models.⁶² As Coulon points out, only the character of the majo muleteer escapes confinement in the hospital, thanks to his lack of intersection with anything foreign.

Ramón de la Cruz’s 1769 sainete *El deseo de seguidillas* returns to the issue of Italian music yet with the added complexity of class crossover. Here a group of young gentlemen led by D. Pedro make an excursion to the popular barrio of Lavapiés in the periphery of Madrid to hear and see some seguidillas. The journey, which could not have taken more than twenty minutes on foot, is meant to transport the wealthy friends away from the refined taste of the city to the core

⁶¹ Line 2, “resucitados:” a mishearing of “recitados” or recitatives, *resucitado* means risen, as in risen from the tomb. Line 4, “del Barquillo:” a popular neighborhood in Madrid.

⁶² Immediately after the speech of the muleteer, a tailor utters two phrases in Italian, but the suit he is to sew is French, not Italian.

of Spanishness alive and breathing in the *barrios*. D. Pedro dissuades his comrades from attending the *comedia* (the theater) because he is sick of arias and ballets and he wants to be reminded of his Spanish roots:

Dígole á usted que no quiero,
que estoy de arias y cabriolas
atestado hasta los sesos...

*I am telling you I don't want to [go],
that I am sick and tired
of arias and prances...*

The playwright built up the dichotomy between the niceties of Madrid and the rawness of the *barrios* by alluding to bodily characteristics, gender roles (“women who wash clothes and breastfeed,” “badly shaven men”), food, and musical instruments. Don Pedro promises his friends that they will hear guitar, castanets, and tambourine instead of the arias with obligato instruments that were played in the theaters. He plans to show up at the houses of some artisans he knows, offer the artisans some money in exchange for food, and ask them to sing and dance for him and his friends. At the same time, the artisans whom Don Pedro intends to visit (a plasterer, a carpenter) also want to hear some seguidillas and tonadillas, but not in the rustic setting of their homes; instead, they prefer to attend the city Coliseo del Príncipe. Just when they are heading out for the coliseo, they are stopped by the *señoritos* seeking entertainment in the barrio. The artisans have no choice but to please the *señoritos* and invite them into their home. As they enter the poor dwelling, the high- and low-brow characters engage in a discussion about the music and dance at the coliseos, each adopting a different position. Don Francisco says they have been “stuffed with serious songs and dances,” but admits that the serious with the comic “when alternated, is all great!” The *majo* Alonsillo has simply liked and enjoyed everything; he just wants to attend the coliseos to see what was new and hear the singer-actresses. The *maja* Marica only enjoyed plays within the stereotypical seventeenth-century style, with stock characters and without a tonadilla. The *majo* Manolillo thinks the opera and ballet combination fundamentally resemble a fandango, except in a serious tone. And the oldest

majo, the plasterer Bastián, begs to differ with Don Pedro, holding foreign dances and Italian arias in high esteem (see Figure 2.4).



Figure 2.4: “Campanelas de las seguidillas boleras,” colored engraving by Marcos Téllez Vivar, 1790
The image depicts dancers wearing stylized *majo* and *maja* attires, playing castanets, and accompanied with a guitar. The scene takes place in the countryside, outside Madrid’s walls. The city is visible in the back.

The actual music for the sainete consists of two short seguidillas performed almost back to back, the first to be poorly sung by a male character, in an attempt only to entertain; the second to display the grace of the female singer and convince the gentlemen that their evening in the outskirts was well spent. The “bad” seguidillas provided the comic element, but may have

also adapted to the singing abilities of performer Gabriel López *Chinita*, the gracioso (first comic actor) in the Coliseo del Príncipe company. Chinita stood out for his comic talent, but probably not for his singing voice.⁶³ Chinita’s seguidillas, like Esteve’s and Laserna’s years almost two decades later, they begin with a short instrumental introduction and prefatory vocal phrase followed by a ritornello, and then move to the coplas (verses), which depending on the number of stanzas repeat two to three times via *dal segno*. The coplas begin in the dominant and return to the tonic for the second phrase. However, it takes three iterations of musical phrase (b) to really establish a dominant chord; in the meantime, Chinita stumbles from V in the dominant to V7 in the tonic. His melodic clumsiness mirrors his literary one: he has studied the spelling book letter by letter, but he only learned the “p-a, pa” (“peapa pepa”), and he speaks incorrectly (“deprendido” for “aprendido,” learned). (See Example 2.1.)


<i>ms.</i>	<i>text</i> ⁶⁴	<i>section</i>		<i>G major</i>
1		Instrumental introduction		I
4	La cartilla he pasado	Prefatory phrase	a	
5	<i>ritornello</i> §			
8	letra por letra	Copla, phrase 1	b	V  V7/V V7
9	y sólo he deprendido [sic]		b	
10	el peapa pepa el peapa pepa		b	
			c	V
12	<i>ritornello</i>			V → I
13	y sólo he deprendido [sic]	Copla, phrase 2	d	I
14	el peapa pepa		d	
15	y sólo he deprendido [sic]		d	
16	el peapa pepa		d	
17	el peapa pepa [D.S]		c'	

Table 2.1: Chinita’s seguidillas, *El deseo de seguidillas*

⁶³ The nickname *Chinita* appears on the music manuscript. Cotarelo y Mori lists actor Gabriel López *Chinita* as first *gracioso* in the Coliseo del Príncipe company of Juan Ponce in 1780, two years before his death. Cotarelo y Mori, *María del Rosario Fernández, La Tirana, primera dama de los teatros de la corte*, (Madrid, Est. tipog. "Sucesores de Rivadeneyra", 1897), 33.

⁶⁴ *The syllable book I have reviewed/ letter by letter/ and I have only learned/ the pe-a-pa pe-pa.*

F

Allegretto

Hn. 1
Hn. 2
Tr. *Chinita*
Vln. 1 *mf*
Vln. 2
Vc.
Clavm.

La car-ti-llahe pa

6

sa-do Le-tra por le - tra ay só lo he de-pren -di- do el pea-pa Pe

f *mf* *f*

V V/V V V⁷ V

Example 2.1: Chinita's seguidillas, *El deseo de seguidillas*

10

pa El pea-pa Pe - pa Y só lohe de-pren - di - do el pea-pa Pe

f *p*

D.S.

14

pa Y só lohe de-pren - di do El pea-pa Pe - pa el pea-pa Pe - pa

Example 2.1, continued: Chinita's seguidillas, *El deseo de seguidillas*

The female performer, María Mayor Ordóñez *La Mayora*, was a famed treble who sang elaborate repertory like zarzuelas and arias. She was married to the company autor (impresario)

Juan Ponce. The vocal lines in both songs span a sixth, but La Mayora sings far more elaborate ornamentation than her male counterpart. La Mayora's melodies land more stably on the beat and fit comfortably with the accents of the lyrics. Chinita's progress through his song feels like a series of false starts because the vocal line begins with a sentence, and he keeps returning to the same motives before coming to melodic closure. In contrast, La Mayora paces steadily and swiftly through parallel phrases, interjecting olés and other sassy exclamations between the seguidilla verse lines. Her prospects for social mobility look much better: her neighbors call her *usía* (your honor), because her lover is a lottery-ticket writer (see Example 2.2). These two examples show that even seguidillas required artistic mastery.

En mi calle me dicen (olé olé olé Manolillo) que soy Usía Porque amo a un escriviente de lotería	<i>Down my street (olé olé olé Manolillo) they call me Usía Because I love a lottery ticket-writer</i>
Ele, que le requiero Ole, porque me hechiza Ele, que es un muchacho Ole, de fantasía	<i>Ele, I love and love him Ole, because he charms me Ele, he is a boy Ole, out of this world</i>

El deseo de seguidillas reveals that the music at the city coliseos was as eclectic as its audiences. The coveted seguidillas sounded in the barrio as well as on stage, and the artisans attended and liked the same coliseos that tired the young gentlemen, although they sat in different areas. Furthermore, the social standing of the characters did not entirely determine their preferences. The class crossover enacted in this sainete gained force towards the end of the eighteenth century, as powerfully captured in the canvases of Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (1746-1828).

1 **Allegretto**

Hn.

Hn.

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vc.

Clavm.

6

Mayora

En mi ca-lle me di-cen En mi ca-lle me - di-cen o-le o-le o-le. Ma-no - li - llo que soi u-si - a.

p

Example 2.2: Beginning of La Mayora's seguidillas, *El deseo de seguidillas*

The *costumbrista*, at times dichotomist world, staged by Ramón de la Cruz and later painted by Goya, reached well beyond the eighteenth century into the history and historiography of music and literature in Spain in ways that surpass the scope of this project. Without intending a deep discussion on *majismo*, I argue that opera was one of its building blocks, at least in its

inception at the hands of De la Cruz. Furthermore, through costumbrismo opera entered Spanish theatrical tradition not only via adaptation, but also via alterity. This means that opera became a trope of otherness, of a cosmopolitan alterity sometimes coveted and other times disdained. That is, opera understood not as a full-length stage work sung throughout, but the world of opera in its spectacle, social entourage, singing style, plots, and characters.

2.4.2 NATIONALISTIC REACTIONS TO THE THEATER OF LOS CAÑOS DEL PERAL IN 1787

Aspirations toward Europeanization competed with an incipient nationalism under Charles III. By the late 1780s, Italian opera in Madrid needed both to afford first-class European spectacle and to fortify national theater, or at least so expected the royal and city governments. Paragraph XVIII of the “Regulations for the better order and *policía* of the Opera Theater” stated that hopefully “Italian opera will prepare not only another, Spanish opera, but will also contribute to the greater perfection of National Theater.” To this end, the Junta de Hospitales (the administrative organ that would benefit from opera revenues) could substitute Italian operas with Spanish ones, and to use the theater for other genres when opera was not being performed. Paragraph XIX instructed the Junta to favor national over foreign performers. Nonetheless, pieces from the repertory of the two Madrid companies were proscribed in the opera theater. All Spanish theater had to be “new, whether original or translated, excluding [from the theatrical pieces] anything that was dissonant with good taste and wholesome morals...”⁶⁵ These general guidelines issued in 1787 would reach a very concrete extreme in 1799 when Charles IV banned all foreign-spoken theater in Madrid, as a result not only of the

⁶⁵ *Diario de Madrid* no. 203, 1/19/1787, pp. 79-84, paragraphs XVIII-XX.

increasingly xenophobic character of Spanish nationalism, but also of the untenable cost of Italian opera companies.⁶⁶

Before the opening of Los Caños del Peral, the Countess of Benavente had supported a few productions of Italian opera in the Coliseo del Príncipe between 1783 and 1787.⁶⁷ These were sung in Spanish by the house actor-singers, the same ones who performed all the Spanish repertory of comedias, sainetes, tonadillas, and other genres. Spoken Spanish dialogue substituted for Italian recitatives. The Countess of Benavente paid for copies of the music, printed librettos, and extra orchestra musicians. Audiences liked these Spanish adaptations of Italian opera. Even once Los Caños del Peral started functioning in January 1787, the public spiritedly acclaimed the “zarzuela” (Spanish) version of Paisiello’s *Il Barbiere de Siviglia* in December of the same year, by the Rivera company at El Príncipe. The opera/zarzuela inspired some anonymous octavas that congratulated the production for its success, published in the *Diario de Madrid*:

Nació en Paris de padre conocido
El dichoso Barbero de Sevilla
En Rusia de Paisiello protegido
Ascendió á ser del orbe maravilla:
de un afecto Extrangero conducido
Se presentó al Teatro de Castilla
Y el público español le dió, no en vano,
El honor que el francés y el italiano.

*In Paris, to a well-known father,
The blessed Barber of Seville was born
In Russia, by Paisiello protected,
He soared to be of the world a wonder:
Led by an affectionate Foreigner
He appeared on Castilian Theater
And the Spanish audience gave him, not in vain,
The [same] honors as the French and the Italian.*

⁶⁶ Charles IV issued this royal order on December 28, 1799. The measure was extended to all of Spain on January 14, 1801: “Pieces in a language other than Castilian shall not be performed, sung, or danced in any theater of Spain, and they must be by national actors and actresses, or naturalized in these kingdoms, as is mandated for those [theaters] of Madrid in the royal order from December 28, 1799.” (“*En ningún teatro de España se podrán representar, cantar ni baylar piezas que no sean en idioma castellano, y actuadas por actores y actrices nacionales ó naturalizados en estos Reynos, así como está mandado para los de Madrid en Real orden de 28 de Diciembre de 1799.*”) *Novísima recopilación* (1805), Tomo III, libro VII, 670.

⁶⁷ According to Carmena y Millán in *Crónica de la ópera italiana en Madrid*, the operas at El Príncipe were: 1783, *I visionari* (Pasquale Anfossi); 1785, *L’italiana in Londra* (Domenico Cimarosa); 1786, *L’italiana in Londra* and *La serva padrona* (Giovanni Paisiello); 1787, *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (Giovanni Paisiello).

Conspiró contra él una Tirana
 Pero no quedó majo y *Castañera*
 Que para coronar su frente ufana,
 sus seis conspiraciones no venciera,
 Hasta que al fin de la tercer semana
 dejó á la Compañía de Rivera
 Con crédito y aplausos eternos
 Menos un pico ciento y seis mil reales

*A Tirana conspired against him
 But no majo or Chestnut Vendor was left
 Who, to crown his fine forehead,
 His six conspiracies could not vanquish,
 Until by the end of the third week
 He left the Rivera company
 With eternal credit and applause
 Just shy of a hundred and six thousand reales.*

The anonymous author highlighted the cosmopolitan trajectory of the Barber of Seville, which came to Spain via France, Italy, and Russia, without a hint of rejection, but rather in the spirit of camaraderie with fellow European countries. In the last line, he publicized the total earnings that *Il Barbiere* afforded the Coliseo del Príncipe, which surpassed those of all the comedias and sainetes playing at the same time in the rival Coliseo de la Cruz. The “zarzuelized” *Barbero de Sevilla* managed to defeat its very popular competitors.⁶⁸

As these verses illustrate, theater audiences often perceived Italian opera as being in competition with Spanish genres. The Theater of Los Caños del Peral prompted comparisons with the local coliseos regarding not only the *policía* and decorum of the space, but also the type

⁶⁸ *Diario Curioso, Erudito, Económico y Comercial* of December 22, 1787, p.710. Below the poem, the following notes I copy here his notes explaining some of the references in the poem, each preceded by the corresponding line number. (1) *Of a well-known father*: “*Le Barbier de Seville* composed in French by Mr. caron de Beaumarchais.” (2) *In Russia, by Paisiello protected*: “The empress of Russia, eager to hear the Barber of Seville better sung, had it translated to Italian, and commissioned the celebrated Maestro Paisiello to set it to music.” (5) *Led by an affectionate Foreigner*: “the most excellent Mr. ----.” (8) *The [same] honors as the French and the Italian*: “In the entire Italy and at the Paris opera, turned back to its mother language, it has been performed with general widespread applause.” (9) *A Tirana conspired against him*: “The tirana of *Las Pescaderas* [*The fisherwomen*], which produced no effect in theater, even though it had been liked when it was sung for a private audience.” (10) *But no majo or chestnut vendor was left*: “The sainete *Las castañeras* [*picadas*] by D. Ramón de la Cruz, without error, or indecency, that has been so well liked.” (12) *His six conspiracies could not vanquish*: “Aludes to the six comedies staged by the Martínez company [at the Coliseo de la Cruz] due to a praiseworthy emulation to please the audience... but which were neither able to thwart the merits of the Barber, nor the magnificent lighting of the Italian Theater.” (13) *Until by the end of the third week*: “This show came to an end because the Nativity theater was to be presented, on Sunday the 23rd, having started on the 3rd of the current [month].” (16) *Just shy of a hundred and six thousand reales*: “It yielded 105,973 rs.” Francisco Asenjo Barbieri (1823-1894) Spanish musicologist/composer transcribed the poem. To the last note he added: “...in the 21 performances, which comes to 5,046 each, almost a miracle for the time.” Barbieri’s manuscript note is in BNE, Mss/14016/3-210.

of spectacle, the singing and acting style. The *Correo de los Ciegos* published in June 1787 a letter that praised the *cómica* Catalina Tordesillas, yet assessed her unfit for the “gorgoritos” (ornamentations) required to sing Italian opera.⁶⁹ The letter resolved that what La Tordesillas lacked in operatic technique she possessed in expressivity, because when she sang she moved the hearts of her audiences.⁷⁰ In *The Tonadilla in Performance*, Elisabeth Le Guin concludes that the singing style required by Spanish stage music differed considerably from that of opera. The choice between Italian and Spanish singers spurred aesthetic debates throughout the late 1780s and the 1790s. The dichotomy between technique/artifice and expressivity formed part of many critiques and apologies, the former associated with Italian opera, the latter with Spanish music and language. The civilized spectacle of opera depicted in government regulations and in the writings of those who advocated for the reopening of Los Caños del Peral diverged from the actual meanings and uses of opera for musicians and audiences. *Teatro breve* pieces responded both to the institution of opera and to neoclassicist intents to divest theater from spectacle.

2.4.3 LATER REACTIONS TO LOS CAÑOS DEL PERAL IN THE *DIARIO DE MADRID*

Authors writing in the 1780s and 1790s found two ways to avoid censorship: to approach politics sideways through theater, and to adopt the regalist discourse of restoration to advance their own interests. They promoted a civilized, European Spain in terms of Bourbon regalist policies that sought to intensify royal control while projecting an image of progress and modernity. As Rodríguez Sánchez de León says, “theater criticism afforded journalists the possibility to put aesthetic ideas at the service of national interests, whether or not their intentions matched those of the national government.”⁷¹ The many newspaper articles in favor of

⁶⁹ Catalina Tordesillas was Italian at birth, but moved to Spain in her youth and performed in Spanish theaters for many years.

⁷⁰ Lorenzo Chamorro signed this letter to the *Correo de Madrid*, no. 71, June 23, 1787.

⁷¹ Rodríguez Sánchez de León, *La crítica dramática*, 27.

opera revealed the desire to cleanse Spain of pre-modern habits so that it could successfully join Europe. Pro-opera authors focused less on defensive apologies and more on restoration: “El perfecto modo de responder á las satiras de los Extrangeros es, enmendando nuestros defectos, vindicando asi la nación en esta parte...” (The perfect way to respond to the satires written by foreigner is to rectify our shortcomings, thus vindicating this part of the nation...).⁷²

The theater goes to the newspaper: Critics vs. Critics. Six letters about Los Caños del Peral dancers and singers, 1789

Since Madrid already had a rich musico-theatrical activity that appealed to middle- and working-class spectators as well as the upper classes, many Madrileños had strong feelings about musical theater. Those patrons in the cheaper localities took sides with one of the two local theaters, the Coliseo de la Cruz or its rival Coliseo del Príncipe. Theatergoers developed personal and group preferences towards certain performers and styles, and they voiced their opinions out loud, yelling at the performers, whistling, and clapping in patterns. Theater formed part of city life and conversations, possibly even for those who did not attend regularly. The following letter from the *Correo de los Ciegos* fictionalizes one such conversation:

Yesterday I found myself by chance in a conversation where the issue [the announcement of the rosters of the two city theater companies for the following year] was approached heatedly. Some of them were *Chorizos* [followers of the Coliseo of el Príncipe], others were *Polacos* [followers of the Coliseo de la Cruz]. Your honor can imagine their racket. Each one defended their party, and construed things their own way; firing ones; bringing in others; and giving everything for granted. Then entered the dispute about who sings better; who plays the part more naturally; whether that one [actress] mumbles; whether the other one doesn't handle herself well. Here it was. Oh, the things that were said!

A third theater (Los Caños del Peral) altered the Cruz-Príncipe dynamic, all the more because it entailed the import of foreign singers in a time when Spain continued to lose prestige

⁷² *Correo de los Ciegos* no. 52 (4-21-1787), 214.

in Western Europe. The letter quoted continued the imaginary conversation with the intervention of a third interlocutor that invited Chorizos and Polacos to look at Los Caños for a model of civilized spectacle. As Francisco Sánchez-Blanco observes, Enlightenment in late-eighteenth century Spain moved from politics to arts and culture. Art institutions became sites of contention to form opinions regarding the fate of the nation and the role of the different social strata in it.

The fact that Los Caños del Peral presented opera and pantomime forced theater critics to think about music and dance in different ways than the local coliseos did. Furthermore, the cluster of theater patrons at Los Caños intersected with that of press subscribers: nobles, military, and professionals. Six letters published in the *Diario de Madrid* from July to November of 1789 registered the experiments of newspaper readers in public opinion, and disclosed their reactions to new genres, embodied in specific singers and dancers. The male authors of all five missives wrote about (mainly) female singers and dancers of the opera and pantomime companies at the Theater of los Caños del Peral.⁷³ The letters also double as criticism in the form of a conversation that evokes the Republic of Letters.

Date	Diario issue #	Author
7-26-1789	No. 207, pp. 825-6 (Acker, 93)	“Elogio a los Autores, Actrices, Bailarines, ornato y orquesta de la Ópera Italiana por Antonio Rosales ”
8-21-1789	no. 233, p. 229 (Acker, 94)	Reply by Marcelino Torrones
8-27-1789	no. 239, pp. 953-4 (not in Acker)	Reply to Torrones by Juan Chamorro .
9-10-1789	no. 253, pp. 1009-1010 (Acker, 95)	Reply by Gonzalo Bazo
10-13-1789	no. 278, pp. 1111-2 (Acker, 96)	Reply by P.D.C.
11-28-1789 11-29-1789	no. 332, pp. 1325-6, no. 333, pp. 1329-30 (not in Acker)	Reply by Joseph Teran to P.D. Y C.

Table 2.2: Six letters about Los Caños del Peral singers and dancers, *Diario de Madrid*, 1789

⁷³ The letters refer to singers Sra. (Ana) Benini, Sra. Galli, Sra. Oltrabelli, singers; and dancers Sra. Pelosini Sra. Medina, Sra. Tantini.

The exchange of letters reveals that it was not clear for the authors whether public opinion should allow for multiple points of view or nurture one truth, in this case, the one availed by regalism. All the correspondents showed awareness of the existence of a reading public and of government censorship. They either spoke *for* or *to* the community of readers or *diaristas* (newspaper writers and readers), yet their approaches ranged from civil correspondence to the attacking tone of satire.⁷⁴ In the first two letters of the series, Rosales, a tonadilla composer active mostly in the 1770s, and Torrones, evoked the benefit of the nation in the polite spirit characteristic of salons.⁷⁵ A cultured nation, wrote Rosales, should not reject foreign artists, but host them and applaud their talents. Nevertheless, objected Torrones, Italian opera performers ought to be evaluated with the same rigor as local ones, since Madrid audiences already had gained enough critical expertise to form artistic judgments because they the Spanish coliseos regularly. In Torrones's view, most of the Italians performing at Los Caños were average at best. He felt they did not convey affects intensely enough.

In contrast to the amiable dissent between Rosales and Torrones, Chamorro, the third interlocutor, wrote from the apologetic trench, vilifying Torrones's "newly minted jargon."⁷⁶ Chamorro wielded the common weapons of apologists: to feel baffled by the culprit's mumble-

⁷⁴ Torrones: "The People of Madrid see, hear, and know, to discern the said circumstances: such lofty, and sublime praise, must indeed be admired, that D. Antonio Rosales, Author of this eulogy" ("*El Pueblo de Madrid ve, oye, y conoce, para discernir las expresadas circunstancias: debe admirarse a la verdad, de un elogio tan elevado, y sublime, que D. Antonio Rosales, Autor de este encomio, presenta a los Diaristas...*"). Chamorro: "Mr. Torrones, I keenly forgive you for not liking Mr. Rosales's praise: for thinking yourself the public's defendant, without any licence..." ("*Señor Torrones, yo perdono a Vmd. de buena gana que no haya gustado de los elogios del Sr. Rosales: que sin licencia de Rey ni Roque se crea defensor del público...*") Bazo: "If I did not fear to oppose, or breach the wise decisions of the Government, that forbid importunate critiques, or offending the decorum of the theater, or the actors, I would write a longer reply..." ("*Si no temiera oponerme, o faltar en algo a las sabias providencias del Gobierno, que no permiten críticas importunas, ni que se ofenda el decoro del teatro, ni de los actores, haría más extensa mi contestación...*").

⁷⁵ For a recent study on Antonio Rosales see Germán Labrador López de Azcona and Begoña Lolo, *La música en los teatros de Madrid I: Antonio Rosales y la tonadilla escénica* (Madrid: Alpuerto, 2005).

⁷⁶ "Juan Chamorro" could be a pseudonym equivalent to John Doe. It is also the name of the sacristan in Lope de Vega's *Fuente Ovejuna*. There are other satires and replies in the *Diario de Madrid* signed Crispín Chamorro.

jumble, to accuse the culprit of claiming unfounded authority, and to refute the culprit point by point. In the fourth letter, Bazo brought the tone of the conversation away from Chamorro's rant and closer to the initial civility of Rosales and Torrones, partly, he confessed, because the government proscribed open criticism. A month later, P.D.C. directed his attention away from the praise of specific performers and to the published correspondence itself, a meta-critic of the previous four letters. To P.D.C., none of the previous four writers had the authority or understanding to write criticism, and the whole exercise of opinion "in a matter that the public does not understand" turned out to be futile. His claim that criticism was the business of the specialists, and not of the general public, provoked Teran, the last correspondent in the thread, to vindicate his right to say whatever he wanted, because all others had done the same. That is, explained Teran, within the limits of reason and upbringing. In spite of his democratic impulse, he made it clear that status backed up the right to speak up publicly. According to Teran, the critic must educate, and P.D.C. made for a terrible teacher.

The theater goes to the tertulia: Italians vs. Spanish ... And two more letters, 1790

Those who did not send letters about the theaters to newspapers could join the colloquy viva voce. Some *tertuliantes* (tertulia attendees) felt saturated with the topic; as one *Diario de Madrid* letter signed by D.M.R.F. put it in 1790, "for a while now, the theaters of this Court [of Madrid] have provided a topic for nearly every gathering." At the core of the ongoing discussions about theater lay the discomfort with the imported genre of opera together with its equally imported, very costly Italian performers. Cosmopolitan-oriented patrons called for an open-armed welcome, whereas their opponents called into question the quality of the performances at Los Caños del Peral as well as the benefits of an Italian opera house for the court city of Madrid.

Los Caños del Peral offered Lenten concerts during the opera off-season, as did theaters in other European capitals. In Madrid, not only opera, but all musical theater performances at the coliseos came to a halt during Lent; in fact, this time of religious observance marked the end of the theatrical year, and of the coliseo employees' annual contract. This meant that, during Lent (as well as in the summer), actor-singers looked to supplement their income performing shows outside the coliseos. Before 1787, concerts and musical *academias* took place mostly in private residences, but after the reopening of Los Caños these events acquired public character and the newspapers started to consistently advertise the Lenten concerts. The concerts would have made it possible to keep paying the singers brought from Italy during the off-season, perhaps encouraging them to stay for the following year. Moreover, Lenten concerts belonged in the model of the European, cosmopolitan musical entertainment that the sponsors of Los Caños del Peral sought to institute in Madrid, together with opera and pantomime ballets.

Compared to the regular season, Lenten concerts presented a more varied bill that featured members of the Italian opera company as well as orchestra musicians who played concertos, sonatas, and symphonies. In some years, local actor/singers were enlisted to perform alongside their Italian counterparts. As the sample programs below note, some concerts featured sacred pieces – for example the “mystic academy” (*academia mística*) with Metastasian poetry on February 21 and 24, 1790.⁷⁷ However, the concerts do not seem to have focused on sacred music primarily. Given that the Lenten concert announcements published in the *Diario de Madrid* list most of the performers and some of the composers, but not the titles of the pieces, it is hard to know whether any of the arias and recitatives came from sacred works. Nonetheless, the adjectives “seria” and “buffa” point to opera rather than oratorio. Well-known names like Cimarosa, Paisiello, Anfossi, and Sarti shared the bill with composers like Antonio

⁷⁷ *Academias místicas* were possibly oratorios, or a genre akin to oratorios.

Rosetti and Mengozzi. Haydn, Pleyel, and Salieri dominated the symphonic roster, sprinkled here and there with German names like Karl Michael Esser (1737-c.1795, a famed viola d'amore player). Spanish composers like Luis Misón (1727-1766) seldom formed part of the roster. Like in Paris's Concert Spirituel, virtuoso performers often played concerti or sonatas of their own composition.⁷⁸ Like the singers, many of these virtuosi played for the Los Caños del Peral company or for other local orchestras, while a few instrumentalists came from orchestras in European courts, perhaps explicitly to perform at the concerts, or perhaps as part of a sojourn in Madrid. An example of these touring foreign virtuosi was German violinist Esser, who in 1788 played a violin sonata plucking the strings with a pencil, to imitate the psaltery, which was a very popular instrument in Madrid at the time. Also like in the Concert Spirituel, Italian music prevailed the programs.⁷⁹

*Sample programs from Los Caños del Peral
(taken from the Diario de Madrid)*

First concert, February 21 1790

Sinfonía compuesta en París de Antonio Roseti - Orquesta de 54 instrumentos.

Primera parte de la Academia Mística con poesía de Pedro Methastasio - Sra. Ana Benini, Sr. Joseph Berteli, Sr. Gerónimo Bédova, Sra. Rosalía Pelizzoni.
Concierto de violín - Melchor Ronzi, primer violín del TCP

Segunda parte de la Academia Mística con poesía de Pedro Methastasio

Sinfonía de Antonio Salieri

*Second concert, February 24 1790
Diario no. 53, p. 212*

Sinfonía nueva del Sr. Cimarosa

Primera parte de la Academia Mística con poesía de Pedro Methastasio
Concierto de clarinete - Carlos Carlec, músico del TCP

⁷⁸ See Daniel Hertz, *Music in European Capitals : The Galant Style, 1720-1780*, 1st ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003), 613.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 615.

Sinfonía nueva de Pleyel

Segunda parte de la Academia

Obertura de Antonio Roseti

Third concert, February 28 1790

Diario no. 59, p. 234

Sinfonía del Sr. Mtro. Prati

Aria de Foppa - Sra. Rosalía Pelisoni [Pelosini]

Aria bufa de Gazaniga - Gerónimo Bedoba

Alegro de obertura de Salieri

Aria de Mengozzi - Ana Benini

Recitado instrumental y aria seria de Andreozzi - Josef Berteli

Dúo bufo de Cimarosa - Ana Benini y Gerónimo Bedoba

Concierto de flauta - Manuel Julián, músico de las Reales Guardias Walonas y del TCP

Aria bufa de Tarqui - Gerónimo Bedoba

Sinfonía de Toerchi

Recitado instrumental y aria seria de Prati - Josef Berteli

Recitado instrumental y aria seria de Cimarosa - Ana Benini

Alegro de sinfonía de Aydem [Haydn]

Terceto bufo de Gullelmi - Ana Benini, Josef Berteli, Gerónimo Bedoba

Alegro de sinfonía

In 1790, the Coliseo del Príncipe scheduled "Spanish" Lenten concerts too, in an effort to demonstrate that local theater companies could match the Italian one.⁸⁰ The leading Spanish singers of the Príncipe company performed operatic excerpts as did the Italians did at Los Caños. According to Spanish musicologist Felipe Pedrell, the Count of Floridablanca ordered that a symphony composed by orchestra conductor Guillermo Ferrer be played at the "Spanish concerts" at the Coliseo del Príncipe, and violinist Pablo del Moral provided another Symphony. However, neither of them were symphonic composers, but rather tonadilla writers, and the

⁸⁰ Paris's Concert Spirituel also had programmed *concerts français* with secular works in French from 1728 to 1733, and then from 1786 to 1790. Eric Blom and Beverly Wilcox, "Concert Spirituel," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. (Oxford University Press, Web). July 1, 2016 <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06257>>.

opening symphonies of the 1790 Lenten series at Coliseo del Príncipe soon fell back to the hands of the usual suspects: Haydn, Pleyel, Cimarosa, and Paisiello. In 1791 all Lenten concerts, "arranged by the City," took place at the Coliseo del Príncipe, and by 1792 they had returned to Los Caños del Peral.⁸¹ The cast of singers in 1791 included Italian/Spanish *cómica* Catalina Tordesillas from the beginning, and three of the best local actress/singers were incorporated later in the series: sisters Lorenza and Petronila Correa, and Joaquina Arteaga. The Correa sisters also sang in the 1792 series, and Lorenza returned in 1793. The city repeated the experiment of separate Italian and Spanish Lenten concerts in 1797 and 1798, this time at the Coliseo de la Cruz, the other local theater.

The years with dual Lenten concert series prompted newspaper readers and theater audiences to evaluate Italian and Spanish performers shoulder to shoulder, and to discern whether Italian opera was the business of the Spanish people at all. The middle and upper classes of Madrid took sides, happy to feed on exciting conversation matter during Lenten season: "some criticize our comedias," continued D.M.R.F. in his 1790 letter to the *Diario de Madrid*, "others applaud Spanish Actors: here their shortcomings are blown out of proportion and so are the merits of the Italians, measuring the decency of one coliseo against the disrepair of the others."⁸² The author brushed aside those *apasionados* (passionate fans) who argued about theater on the basis of fandom for individual performers. These *apasionados* were working-class men who stood closest to the stage in the patio (yard) section of the coliseos. Instead, D.M.R.F. focused on the "*apasionados* for the national things", in other words, the nationalists. On the one hand, he pondered, one should love the patria; on the other, one should

⁸¹ *Diario de Madrid* no. 72 (3-13-1791), 295

⁸² "Unos critican nuestras comedias, otros aplauden a los Actores Españoles: aquí se exageran sus defectos, y ensalza el mérito de los Italianos, haciendo cotejo de la decencia de un Coliseo, con el descuido de los otros." *Ibid.*

neither systematically resist the changes in mores that resulted from conversation (interaction) with other nations nor be blind to national flaws.

D.M.R.F.'s three-part letter to the *Diario de Madrid* in 1790 harbored a concern that would grow throughout the 1790s in Madrid: that an Italian opera house would not improve Spanish theater, but rather diminish it. Given this risk, public opinion had the responsibility to tip the scales towards edification, not destruction. D.M.R.F. illustrated his point with an imagined tertulia conversation, published in the April 6 issue of the *Diario*. The controversies about the performance of a foreign musical genres had escalated in 1790 because right before the Lenten concert season, members of the opera ballet at Los Caños del Peral had danced a fandango and seguidillas *boleras* as part of Vicente Martín y Soler's opera *Una cosa rara* (1786, libretto by Lorenzo Da Ponte). The imaginary conversation printed in the *Diario de Madrid* in early April exposed that some patrons applauded the Italians that performed Spanish dances, but ridiculed the Spanish *cómicos* that sang Italian arias. In this fictional scene, the argument for and against local theaters escalated so much that it dissolved the tertulia, the attendants incapable of reaching consensus.

Economic considerations of theater underlaid aesthetic ones, so when *tertuliantes* discussed the merits and demerits of Italian opera, they were weighing whether the City of Madrid ought to invest in it. According to D.M.R.F., altercations about theater had been escalating in the last four years, that is, since Los Caños del Peral reopened in 1787. To put an end to endless tertulia squabbles, he offered a half-ounce of gold to whomever could provide concrete data about the income and expenses of the two Spanish Coliseos of La Cruz and El Príncipe, and of Los Caños del Peral. That way, he reasoned, *tertuliantes* could assess whether Italian opera yielded the cosmopolitan benefits it claimed versus its high costs. The reply to

D.M.R.F. appeared in the *Diario* three months later under the initials of D.Q.P.F.⁸³ The respondent went into budgetary detail, despite lack of access to financial documents, he explained. The City administered all three of Madrid theaters (Coliseo de la Cruz, Coliseo del Príncipe, Teatro de los Caños del Peral), took a third of their revenue, and paid for the administrative expenses.⁸⁴ The remaining two thirds of the revenue went to the salaries of the actor/singers. Additionally, the theaters were supposed to produce dividends destined to the city hospitals, for this had been the justification for their existence since they started out as corrales de comedias in the sixteenth century.

In reality, the city often subvented the theaters. Because the income and expenses of theater were processed through the apparatus of the city, theaters did not survive directly from their earnings. In fact, Michael F. Robinson and José Máximo Leza have demonstrated that the enterprise of Italian opera at Los Caños was never sustainable, and the theater proved insolvent from the start.⁸⁵ Emilio Casares Rodicio has proposed that Italian opera failed in Madrid in the 1790s because the infrastructure of Los Caños del Peral was always flawed. In his view, the impresario system was incompatible with traditional royal patronage of Madrid theaters. Casares Rodicio rejects the traditional explanation that the enterprise of Italian opera at Los Caños did not succeed because Madrid audiences disliked the genre.⁸⁶ Unlike the press industry,

⁸³ D.Q.P.F., *Diario de Madrid* (7-3,4-1790)nos. 184.pp. 735-6, and 185 pp. 739-42

⁸⁴ This third after the expenses of off-stage personnel (including musicians) had been covered, and also after the share for the hospitals. *Carta de un cómico retirado a los Diaristas, sobre los teatros* (Madrid, 1820), XVII.

⁸⁵ Michael F. Robinson, "Financial Management at the Teatro de Los Caños del Peral, 1786-99," in *Music in Spain During the Eighteenth Century*, eds. Malcolm Boyd and Juan José Carreras (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 29-52. José Máximo Leza, "Aspectos productivos de la ópera en los teatros públicos de Madrid (1730-1799), in *La ópera en España e Hispanoamérica*, eds. Emilio Casares Rodicio and Álvaro Torrente (Madrid: Ediciones del ICCMU, 2001), 231-62.

⁸⁶ Emilio Casares Rodicio, "La creación operística en España. Premisas para la interpretación de un patrimonio.," in *La ópera en España e Hispanoamérica: actas del Congreso Internacional La Opera en España e Hispanoamérica, una Creación Propia : Madrid, 29. XI-3. XII de 1999*, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio and Álvaro Torrente (Madrid Ediciones del ICCMU, 2001), 21-57.

Italian opera in Madrid did not find enough public subscribers to survive as an institution during the two last decades of the eighteenth century.

2.5 CONCLUSION

The combination of a public form of art— theater—highly relevant to society, with a boom in the printed press, and a new theater in a city dedicated to cosmopolitan entertainment, set the stage for discussions about the nature of music to leap beyond the pages of music treatises. No longer was music simply the private subject of trained specialists, as Cavaza would have had it, nor was it only an issue to be discussed in casual conversation. As the articles discussed in this chapter show, music was now up for discussion and negotiation between performers and readers, between audiences and critics. Texts like those of Simplicio Greco or the introduction to opera in the *Memorial* in February of 1787 may not have crystallized in a theoretical corpus, but they bridged discussions about music with issues of collective identity and with the aspirations to access culture, and in so doing, catch up with the pace of modern Europe.

CHAPTER 3: ENLIGHTENED OR FEVERISH? TARANTISM IN MADRID,

1787

On June 25, 1787, a 14-year old boy named Ambrosio Silván was brought to the Madrid General Hospital to see a doctor named Bartolomé Piñera y Siles. The patient presented facial paralysis, body spasms, sweats, fever, nausea, and an accelerated pulse. He could not walk. The doctor could not provide a diagnosis right away, but after a few days of observation, he concluded that a tarantula had bitten the patient. With some hesitation, he decided to try music as a cure. Ambrosio's music-and-dance treatment lasted about forty days; during this time, the elite of Madrid visited the hospital to see him dance frantically to the beat of a tarantella played by two medical interns. The boy, the music, and the spider captivated Madrid's attention for a good part of 1787. Soon, camps were divided between the *incrédulos*, or those who refused to believe in tarantism, and those who had accepted it.

In this chapter, I will investigate early stages in the formation of modern public opinion in Spain through oral and printed discussion of, as well as reactions to tarantism cases including that of young Ambrosio. I will argue that both musical and medical debates constituted main avenues for Madrileños to access and assimilate scientific paradigms about sensation and perception, in particular, those related to the effects of music on humans. Even though the two medical treatises here analyzed still subscribe to humoral theory, they engage with principles of sensism and mechanicism, recalling the early Spanish Enlightenment, which focused on science much more than the late Spanish Enlightenment did. Furthermore, I suggest that tarantism became a public issue because the press and a few musical pieces made the phenomenon available in handy formats such as newspaper articles of different lengths and depths, pamphlets, songs, and even a tonadilla.

I will engage with medical and journalistic texts about tarantism including a short musical piece for the stage, in an attempt to bring to life the commotion that these musical

healings caused in 1787 Madrid. The two main medical sources about tarantism in eighteenth-century Spain were published in Madrid in 1787. The first one is a treatise on tarantism by Toledo physician Francisco Xavier Cid, who gathered his cases from local doctors in rural La Mancha; the second is the single-case medical report that Bartolomé Piñera y Siles wrote about Ambrosio's treatment at the Madrid General Hospital. The third main source for this chapter is not medical, but musical: a trio tonadilla by Esteve titled *El Atarantulado (The Tarantula-Bitten Man)*, composed and performed also in 1787. *El Atarantulado*, like the majority of tonadilla manuscripts, was preserved in the archives of the city coliseos, and is currently hosted at Madrid's Biblioteca Histórica Municipal.

3.1 MEDICAL SOURCES

To further understand how the Spanish made their way into modernity, I will now turn to the medical accounts of tarantism and their social reception. While Doctor Cid's medical treatise speaks to a fascination with newfound scientific paradigms in Physics and Biology, Doctor Piñera y Siles's case study from Madrid General Hospital attests to medical practices as well as social dynamics at work when he mentions visitors who came to see the tarantula-bitten young man. The use of music to heal those afflicted with venomous tarantula or scorpion bites relied on humorism—the Hippocratic theory that the body works based on the interaction of fluids – or humors – such as blood and bile. Under this framework, music essentially causes bodily fluids to move, the bitten person to dance vigorously, and to eventually sweat the venom out.

3.2.1 *TARANTISMO OBSERVADO EN ESPAÑA*, FRANCISCO XAVIER CID.

Francisco Xavier Cid's sources

Cid's long book was printed in 1787.² All of the cases he cites are third-person accounts, which he had been collecting for a few years in his hometown, Toledo. At the beginning of his treatise, Cid demarcates two camps of opinion in regards to tarantism before making his own contribution to the scholarship. First and foremost was the Italian Giorgio Baglivi (1668-1707), and several others supporting the case for tarantism before him, notably the German Jesuit Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680) and the French natural historian, Noël-Antoine Pluche (1688-1781). Discrediting tarantism, including Baglivi and his predecessors, were the Frenchmen Charles-Augustin Vandermonde (1727-1762) and Boissier de Sauvages (1706-1767), who in turn quoted the Italians Francesco Serao (1702-1783) and the pope's own doctor, a certain Tarenti. Suspicious of the rational strand of French Enlightenment, Doctor Cid set off to prove his theories about tarantism through experimentation and observation. Cid saw Baglivi as a fellow scientist, and all the later French and Italian authors as *critics* (not scientists) who rejected the received knowledge of the time without experimental justification. In this sense, Cid's work (like Baglivi's) favored empiricism and repudiated Cartesianism.³ Cid saw in criticism the same flaws that empiricists saw in Cartesianism and other forms of rationalism, namely, that they relied on knowledge based on speculation and opinion, rather than experimental data. At the same time, the Toledo physician did not find a contradiction between his reliance on observation, and the fact that most of that observation was conducted by individuals other than himself. He defended the value and authority of transmitted knowledge, as long as the sources subscribed to the principles of sensism and empiricism. Anti-Cartesianism had long formed part of medical

² Francisco Xavier Cid, *Tarantismo observado en España ... y memorias para escribir la historia del insecto llamado Tarántula, efectos de su veneno en el cuerpo humano, y curación por la música ...* (Madrid: Manuel Gonzalez, 1787).

³ According to medical historian Juan Manuel Núñez Olarte, empiricism also dominated medical activity at Madrid's hospitals, where Piñera y Siles worked. Physicians and surgeons mistrusted systematic approaches informed by rationalism. Juan Manuel Núñez Olarte, *El hospital general de Madrid en el Siglo 18: Actividad médico-quirúrgica* (Madrid: Editorial CSIC, 1999), 156-7.

tradition in Spain, ever since the times of the *novator* (precursor of Enlightenment) physician and philosopher Martín Martínez (1684-1734)

Cid decided to write his book to support and expand the 1695 treatise of Giorgio Baglivi, a Croatian-Italian anatomist who grew up in Apulia, the cradle of tarantism in Southern Italy. From 1704 onwards, many editions of Baglivi's *Of the Tarantula's Anatomy, Bite, and Its Effects (De anatome, morsu, et effectibus tarantulae)* were printed as part of his *Opera Omnia*. Baglivi was mostly influenced by the Hippocratic tradition, and believed in non-invasive, holistic medical treatments that relied on the ability of the body to heal itself. This approach fit in well with Baglivi's suggestion that tarantula bites should be treated with music. Both Cid and Baglivi wrote from anti-rationalist positions. Baglivi starts his *De anatome, morsu* with an affirmation of his own authority in the study, including a detail that no other tarantism authors before him had lived in Apulia (with the exception of the physician Epifanio Ferdinando (1569-1638), who lived and worked in Mesagne, near Brindisi). Tarantism, according to Baglivi, could only be directly observed in Apulia, because only in this region did tarantula bites have poisonous effects. Cid adopts Baglivi's emphasis on the uniqueness of his location, and calls Madrid "the Spanish Apulia." Elsewhere, Baglivi also insisted on the experimental foundation of his treatise, which he wrote based on "observation and practice," a method that Cid seeks to replicate.⁴ Baglivi often presented himself as a martyr for the sake of natural observation, willing to suffer embarrassment in his accounts of tarantism. And, in case that his tales should sound irrational, he pleads the reader to "attribute [my embarrassment] to my natural fear of cutting the straight thread of nature with my either unlearned or inelegant reasoning."

In general, Baglivi's *De anatome, morsu* leans more towards the medical and anatomical than Cid's *Tarantismo observado*. For example, Baglivi first mentions music in the second half of his essay, whereas Cid inserts a description of tarantella music right after he defines tarantism, near the beginning of the treatise. However, both authors undoubtedly believe music to be the most effective treatment, and both recommend the use of music to treat other ailments

⁴ Giorgio Baglivi, "Intorno all'anatomia, morso ed effetti della tarantella," in *Opere complete medico-pratiche ed anatomiche di Giorgio Baglivi* (Florence: Sansone Coen, 1841).

as well.⁵ Baglivi, for his part, recommends iatromechanics, the application of physics to medicine, to develop a fibro-centric physiological model. According to this model, movement and vibration stimulates the nerves (fibers), which in turn transmit mechanical signals to the brain.⁶ Cid adopted this principle, but directed his attention more specifically to *iatrophonics*, the application of sound to medicine, which had been studied in the mid-eighteenth century by Spanish friar Antonio Rodríguez in his little-known treatise “Yatro-Phonia, o Medicina Musica”.⁷

Before Baglivi, Athanasius Kircher had also written about tarantism in his *Magnes, De arte magnetica* from 1641.⁹ Cid cites Kircher much less often than Baglivi, and only tangentially. Nonetheless, a word must be said about this author since his *Musurgia Universalis* influenced eighteenth-century music theorists and aesthetes all across Europe, including Spanish ones.¹⁰ Kircher’s *Musurgia* constituted an authoritative source for Spanish theorists throughout the century, whether they then chose to accept or reject his speculative approach to music.¹¹

⁵ “Del resto rimangono affatto inutili tanto questi, quanto gli altri remedii que possono proporsi, se non si adopri prontamente la música... Di fatto la musica è il principale per coloro che sono morsi dalla tarantella (Baglivi, *Intorno*, 702-3). “De lo dicho hasta aquí se infiere que las sangrías, alkáli volátil y alexífarmacos no son tan poderosos remedios en la curación del tarantismo como quiere persuadir el Dr. Irañeta, y que únicamente le es la música *Tarantela* ó alguna otra sonata análoga al veneno.” (Cid, *Tarantismo*, 203-4).

⁶ See Pilar León-Sanz, “Music Therapy in Eighteenth-Century Spain: Perspectives and Critiques,” in *Music and the Nerves, 1700-1900*, ed. James Kennaway (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014). 103.

⁷ In his *Tarantismo*, Cid refers several times to Rodríguez’s *Jatrophonia*. Antonio José Rodríguez (O. Cist), “Yatro-Phonia, o Medicina Musica,” in *Palestra critico-medica en que se trata introducir la verdadera Medicina, y desalojar la tirana intrusa de el Reyno de la Naturaleza* (Madrid: Imprenta Real de la Gaceta, 1744).

⁹ Athanasius Kircher, “De tarantismo, siue Tarantula Apulo Phalangio eiusque Magnetismo, ac mira cum Musica sympathia,” in *Magnes siue De arte magnetica opvs tripartitvm, quo praeterquam quod vniversa magnetis natura, eiusque in omnibus artibus & scientijs vsus noua methodo explicetur, è viribus quoque & prodigiosis effectibus magneticarum, aliarumq[ue] abditarum naturæ motionum in elementis, lapidibus, plantis & animalibus elucescentium, multa hucusque incognita naturæ arcana per physica, medica, chymica & mathematica omnis generis experimenta recluduntur*. (Coloniae Agrippinae: Kalcoven Iodocum, 1643), 755-76.

¹⁰ For example, Antonio Ventura Roel del Río (fl. 1748), who engaged in polemics with music theorists [Antonio] Rodríguez de Hita and Father [Antonio] Soler, but accepted Antonio José Rodríguez (O. Cist.)’s *iatrophonia*. Kircher also influenced Antonio Soler’s explanation of counterpoint. See Francisco José León Tello, *La teoría española de la música en los siglos XVII Y XVIII* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Español de Musicología, 1974), 193, 96, 247.

¹¹ Antonio Eximeno rejected Kircher’s numerical counterpoint rules in his *Delle origine e delle regole della musica* (1774). *Ibid*, 281.

Yet Kircher did not write about tarantism in his musical treatise, but rather in his text on magnetism, entitled *Magnes*. According to Ernesto De Martino, Kircher's mid-seventeenth century work epitomizes the humanistic interest in tarantism as a phenomenon that gave insight into the effects of music on the mind and body. Ultimately, De Martino continues, Kircher's ideas harken back to the natural magic of classical antiquity. Indeed, the German Jesuit devotes a long section of *Magnes* to "magnetic natural magic." Whereas Kircher belongs to the world of Renaissance and Baroque music theory founded on Pythagoric, Platonic, and Hippocratic principles, Baglivi instead studies tarantism from the medical perspective, as a disease.¹² As Gary Tomlinson explains, in Baglivi, the magical and the medical aspects of tarantism parted ways from Kircher, in which they coexist.¹³

Cid's reaction against other authorship

In the mid-eighteenth century, a few French and Italian authors dismissed the theories of tarantism, both magical and medical, as nothing more than a fantastic story for the gullible and uneducated. Such a dismissal provoked Cid, who, like other authors of the Spanish Enlightenment, sought to reconcile new scientific ideas with received ones that had gained authority through time. Cid first reacted to the entry "Tarantisme" in Vandermonde's *Dictionnaire portatif de santé dans lequel tout le monde peut prendre une connaissance suffisante de toutes les maladies*, originally published in Paris in 1759, but only known to Spanish authors in its 1761 (third) edition.¹⁴ Vandermonde, in his *Dictionnaire portatif* acknowledges the symptoms of the tarantula bite, but dismisses musical healing as "fabulous," and specifically targets Baglivi. His Italian sources, or so affirms Vandermonde, assured him that tarantism patients died in spite of any dancing they did. The only plausible connection he

¹² Ernesto De Martino, *La terra del rimorso* (Milan: EST, 1996), 242-3.

¹³ Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic : Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 164.

¹⁴ Cid names the *Dictionnaire*, but not the author. He actually mentioned "the authors," because the title page attributed the book to Mr. L*** and Mr. de B***.

finds between tarantism and music lies in the psychological aspects of it, since victims were reported to become melancholic after the bite. Unlike Baglivi and Cid, Vandermonde did not see anything unique to tarantism's regional conditions; for him, tarantula venom resembled that of snakes, and should be treated similarly.¹⁵ His stance thus eradicates all the cultural-spatial aspects of the disease which Baglivi and Cid had underlined. In reaction, Cid called Vandermonde a "contradictory spirit," someone who attempted to change people's minds using words alone, without any observational foundation to support criticism of received theories.¹⁶

After the *Dictionnaire portatif*, Cid encountered the medical works of François Boissier de Sauvages de la Croix. In the seventh volume of his *Nosologia Medica*, Sauvages defined tarantism as an "immoderate desire of dancing," and classified it under "diseases that affect reason/ depraved desires and aversions," together with nymphomania, bulimia, and homesickness. Sauvages's systematic description of illness approximated Carl Linnaeus's cataloguing efforts and moved away from the iatromechanics of Baglivi (and Cid).¹⁷ In his description of tarantism, Sauvages confronts Baglivi with the Neapolitan physician Serao. Serao had observed cases of tarantula bites in Rome. He never saw the victims healed through dance, but only through diaphoretics (sweat inducers). In addition, the French physician acknowledged regional cultural conditions, and classified several types of tarantism accordingly. For Sauvages, a "vulgar prejudice" attributed Apulian tarantism to the tarantula bite and merely built an entire

¹⁵ Charles-Augustin Vandermonde, *Dictionnaire portatif de santé, dans lequel tout le monde peut prendre une connoissance suffisante de toutes les maladies, des différents signes qui les caractérisent chacune en particulier, des moyens les plus sûrs pour s'en préserver, ou des remèdes les plus efficaces pour se guérir, & enfin de toutes les instructions nécessaires pour être soi-même son propre médecin. Le tout recueilli des ouvrages, tant anciens que modernes, des médecins les plus fameux, & augmenté d'une infinité de recettes particulières, & de spécifiques pour toutes sortes de maladies. Par Mr. L***, ancien médecin des armées du Roi, & Mr. de B***, médecin des hôpitaux. Nouvelle édition. , 3rd ed., 2 vols. (Paris: Philippe Vincent, 1761), Vol. 2, 504-5; *ibid.**

¹⁶ "Si seguidamente á esta infundada crítica se hubiera apoyado su magistral aserto en alguna ó algunas observaciones..." "Pero como quieren únicamente forzar el entendimiento con sola su palabra, sin otra prueba que le convenza de lo contrario de lo que con sólidos fundamentos tiene créido, no causó en él [in Cid himself] sino el desprecio que justamente se merecen unas críticas hechas por espíritus de contradiccion, con expresiones vivas, chocantes, y llenas de vanidad y envidia." Cid, *Tarantismo*, 3.

¹⁷ Gino L. Di Mitri, *Storia biomedica del tarantismo nel XVIII secolo*, Biblioteca di Lares Nuova serie 59 (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 2006), 181.

nosology on humoral theory. He found the real cause to be the dry, hot weather of the region, which prompted an inordinate desire for dance in its inhabitants.

Because Sauvages considered tarantism a nervous disease and not a case of poisoning, he focused on its emotional and behavioral symptoms. As a result, he admitted all of Baglivi's accounts of the patient's preference for certain colors and music genres. Sauvages also accepted Baglivi's fake tarantism, or *carnevaletto delle donne*, and proposed a broader category that he called "tarantismus musomania" to encompass any kind of excessive penchant for music and dance.¹⁸ Sauvages's reliance on the Italian physicians Serao and Tarenti almost persuaded Cid against the received opinion (accumulated from antiquity up to Baglivi) that tarantism derived from tarantula bites and must be healed through music. Nonetheless, Cid concluded, these physicians' refutations were too recent to possibly have amassed enough data to discredit such long-held beliefs.

Cid's mistrust of French authors thus encompassed two conflicts that Enlightenment thought posed for Spanish intellectuals: one, that the Enlightenment rejected all received knowledge, and two, that it left little room for belief in the invisible – in this case, that music could heal. Taken to the extreme, this particular strand of enlightened thought threatened Catholicism, since it could lead to rejection of Church traditions or belief in miracles, and, ultimately, God. The challenge for Doctor Cid was then to get on board with scientific advances while also preserving the core tenets of a faith that was essential to Spanish identity. He found the perfect solution in the medical use of music. Although at first glance Cid might simply be recalling seventeenth-century authors like Baglivi and Kircher, his treatise functions as a deliberate choice in favor of early Spanish-Enlightenment thought rooted in sensism and

¹⁸ François Boissier de Sauvages, *Nosologie méthodique ou distribution des maladies en classes, en genres et en especes suivant l'esprit de Sydenham, & la méthode des botaniste par François Boissier de Sauvages,...* traduite sur la dernière édition latine, par M. Gouvion, docteur en médecine. On a joint à cet ouvrage celui du chev. von Linné, intitulé *Genera morborum*, avec la traduction française à côté., 10 vols., vol. 7 (1772), 262-76.

empiricism over that of the French philosophes, and especially what Jonathan Israel has called “radical Enlightenment”.¹⁹

Musical healing in Francisco Xavier Cid

Cid details the mechanical ways in which music affects the body in a chapter entitled “Philosophy of Music.” In this chapter, he builds on the work of famous scientists whose theories did not contradict religion, like Robert Boyle, who in the seventeenth century wrote about physical mechanics as well as theology. From Boyle, Cid takes up the iatromechanistic idea that air is elastic, and thus that it transmits sound vibrations to the body. In the case of tarantism, Cid notes, the specific musical qualities of the tarantella tune target the venom fluids that have entered the body, and move them through air vibration, causing the victim to dance involuntarily. Triple meter and a lively rhythm were considered the most important musical elements for healing to be effective; however, Doctor Cid advises that even though many popular genres at the time had these characteristics, only the tarantella actually worked. Furthermore, he claims, it had to be played with a vihuela or with a violin to achieve optimal results. A blind man from La Mancha region, named José Recuero, specialized in playing the tarantella and was often called to play for therapeutic purposes. The rumor was that Recuero had learned the tarantella from a Milanese musician in 1760.²⁰ Another physician from La Mancha reported in 1787 that peasants from that region had learned to dance the tarantella from bitten patients themselves, and had incorporated it in their *saraos* – music and dance parties.²¹

Cid warned that delays in providing musical treatment could result in fatal consequences, and so in order to avoid medical errors he provided violin and vihuela

¹⁹ Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical enlightenment: philosophy and the making of modernity, 1650-1750* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

²⁰ Pedro Martínez de Anguiano, *Tratado completo de higiene comparada*, vol. 2 (Madrid: José María Magallón, 1871), 194.

²¹ Vicente Aguilera, "Descripción de la tarántula, su picadura y efectos que causa, con las observaciones hechas hasta ahora por D. Vicente Aguilera, Cirujano titular de la Villa de Manzanares," *Memorial Literario, Instructivo y Curioso*, no. 51 (1787): 575. The article also reported the death of two victims from the town of Valdepeñas, even after music treatment was applied.

transcriptions of five simple tarantella tunes in his book. All of the melodies are in A minor, compound triple meter, and they all follow a binary form, featuring continuous movement (see fig. 3.1). Significant physical exertion was required during the healing process as prescribed by Cid, both for the musician and the patient. The short pieces needed to be played in a loop for an hour or more, and if the musician were to change the melody to something other than a tarantella, the bitten man would immediately stop dancing and fall back into a spasmodic state. Similarly, if the musician lost his pace or went out of tune, the patient was said to feel affliction or sadness.²² Even though Cid affirms that music moved the soul, his whole theory of tarantism stems from a mechanistic reaction of the human body to music, a conception entirely different from the romantic idea of music expressing the spirit of an individual.²³



Figure 3.1: Tarantellas appended to Cid's *Tarantismo observado en España*

²² Cid took this idea directly from Baglivi. (Cf. Cid, *Tarantismo*, 174 and Baglivi, *Intorno*, 703).

²³ Cid often refers to the human body as “the machine,” accepting Cartesian mechanicism even though he rejects enlightened rationalism and its dismissal of received ideas.

For his part, Cid accepted the Aristotelian principle of common sense (*koinē aīsthēsis*), an intermediary between the senses and the soul that animated the body. Common sense allowed Cid to go into detailed perceptual processes while maintaining the existence of the soul - a crucial point for most Spanish enlightened thinkers. To this effect, Cid affirmed that music not only acted on the senses, but also on the soul, as well as on the affections. Following the doctrine of affections, Cid believed that “passions reside in certain parts of the body,” and that they respond mechanically to the appropriate stimuli. All of Doctor Cid’s mechanistic principles notwithstanding, in his text, he considers music “divine medicine,” because the effects of music, he claims, surpass those of science.²⁴ In turn, he hoped his experimental observations would impress “los ilustrados,” or the enlightened ones, so that they would “bow down their proud necks before the mysteries of musical healing, and move from these to worship holier ones.”²⁵

3.2.2 DESCRIPCIÓN DE UNA NUEVA ESPECIE DE COREA, BARTOLOMÉ PIÑERA Y SILES²⁶

Having taken a look at Doctor Cid’s medical treatise in an effort to reconcile the scientific paradigm with faith in the invisible, let us now change locations from the rural towns of La Mancha to the hospitals and theaters of metropolitan Madrid. Here, the 25-year old doctor and medical translator Bartolomé Piñera y Siles (1762-1831) treated young Ambrosio Silván during the summer of 1787, for what he diagnosed as tarantism. Ambrosio made a living as a locksmith apprentice, and he came to the Madrid General Hospital possibly from the outskirts of Madrid. When Piñera y Siles saw his spasms and partial paralysis, he diagnosed him with Saint Vitus’s

²⁴ Cid, *Tarantismo*, 315.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 92.

²⁶ Bartolomé Piñera y Siles, *Descripcion histórica de una nueva especie de corea, ó baile de San Vito, originada de la picadura de un insecto, que por los fenómenos seguidos á ella se ha creído ser la tarántula. Enfermedad de la que ha adolecido y curado á beneficio de la música Ambrosio Silvan: narracion de los síntomas con que se ha presentado, y exposicion fiel y circunstanciada del plan curativo que se ha practicado. Informe dado á la Real Junta de Hospitales*. (Madrid: Benito Cano, 1787). Between 1788-1791, Piñera translated and edited the fourth edition Scottish Enlightenment physician William Cullen’s *First Lines of the Practice of Physic*s. He had also translated in 1786 the *Observations sur la rage* by Laurent Charles Pierre Le Roux. In 1792-3 he engaged in polemics with Balmis, another physician at the General Hospital, about the use of agave to cure gonorrhoea, which Piñera rejected.

dance, today known as Sydenham's Chorea, an infectious bacterial disease that affects the brain and produces jerking movements of the face, legs, and arms. However, Ambrosio did not react to the customary treatment for that disease. One day, a pharmacist dressed in red accompanied Piñera y Siles to visit the young patient, and Ambrosio jumped up to hug the pharmacist. This made Piñera remember Giorgio Baglivi, who had written that those bitten by tarantulas developed a penchant for the color red.²⁷ The young locksmith then remembered that, about a month earlier, "an insect with many legs" had bitten him near the river at the outskirts of the city.

Music healing in Piñera y Siles

With this new information, Piñera changed his diagnosis to tarantism and decided to treat Ambrosio with music, but the hospital authorities would not hear of it. They said music and dance were highly inappropriate inside the hospital, and they feared that the whole city would poke fun at the hospital and write satires if the treatment were to fail. At this time, an acquaintance of Ambrosio's mother, Bernardo Merlo, told her that he knew how to play the tarantella, and that he would cure her son.²⁸ At the insistence of the patient's mother, Piñera convinced the director of the Hospital board to let him try the tarantella. The director obliged, and so they brought the musician Merlo into a private chamber inside the hospital. A few minutes after Merlo started playing his vihuela, the patient smiled blissfully and moved his head and arm, but when the doctor asked the musician to play faster, Ambrosio began to dance, even though he had not been able to walk since he had fallen ill. The medical account insists that Ambrosio danced very well, in spite of reportedly lacking the talent in his ordinary state. Since the doctor saw that the dance was helping, he arranged for daily sessions of musical therapy.

²⁷ Kircher too thought that tarantula victims loved some colors, like red, and loathed others, like black. Kircher, "De tarantismo," 758.

²⁸ Bernardo Merlo was a native of Valdepeñas, a town in La Mancha region, where Cid lived and had collected his cases.

The vihuela player then taught two medical interns how to play the tune.²⁹ In the rest of his book, Piñera describes the daily progress of his patient for a month and a half, from July 1st to August 11, 1787.

For his part, Piñera devotes only a short paragraph to the musical traits of the tarantella, which he obtained from a professional musician. He describes the music in terms of modal theory, using Zarlino's second system nomenclature:³⁰

The music or sonata that has been played for and has cured Ambrosio is the tarantella, which, as a music Professor has informed me, is a little song very similar to a contradance, formed in the Greek mode called Mixo-Lydian, corresponding to the one called sixth tone, which is vigorous, because its mode is major. That is, the sensation that it introduces into the spirit through the ear is more active if it is major, and more opaque and despondent if it is minor. From the said sixth tone it quickly and artlessly passes to the Phrygian mode, to conclude. This Greek mode corresponds to the one called first tone diapason, which is a semitone (or degree) and a half lower than the said sixth tone, the sensation of which is that of a minor mode. The fundamental note of the Mixo-Lydian is F. Faut, and that of the Phrygian mode is D. Lasolre.³¹

In the more common eight-mode classification, Piñera describes a binary form tarantella with the A section in (authentic) Lydian mode, and the B section in (authentic) Dorian. According to this explanation, the tarantella played by the medical interns (attributed to Merlo) differed considerably from those transcribed by Cid (attributed to Recuero), and were all in natural minor. This would perhaps explain why Ambrosio did not react to Recuero's songs, later played by a group of professional musicians brought into the General Hospital with the intention of experimenting on the patient.³²

²⁹ The names of the interns were Francisco Hermosa and Cosme de Barrio. One of them played the violin, and the other, the vihuela.

³⁰ See Harold S. Powers et al., "Mode," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. (Oxford University Press).

³¹ "La música ó sonata que se le ha tocado, y curado al Ambrosio, es la tarantela, y esta, según me ha informado un Profesor de música, es un jugueteillo muy semejante á una contradanza, y está formado en el modo Griego llamado Mixô-Lidio, correspondiente al que se dice sexto tono, que es vigoroso, por ser su modo mayor; esto es, la sensación que introduce por el oído al ánimo, mas activa si es mayor, y mas opaca y avatida si es menor. Desde dicho sexto tono pasa prontamente y sin arte al modo Frigio, para concluir. Este modo griego corresponde al que en España se llama diapason de primer tono, que dista del diapason del sexto referido, un semitono ó grado, y medio más abajo, cuya sensacion es de modo menor. El punto fundamental del Mixô-Lidio es F. Faut, y el del modo frigio es D. Lasolre." Piñera y Siles, *Descripción histórica*, 40.

³² *Ibid.*, 20.

Public opinion recorded in Piñera's report

Soon after Piñera prescribed daily dance sessions for Ambrosio, all of Madrid crowded at the hospital doors demanding to see the event. Piñera wrote:

Once the news of this unique phenomenon spread out, both men and women of all classes and conditions, some out of curiosity, and some out of disbelief, came down to the hospital and requested to see Ambrosio's dance. Neither locks nor guards were enough, for the people's bustle and horde broke the former and knocked down the latter more than once. In spite of the judicious measures implemented by Your Excellency, [the director of the hospital's board], from that day on the hospital room was nearly always full of people at the time of the dance.³³

Piñera made this note on July 5th of 1787. As he testifies, the young locksmith's disease and treatment had become half-scientific, half-miraculous summer entertainment for the city of Madrid.

As Madrileños followed the case's evolution, opinions contesting Piñera's medical decisions proliferated. The head nurse at the Madrid General Hospital, together with board members on duty there frequently attended the dance sessions as onlookers. Piñera supplemented musical therapy with other remedies as he saw fit, such as baths and infusions, each based on his daily evaluation of the patient. For example, on July 16th, he noted that Ambrosio had been losing weight, and cancelled the dance session, which, according to him, triggered "the invectives, satires, and taunts that envy and slander started firing at me."³⁴ Beyond the hospital's walls, the rumor spread that Ambrosio was dying due to Piñera's fanatical practices. Dodging criticism, Piñera then decided to resume musical treatment on July 31st without letting the greater Madrid society know of it, but wealthy and noble visitors still returned to interfere with the treatment. They demanded that the interns trick Ambrosio by playing different tunes, and waving objects in front of the patient in order to see his reaction - all in an effort to prove Piñera a liar. In the end, hospital authorities forbade all visitors, and Ambrosio was found cured on August 11, 1787.

³³ Ibid., 21.

³⁴ Ibid., 25.

3.3 THE SOCIAL RECEPTION OF TARANTISM

Piñera y Siles published his *Descripción de una nueva especie de corea* to counter criticism against his therapeutic practices.³⁵ He dedicated this extensive report to “the most excellent sir, and sirs, of the Royal Hospital Board.” The most excellent sir, the *hermano mayor* (eldest brother) of the hospital board was at the time Pedro de Alcántara Fernández de Híjar y Abarca de Bolea, 9th Duke of Híjar (1758-1808). This name is significant because the board of the hospital and the theater were one and the same; the Duke of Híjar was head director during the 1787 reopening of the Italian opera theater of Los Caños del Peral.

3.3.1 TARANTISM IN THE PRESS

Curious phenomena and crowds were nothing new to Madrid, but new modes of communication made Ambrosio’s case an issue of public opinion. In the 1780s, two forms of media were especially crucial to the formation of public opinion in Madrid: the press and the theater – or, more specifically, musical theater. At a time when the press was flourishing in Spain, and a true reading public emerging as the proto-subject of public opinion, Ambrosio’s case and Cid’s treatise generated printed debates in several different journals up until 1790. I have identified twenty-eight tarantism-related articles in Madrid periodicals between 1787 and 1790, plus two more in 1793. Newspapers brought tarantism squarely into the center of public debate through multiple articles and letters, but also by advertising the works of Irañeta, Cid, and Piñera y Siles - each of these written in the vernacular rather than in Latin, like Baglivi’s work.³⁶

³⁵ Normally, the report would have been presented only to the hospital board. Aurelio Valladares Reguero, "El médico ubetense Bartolomé Piñera y Siles y la polémica sobre los efectos curativos de la música: el tarantismo en el siglo XVIII " *Códice*, no. 12 (1997): 41.

³⁶ Pilar León Sanz, *La tarantola spagnola. Empirismo e tradizioni nel XVIII secolo.*, trans. Ilaria Gesi (Nardò: BESA Editrice, 2009), 26.

Pamphlets

In July 1787, while Ambrosio was still a patient at the hospital, an unknown author extracted parts of Cid's long treatise and brought them together with a summary of the Madrid case in an eight-page pamphlet which circulated more widely than the original books. The pamphlet, entitled *Portrait of the Tarantula (Retrato de la Tarántula)*, included Cid's own drawings of the tarantula, which also became very popular. According to the *Memorial Literario*, a monthly Madrid journal that offered book reviews and summaries, the objective of the pamphlet was to avoid any deaths due to lack of knowledge about treatment. At least three Madrid libraries sold this brochure, and also offered Cid's book to those who wished to learn more. During the same period, there was another pamphlet published entitled *Rare and Peculiar Phenomenon*, which has not survived, but was refuted by Doctor Piñera y Siles as "false and inaccurate," published only for profit, and lacking corroboration. Piñera, for his part, had anticipated criticism; he had consulted all the historical accounts of tarantism, including Kircher's, but his report also competed with the recent treatise by Cid, and with the ensuing pamphlet.³⁷ Additionally, Piñera and Cid rebutted a 1785 treatise by one Doctor Irañeta, who had accepted the phenomenon but denied the effectiveness of musical therapy, recommending ammonia as a more effective remedy. Irañeta's book prompted partisanship between those who believed in musical healing and those who did not. To add insult to injury, he declined Piñera's invitation to witness one of Ambrosio's dance sessions at the General Hospital.³⁸

³⁷ This now-lost pamphlet was advertised in 1788 together with Cid's and Piñera's treatises in the catalogue of medical books of the London's *The Gentleman's Magazine* (vol. 58, part 2).

³⁸ I do not discuss Irañeta's treatise here because it excludes musical healing. Manuel Irañeta y Jáuregui, *Tratado del tarantismo, ó enfermedad originada del veneno de la tarántula según las observaciones que hizo en los Reales Hospitales del Quartel General de San Roque... Se trata de paso de los efectos de otros animales venenosos, y su curacion* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1785).

Newspapers and journals

The medical reports by Cid and Piñera would have merely remained in the interests of few had newspapers and pamphlets not disseminated the story and debate over music healing. In fact, the entire printed dialogue could not have occurred in Spain just one decade earlier. It was only in the last two decades of the eighteenth century that Spain experienced the “journalistic wave” which had already swept through Europe. Spanish editors and publics were not ready to consolidate press activity until 1781, when production shifted from state or church patronage to a subscription-based market. This shift in funding resulted in newspapers and journals that were strong enough to generate their own reading public, and to influence collective opinion. By 1787, there were four more periodicals in circulation than at the beginning of the decade.

Immediate press reactions

Newspapers brought a fascination with music and medicine into Madrid’s households. For example, on July 30, 1787 the *Diario de Madrid*, a daily newspaper, announced that “with the authorization of the General Superintendent of the Police,” people could come to the Calle de las Carretas in downtown Madrid to see a live tarantula for only four quarters per person.

On August 8th, yet another physician named Miguel Bea de Navarra sent his own observations on tarantism in a letter to the same daily. This doctor went to visit some patients at the china factory, located on the road that led to the windmill by the Manzanares River, where Ambrosio had been bitten. This newspaper story thus placed tarantulas in a location which was still technically at the outskirts of the city, but now closer and not nearly as remote as the fields of La Mancha where Cid located his cases. While at the china factory, one of the workers showed Bea de Navarra a curiosity: he had found a bug that would crawl up his clothes with rhythmic movements when he played the guitar. The doctor took the bug with him to Madrid, thinking it could be a tarantula, and conducted further musical tests. Supporters of tarantism believed that tarantulas danced to the tarantella because their bodily fluids reacted to the tune, and so that

when they bit a person, these same fluids were transferred into the person's body causing him or her to dance.

The newspaper editors followed this article with a warning that Madrid inhabitants should not panic, since tarantulas were seldom found within the city. Furthermore, the editors continued, scholars had not unanimously accepted tarantism. As an example, they mentioned two French scientists who had disproved the phenomenon. The *Diario* editors sought to soothe their readers, especially young ladies who played the harpsichord or the guitar at home, and feared that they may by chance attract tarantulas with their music. In fact, publications on tarantism specifically described the Italian tarantella by comparing it to the Spanish dance forms of folías, fandangos, or canarios. All three genres use a basso ostinato that allows for improvisation, as does the tarantella. When writers described tarantellas in terms of native Spanish melodies, they brought the phenomenon closer to home – to a more local reality, as did the warning to Madrid's young ladies.

Controversies around Piñera and Ambrosio's case

An intense tarantism *querelle* in the press had developed between believers and disbelievers. A week after Bea de Navarra's article, an open letter to the *Correo de los Ciegos* (the other Madrid daily) derided the *Diario* and the (then) tri-weekly *Espíritu de los mejores Diarios Literarios que se publican en la Europa* for vulgarizing their content. The author signed his name Lucas Alemán y Aguado, the pen name of medical author, journalist, and playwright Manuel Casal y Aguado (1751-1837). The attack related to the articles on tarantism tangentially: the brouhaha surrounding Ambrosio's case did not escape Casal. As a physician and medical author, he must have read the books by Cid, Piñera, and Irañeta, and he surely knew the *Portrait of the Tarantula* pamphlet. In his letter, Casal created a false anecdote in order to convey his mockery. He transcribed several satirical verses railing against the *Espíritu de los mejores Diarios*, which he claimed he saw printed on a paper cone that the wine merchant used to hand him his legumes (of course, the verses were his own). The metaphor of the paper cone

served Casal to express a false indignation that the *Espíritu* “[was] going around the public deposits of ointments, oil, and similar cheap products,” just like “the Gaiferos verses, the *Tarantula Account* [*Portrait of the Tarantula* pamphlet], and the portrait of La Caramba.” What Casal really meant was that Madrid’s newspapers existed merely as objects of popular consumption, lacking true literary or scientific interest, much like the tarantula pamphlet. Casal listed the portrait of La Caramba, the most famous Madrid actress-singer of her time, as another worn-out, hand-to-hand item.³⁹ In his perception, the *Diario de Madrid*, the *Espíritu*, and the tarantism articles held only a cheap entertainment value.

Whereas many Madrileños remained skeptical of tarantism, others advocated for it in the press. A week after Casal published his anti-pamphlet verses, the *Correo* published a letter and a sonnet defending Piñera and Cid from “many stubborn [people], *especially two physicians.*” One of the two alleged critics was likely Irañeta; the other was likely Cid or Casal. This letter finds “the stubborn” guilty of incredulity, in spite of the evidence provided by Cid and by Piñera. The following month, however, objections against Piñera prevailed again in a long letter spread over three *Correo* issues (nos. 95, 96, 97). In this text, the anonymous author considers tarantism an antiquated belief, “an illusion or deceit” already declining in Apulia, but gaining traction in Spain. While he does not completely deny the existence of the disease, he maintains that Ambrosio most definitely did not suffer from it, and so renders the issue moot in Madrid.⁴⁰

In October 1787, the polemics on tarantism and on Ambrosio’s case continued. Both the *Diario de Madrid* and the *Espíritu de los mejores diarios* announced a “Report about the Tarantula” published in the French by a Count of B..., a Polish starost living in Naples.⁴¹ The *Diario* editors selected this article from the French *Journal D’Histoire Naturelle* because they thought it could “contribute to resolve the doubts, and the diversity of judgments, still enduring

³⁹ The portrait of La Caramba was an engraving created by Juan de la Cruz Cano as part of his *Colección de trajes de España*, published in 1777-8. See Elisabeth Le Guin, *The Tonadilla in Performance : Lyric Comedy in Enlightenment Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 83 ff.

⁴⁰ *Correo de los Ciegos*, 9/15, 17, 19/1787. Issues 95, 96, 97.

⁴¹ Michel-Jean Borch, (count of, 1751-1810) wrote this *Mémoire sur la tarentule* and sent it to one of the editors of the *Journal d’Histoire Naturelle*, who published it on issue X, p. 57, 1787.

among the public, and among certain professors, about the truth of the poison and the cure for its rare effects.” The ensuing description of the tarantula, the editors considered, clarified “the history of this spider, which for a while now has been exercising the imagination of some, and the gullibility of others.” The last 1787 journal article about tarantism appeared in issue 51 of the *Memorial Literario*, a brief dissertation and case study by La Mancha physician Vicente Aguilera.

Later press reactions

A few isolated articles in 1788 and 1789 steered the issue of tarantism towards more abstract ruminations on music. The *Memorial Literario*, a bimonthly journal which averaged 150 pages, compiled and translated excerpts from European and Spanish books along with more serious articles than those released in the *Diario* or the *Correo*. For example, in April, 1788, they published an extract of Piñera’s report. In November of that same year, another article was published refuting parts of Aguilera’s dissertation. This last *Memorial* article reflected on the types of music applied to tarantism victims, and rejected the idea that one and only one tune could heal them. Unlike Cid, this author believed that the healing effects derived not from the genre (of tarantella), but from musical properties, such as triple meter, *sesquialtera* proportion, dance airs (like contradance, minuet, or fandango), or short rhythmic values of quavers and semiquavers. Once the musical traits of the tarantella were abstracted, reasoned this author, Spanish musicians could compose multiple songs for musical therapy. Likewise, he recommended trying different instruments, each according to the status of the victim: for instance, flutes or bagpipes for shepherds, guitars or violins for peasants and servants, and violas, psalteries, or keyboards for those of the upper-class (“*gentes de estrado*”). After such class-oriented reflection, the author then asks Dr. Vicente Aguilera to simply apply musical therapy and stop analyzing it, lest pride corrupt him as it had corrupted many philosophers.⁴²

⁴² D.L.A.M., "Advertencias sobre la descripción de la tarántula," *Memorial Literario, Instructivo y Curioso*, no. 73 (1788).

The *Diario de Madrid* in turn published two short letters about music healing unrelated to tarantism in 1789, the first one anonymous (4-21-1789), and the second one by Bea de Navarra, the same doctor who had found the dancing tarantula at the china factory (12-11-1789). The April article extrapolates the narrative of tarantism to two cases: one of epilepsy in England, and one of delirium in France. The English epileptic patient was reportedly cured through dance, but the French patient presented a subtler bodily reaction, his fever receding when music was played in his chamber. These two cases expanded the range of diseases that music could cure to ailments beyond tarantism, and additionally broadened musical genres fit for therapy. In both cases, the only condition for effective treatment was that the music fit the patient's taste. In these cases, both patients played instruments, the first as an aficionado, the second as a professional.

The return of controversy, 1790

On December 23, 1789, a *Diario* letter signed by Patricio Sánchez, physician of the Village of Ágreda, drew Cid's attention once more to ongoing discussions about tarantism. Sánchez, in effect, rubbed salt in Cid's wound by recalling the editors' comments to Bea de Navarra's 1787 article about the dancing china factory tarantula. Sánchez reminded Cid that the shameless *Diario* editors had doubted tarantism when they advised their readers not to panic, and had also published the Count of Bosch's "Report about the Tarantula," which further questioned Cid's account of the disease. He also referred to the anti-tarantism letter in *Correo* issues 95-96-97, and finally to Piñera's denial that his handling of Ambrosio's case owed anything to Cid.⁴³

⁴³ From 1786 to 1788, another medical phenomenon had been publicized in the *Mercurio de España* and in the *Memorial Literario*. Several inhabitants in the La Mancha villages of Viso and Santa Cruz de Mudela had succumbed to an epidemic of intermittent fevers (*tercianas*), but those working or living nearby an antimony refinery were spared. Some doctors concluded that they had discovered a new remedy for fever in antimony, but the medical breakthrough was later proved false. Patricio Sánchez wanted Cid to reassure the Madrid readers that tarantism was not a similar scam, especially since Cid drew on cases from La Mancha.

Cid responded to Sánchez in six letters published in the *Correo* throughout February 1790. In these letters, Cid belittled those afraid of the tarantula venom as “weak spirits” unable to deal with the truth: “we ignore whether the admission of tarantula-bitten [Ambrosio] Silván to the General Hospital [of Madrid] escalated the panicky fears of the faint-hearted, but it is suspected that it happened.”⁴⁴ Cid specifically blamed the *Diario* editors who in 1787 had written that young ladies had nothing to fear because tarantulas did not roam around Madrid, as well as the international medical community for not accepting tarantism, accusing them of despotic capriciousness. Like Manuel Cavaza’s critique of *El Censor*, Cid denied the newspaper editors the authority to speak for the nation:

It seems as though these gentlemen *by their own authority* have sat on the chairs of the nation’s literary court, and like those who are not asked to account for their actions, they decide, resolve, and determine for no reason other than their whim. Indeed, to such despotism, to verdicts so unfounded and affirmations so absolutely false, any judicious man would oppose, if only to avoid shaming those who, *lacking merit of any kind*, seem to carry the nation’s voice – in matters of criticism – around the foreign kingdoms.⁴⁵

Cid based his defense on unique circumstances of time and place: tarantulas had, by 1790, multiplied and become more venomous in La Mancha due to years of draught and high temperature. As he claimed, authors who had doubted tarantism up to this point, including “the whole French nation,” simply had not been in an appropriate environment for witnessing the phenomenon. To judge from his reaction, Cid, like most of Madrid’s men of letters, believed that shaping public opinion via scientific writing was the prerogative of an elite class, since most common citizens lacked either the prerequisite merit or character.

⁴⁴ Francisco Xavier Cid, “Respuesta á la del Doctor Don Patricio Sánchez impresa en el número 321 del Correo de Madrid. Carta Primera.,” *Correo de los Ciegos*, February 3 1790, 2677.

⁴⁵ “Parece que estos señores de propia autoridad se han sentado en las sillas del tribunal literario de la nación, y como á quienes no se ha de tomar residencia, deciden, resuelven y determinan sin más razón que su antojo. Efectivamente á semejante despotismo, á fallos tan infundados y afirmativas tan absolutamente falsas no hay hombre de juicio que no se oponga por no exponerse á sonrojar sujetos que prescindiendo del mérito, sea el que quiera, parece que llevan la voz de la nación en punto de crítica por los reinos extranjeros.” “Carta segunda de Don Francisco Xavier Cid en continuación á la respuesta del Señor Sanchez sobre los Diaristas á cerca de Tarantismo,” *Correo de los Ciegos*, February 3 1790, 2677., emphasis mine.

3.4 MUSICAL SOURCES

In spite of young ladies' fear of tarantula bites, tarantism roused thrill and excitement. More than two centuries before the online meme, the people of eighteenth-century Madrid likewise desired a kind of immediate token of their excitement in reaction to tarantism. Further, they wanted to formulate their opinions through witty formats that might be shared with others. As studies on gossip have revealed, these informal codifications of knowledge and experience, while perhaps less impressive than scientific treatises and open letters to the press, also shaped and continue to shape public opinion. For Madrid's citizens during the late Enlightenment, music served as a token for commentary, consensus, and dissent.

3.4.1 A *TIRANA* SONG BY GIL LEOCADIO DE ZARZAPARRILLA

On August 4, 1787, the *Diario de Madrid* advertised a song entitled *The tarantula*, for voice and bass, composed by Gil Leocadio de Zarzaparrilla. Nothing is known about Leocadio, except that he lived in Madrid and published several vocal and instrumental pieces for domestic performance between 1786 and 1790, none of which have survived. "The tarantula" song he offered for sale was a *tirana*, a triple-meter style favored at the time, first sung and danced in popular parties called *saraos*, and then later adapted for the theater. Tiranas enjoyed immense popularity during the 1780s and 1790s.⁴⁶ Most of them have been lost, but their titles were preserved in newspaper advertisements. Some of them even survived into the eighteenth century, such as the *Tirana del trípili*, which has since been transcribed and recorded. Yet others, of supposedly equal renown, have left behind no known record. For example, the *Tirana del abandono*, printed and sold in no less than six sequels, and frequently satirized in the press as superficial pop culture at the time, has been lost to history.⁴⁷ However, a portion of the piece, the sixth installment of the *Tirana del abandono*, somehow merged with a new tarantula tirana.

⁴⁶ Subirá places the peak of tiranas' popularity between 1780 and 1795. Subirá, *La tonadilla escénica*, V. 2, 43.

⁴⁷ See, for example, *El Corresponsal del Censor* no. 7, p. 13.

On April 22, 1788, the *Diario* announced for sale the tirana *La nueva tarantula, ó Sexta parte del abandono*.⁴⁸ This fusion of two trendy topics into one song gives an idea of the popularity of the tarantula at the time

According to Subirá, *tiranas* were characterized by their mischievous, biting satire, which usually kept them on the radar of censoring authorities. Tiranas were typically sung and danced by a single actress-singer, often near the end of stage tonadillas during intermissions. Tonadillas functioned as popular ear candy, so to speak, a break from the long comedias, and tiranas were the special treat at the end of the tonadilla. They were also frequently advertised as the central enticement for listeners to the coliseos. The 1787 *Memorial literario* article entitled “Origin and Progress of the Tonadillas Sung in the Theaters of this Court” traces a brief history of tonadillas, and lists tiranas as one of the “ornamental refrains” added at the end of the performance.⁴⁹ Outside the context of theater, composers produced tiranas for short-term consumption, and as fashionable tokens for ongoing events. Poor tarantula-bitten Ambrosio had not even left the General Hospital when Mr. Zarzaparrilla had already written, printed, and sold a satirical song about the issue.

3.4.2 *EL ATARANTULADO*, A “TONADILLA GENERAL” BY PABLO ESTEVE

Fortunately, we do have one musical piece about tarantism in Madrid: Esteve’s tonadilla *El Atarantulado (The Tarantula Bitten Man)*. Whereas Cid and Piñera’s treatises focus more on the patient and the medical aspects of tarantism, this tonadilla stages the event in the context of the everyday lives of upper-class city people. *El Atarantulado* is the only theater piece so far known that is devoted entirely to tarantism in Madrid.

⁴⁸ This advertisement does not specify whether the author of *La nueva tarantula* was Zarzaparrilla or somebody else.

⁴⁹ The other ornamental refrains listed are the Zerengue, the Manguendoy, and the Seguidillas. “Origen y progresos de las tonadillas que se cantan en los Coliseos de esta Corte,” *Memorial Literario, Instructivo y Curioso* XII, no. 45 (1787): 173.

Structure, plot, and characters

In 1787, Pablo Esteve worked for the Manuel Martínez theater company, one of three companies operating in the City of Madrid that year.⁵⁰ *El Atarantulado* was a *tonadilla general*, that is, it called for the participation of a good share of the company: in this case, a choir of three women and three men, in addition to its six main characters.⁵¹ *Tonadillas generales* often signaled a special event, for example, arriving at the beginning and end of the comic year, particularly if they included choruses. *El Atarantulado* also featured a brand new actress-singer in the role of the Marchioness; her name was Francisca Rodrigo, or simply called “La Rodrigo.” She must have been little known, but the actor who played Doctor Don Celedonio was the famous Miguel Garrido, who for many years held the position of “gracioso” or “comic actor” in the Madrid theaters. The other two main characters were the Count, the two daughters of a Duchess, and the medical intern.

Character	Actor-singer	Position	Seniority ⁵²
The Doctor, Don Celedonio	Miguel Garrido	1 st gracioso	15
The Marchioness	Francisca Rodrigo	unspecified	New
The Count	Alfonso Navarro	7 th galán	8
Duchess’s Daughter 1	Rosa García	6 th dama	7
Duchess’s Daughter 2	Josepha Torres	7 th dama	3
The Medical Intern	Fermín Rojo	supernumerary	New

Table 3.1: Characters in *El atarantulado*, in order of appearance

The plot of “The Tarantula-Bitten Man” is simple: the Marchioness has a headache, so her special friend (*cortejo*), the Count, calls for the doctor. In the meantime, the young Duchess’s daughters stop by to visit them. When the doctor arrives, the Marchioness feels better already, so the doctor says he has more important things to do, like curing a man who was bitten

⁵⁰ The two companies of the coliseos of La Cruz and El Príncipe, plus the one at Los Caños del Peral.

⁵¹ *El atarantulado* also calls for four officers who bring the patient out and into bed, but these characters are silent (there is no indication that they sang in the choir). According to Subirá, any *tonadilla* featuring more than six actor-singers could be denominated *general*. Subirá, *La tonadilla escénica*, V.2, 117.

⁵² Seniority in years hired by the Madrid theaters. Francisca Rodrigo was hired in 1787 for the Eusebio Ribera company, but soon moved to the Manuel Martínez one. Fermín Rojo came from Cádiz. Data from Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Don Ramón de la Cruz y sus obras* (Madrid,: J. Perales y Martinez, 1899).

by a venomous animal. He then invites the party to come with him to see the patient healed through music. Unlike many tonadillas, *El Atarantulado* does not feature any working class characters. It also steers clear from the types of the *maja/o* and the *petimetra/e*. Doctors and noble characters remain merely types; however, they also serve double roles. They are types subject to a harsh critique of Madrid's customs, and in some instances they represent real people involved in the tarantism case as reported by Piñera. In this sense, *El Atarantulado* approximates news commentary media much more than *costumbrista* theater in the Ramón de la Cruz mould.

The tonadilla comprises one solo number, three ensembles, and three choirs. The orchestral accompaniment requires first and second violins, two oboes alternating with two flutes, two horns alternating with two trumpets, and contrabass. In the table below, the white cells indicate new musical numbers, the light gray indicate repeating numbers, and the dark gray mark the spoken sections or parolas. The total duration of the music approximates 18 minutes, without parolas.

	Musical number	Ensemble	Characters	Key, meter	Approx. duration	Th	Form	Winds
1	Allegretto	Solo	Doctor	B \flat , 2/4	2'20"	3	D.S.	ob, E \flat hn
2	Andantino	Duet	Marchioness Count	G, 2/4, C, 6/8	3'14" 1'45"	3 3	D.S.	-
3	Allegretto moderado	Quartet	Marchioness Count 2 Duchess's Daughters	A, 3/8	2'06"	3	D.S.	-
P A R O L A (bolero dance?)								
4	Andante vivo	Quintet	Doctor Marchioness Count 2 Duchess's Daughters	G, 3/4	2'08	3	D.S.	G hn
P A R O L A: mentions tarantula								
5	Chorus 1 (Allegretto)	Choir	All	C, 6/8	0'42"	1	-	ob, G hn
P A R O L A: explains tarantism in two lines								
5	Chorus 1 (Allegretto)	Choir	All	C, 6/8	0'42"	1	-	ob, G hn
P A R O L A: all head to the hospital in a carriage								
6	Chorus 2 (Allegro)	Choir	All	C, 6/8	0'32"	1	-	Ob, C tpt

Table 3.2: Structure of *El atarantulado*

SCENE CHANGE: HOSPITAL ROOM								
7	Coplas + Coleta (Andante)	Solo + Choir	Intern Choir	C minor, 3/8	2'33"	2	D.S.	Fl
P A R O L A: doctor prepares dance session and shows tarantula to observers								
8	Chorus 1	Choir	All	C, 6/8	0'42"	1	-	ob, G hn
ACTION/P A R O L A: Interns play guitars. Bitten man dances. They change the tune. Doctor: Come on, dance. Victim: I can't.								
9	Coleta	Choir	Choir	C minor, 3/8	0'25"	1	-	Fl
ACTION/P A R O L A: Interns play again. Doctor: He sweats now. The four officers who brought the victim on stage wrap him on bed sheets and put him in bed.								
10	Final Chorus (chorus 2')	Choir	All	C, 6/8	0'44"	1	-	Ob, C tpt

Table 3.2, continued: Structure of *El atarantulado*

As the table shows, the plot of the tonadilla develops mostly during the second half of the piece (when the characters leave the Marchioness's house to go to the hospital), whereas the first half is devoted to and saturated with musical entertainment. This is also true for the thematic material, which is heavily concentrated before tarantism becomes the focal point of the tonadilla.

Esteve wrote the only solo number for Garrido/The Doctor, the cast's senior performer and celebrity, which functions as introduction to the entire work, securing the public's attention. Garrido also plays the only character identified by first name (Don Celedonio), rather than by profession or social status. However, in his introduction, Garrido does not reveal the main topic of tarantism. He merely complains about how busy he is, and about the importance of his craft for the Madrid court. So far, the issue at hand is the headache of the Marchioness of the Gran Castañar, which he must tend to. Neither the libretto nor the score mention any kind of set or stage props, thus indicating the prefatory function of Garrido's song.

The longest and most elaborate number is by far the duet between the Marchioness and the Count, which comes second in the work. This is the only number that has two distinct sections in different meters and keys, each with its own thematic material; for the most part, the female and male characters alternate, but they round off the two sections by singing a musical refrain together. The rest of the ensembles in the tonadilla follow the same principle, according

to which never more than two characters are found singing together – except for choruses.

Revolving around the object of Marchioness’s headache, the Andantino toys with the typical love duet genre and then offers a subdued critique of illicit affairs or *cortejos*. For this and the following quartet, the libretto indicates that four chairs are to be brought on stage to serve as the minimal props needed to suggest a kind of social visit so popular among the Madrid elite at the time.

The subject matter of the tonadilla finally turns to tarantism during the fifth number: after the Marchioness’s headache vanishes thanks to the attention of her special friend. At this moment, the Doctor reveals that “a poisonous bug” lurks in Madrid. A short parola ensues:

Marchioness:	Decid pues el nombre de este animalito y qué efectos causa	Pray, say the name of this little bug and the effects it causes
Doctor:	Voy a referirlo; es un avichucho a manera de una araña, y se llama ::: se llama ::: la tarantula.	I will now tell; it is a bug in the manner of a spider, and it is called ::: it is called ::: the tarantula.

This mention of the tarantula, enhanced by the pauses before it, prompts the first chorus of the tonadilla:

¡Qué susto, qué pasmo!	How frightening, how shocking!
¡Qué cosa tan rara!	What a strange thing!
No quieran los cielos	Heavens forbid
me de una picada	it takes a bite of me

The chorus further builds up mystery for this new phenomenon, while the Doctor proceeds to explain:

Doctor:	Al que pica le sobreviene un letargo, y se cura ::: y se cura ::: bailoteando	Those who are bitten suddenly feel lethargic, and its cure ::: its cure ::: dancing
---------	---	---

The peculiar therapy cues a reprise of the chorus. The Doctor’s short parola (mediated by the two iterations of the chorus) follows the formula of tarantism texts: the tarantula description, the symptoms, and the cure. The first part of the tonadilla concludes with another

short parola and chorus: the noble characters express their doubts on the matter, and the doctor invites them to see for themselves. The chorus responds with musical cheers for the doctor and his skills.

Whereas the first part of the tonadilla was generic enough to require only four chairs, the second part was specific enough to require more complex staging. The staging or “mutation” (*mutación*) during the next sequence is marked in the text as “the room of the patient; him in his bed mimicking the real tarantula victim, and several citizen spectators watching him. An intern arrives and pushes them away [from the patient].” These stage notes presume that the actors were already familiar enough with Ambrosio’s case to reenact his dance sessions - even before Piñera published his report. The verses (coplas) constitute the musical core of the tonadilla, and the only new musical material presented in it. Here, Esteve adapts the usual layout of coplas with a body and a refrain, and transforms it to a body and a short chorus referred to as “coleta” (codetta) in the score. The rest of the second part involves more music, albeit of a diegetic variety, only indicated but not notated in the score.

After the Doctor shows a tarantula to the actors on-stage, and possibly to the off-stage audience as well, the tarantism dance section and its diegetic music begins:

Ponen los practicantes al enfermo en medio del tablado, y tocan para que vaile el enfermo: despues mudan a otro toque y para de vailar el enfermo.

PAROLA/ Doctor: “Vaya, baile usted”

Patient: “No puedo”

The interns place the patient in the middle of the stage, and play for him to dance: then they change the style and the patient stops dancing.

PAROLA/ Doctor: “Well, dance”

Patient: “I cannot”

At this point, the observers expressed their pity towards the young *atarantulado* with a reprise of the verse codetta: “poor, wretched thing! What a pity we feel for him!” Compared to Piñera’s account of the real-life observer’s of Ambrosio and their experimentations, this fictive

crowd shows far more empathy to the patient. After the compassionate codetta, the diegetic music resumes:

Buelbe a tocar el practicante, y vaila el enfermo, llega el medico estando vailando, y despues de tentarle la frente dize/ Doctor: “Ya suda;”
A esta voz los quatro que le pusieron en medio, salen con cuatro sabanas, le arropan, y le lleban a la cama, y canta el coro: [coro final]

“¡Que viva Don Celedonio...”

The intern plays again, and the patient dances. The doctor arrives while he is dancing, and after touching his forehead he says/ Doctor: “He sweats;”

To this cue the four [officers] who put the patient in the middle [of the stage] come out with four bed sheets, wrap him, and put him in bed, and the choir sings: [final chorus]

“Long live Don Celedonio...”

Musical style in *El atarantulado*

In the context of other tonadillas of the time, *El Atarantulado* stands out due to its lack of customary final or *epilogal* seguidilla; furthermore, it does not include any music in the ornate seguidilla style, or any poetry in the seguidilla meter. All the texts for the musical numbers follow either a hexasyllabic or octosyllabic pattern of regular verses. By the 1780s, these final seguidillas were considered all but mandatory in solo tonadillas, but could sometimes be spared during ensemble ones, as we saw in Laserna’s *El Diario* in chapter two, which substituted the folkloric piece with a more Italianate “final.” In *El Atarantulado*, however, one anticipates the story concluding with a chorus, since it was a tonadilla general, and audiences expected ending musical numbers to arrive with a tinge of ceremony.

Tonadillas generales often borrowed aspects from *loas*, short introductory pieces staged in the Madrid coliseos to celebrate the royal family - for example, a marriage, or the king’s patron saint day.⁵³ *Loas* lingered in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century repertory as a relic of baroque ceremony; like tonadillas generales, they would often be written to launch or close the

⁵³ See Germán Labrador López de Azcona, *La imagen de la monarquía: loas en honor de Carlos IV y María Luisa de Parma*, ed. Begoña Lolo, La música en los teatros de Madrid (Madrid: Editorial Alpuerto, S.A., 2009).

season out.⁵⁴ Esteve, in fact, borrowed the “long live the queen/king” theme and a snippet of the mythological and allegorical symbolism of *loas* for his final chorus, “long live Don Celedonio, medicinal Orpheus.”

Elsewhere, music in the seguidilla style is missing from *El Atarantulado* because *majo/a* or lower-class characters are absent, but also because the tonadilla is rather plot-oriented. *El atarantulado* does not establish a direct conversation with the audience or overtly denounce social mores, as did solo tonadillas, or ensemble ones such as *El teatro y los actores agraviados* (see chapter two), where actor-singers defend themselves dramatically and vent their problems with critics. The work is not allegorical either, like *El monstruo del gusto público*, where parody underpins the narrative; instead, it reenacts a clear story and event from the period. Criticism, hence, operates beneath the surface of *El Atarantulado*, albeit in a subordinate role to the main narrative thread. In this sense, it reproduced Ambrosio’s treatment in order to satisfy the Madrid audience’s curiosity with the case.

In spite of substantial differences, the style of *El atarantulado* resembles that of the two-act Italian intermezzo, such as Giovanni Paisiello’s *La serva padrona* from 1781. If an intermezzo often employs a scaled-down version of the language and resources of opera buffa, then a tonadilla is a step even further down from the intermezzo. Of course, each form carries with it its own conventions, but they each connect along a few key lines. Le Guin views the galant as the unmarked in eighteenth-century music, a translucent medium wherein diverse musical topoi can develop. In the case of tonadillas, such topoi included “regional dance types, social stereotypes, improvised *lazzi*, parodic ‘scenes’ from opera seria, comic dialogues, *buffo*-style finales, displays of vocal virtuosity, or some clever mixture of the above.”⁵⁵ As discussed earlier, regional dances do not feature prominently in *El atarantulado*, consequently neither does vocal virtuosity, which is most frequently associated with seguidilla style. Nonetheless, the

⁵⁴ All the season-opening *loas* by Esteve from 1779-1789 are preserved in Madrid’s Biblioteca Histórica Municipal, as well as some from the 1760s and 1770s.

⁵⁵ Le Guin, *Tonadilla in Performance*, 104.

love duet (the second musical number) in Esteve’s work probably functioned as a display piece for the company’s new singer, Francisca Rodrigo.

Rodrigo’s (the Marchioness) showpiece, simply titled “Andantino,” borrows from and parodies the sentimental aria of the suffering heroine. Whereas the sentimental heroine traditionally suffers under life’s great injustices, the Marchioness’s woe here resides in the headache she gets as soon as she is left alone. A listener from the period would immediately recognize the aria type due to its traditional features: an andantino tempo, duple meter, mid-register tessitura in the opening phrases, and a cantabile melody. The work’s intimate chamber setting also match the style, for the chairs brought on stage suggest an *estrado*, where Spanish ladies traditionally received visitors.

The image shows a musical score for the opening vocal phrase of the Andantino in *El atarantulado*. It consists of four staves: Voice, Violin 1, Violin 2, and Violoncello. The voice part is in a soprano range and has the following lyrics: "Lue-go que me que do_ so - la me a - co-me-te_ la ja - que - ca me a-o - me - te_ la ja - que - ca". The music is in a duple meter and features a cantabile melody. Dynamics include *p* (piano), *sf* (sforzando), and *f* (forte). The score is marked with a tempo of 138 and a key signature of one sharp (F#).

Example 3.1: Opening vocal phrase of the Andantino in *El atarantulado*⁵⁶

Furthermore, the first tempo of the Andantino resembles a rondò, although maybe due to its short extension, the main theme does not recur as in that form. Mary Hunter has called the rondò “the paradigmatic sentimental utterance,” most often sung by “women from the upper strata of society.”⁵⁷ Rondòs enjoyed growing popularity in Spain starting in 1760, perhaps more than any other aria type. They frequently functioned as placeholders for showpieces: many comedias of the 1780s and 1790s indicate “rondo” where the featured singer could insert any aria that fit the bill. Rondòs could be sung in Italian in the middle of a Spanish piece, and

⁵⁶ All musical examples in this chapter transcribed from Pablo Esteve, *El atarantulado*, Tonadilla general, 1787. Parte de apuntar, 2 vln, 2 fl/ob, 2 hn/tpt, cb. BHM Mus 187-4.

⁵⁷ Mary Kathleen Hunter, *The culture of opera buffa in Mozart's Vienna : a poetics of entertainment*, Princeton studies in opera (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), 147.

strongly hinted to a more operatic style. Esteve had used the form and was familiar with it, so he likely would have labeled the Andantino “rondò” if he had so intended; he possibly did not do so because the song is in Spanish, or because it eventually morphs into a duet, or, finally, because Spanish composers most often reserved the rondò for non-comic genres loftier than the tonadilla. One can conclude, nevertheless, that the Andantino’s first tempo parodies the sentimental rondò.⁵⁸

Esteve interjects short (one- or two-bar) instrumental “responses,” or motives, as one of his favorite musical devices to indicate parody and humor in his piece. For example, in the Andantino, he introduces comedy into the otherwise sentimental song right after the repetition of the opening vocal phrase, by interjecting a two-bar unison motive in the strings. At this point the listener probably recognized that this piece was parodying sentimentality, but just two bars later another motivic comment in the violins confirms the absurdity of the Marchioness’ situation. The first motivic response (ms. 161-2) articulates the transition into the next musical idea, whereas the second one (ms. 164-5) accompanies the vocal line. More often, however, Esteve uses these motives to respond to the vocal line, as is the case with the B section of the Andantino (ms. 183, 185, etc.).

⁵⁸ Hunter provides examples by male characters in Sarti’s *L’amore artigiano* and *Fra i due litiganti il terzo gode* where a song that initiates cantabile breaks down into other emotions and faster tempi, to lighten up the sentimentality in a comic context. *Ibid.*, 148-9.

157

Voice: to - tal - men - te la - ca - be - za Que do - lor tan
 Sus - ma - les De - bues - tra au - sen - cia Que do - lor tan

Motivic comment 1

Vln. 1: *p* *f* *p*

Vln. 2: *f* *p*

Vc.: *f* *p*

164

Voice: gran - de Ay Y conque vio - len - cia Ay
 gran - de Ay Y conque vio - len - cia Ay

(Alfonso)

Motivic comment 2

(Rodrigo)

(Alfonso)

f *p* *f* *p*

Example 3.2: Motivic responses, Andantino, section A

181

Voice: Que es - to se - ño - ra que - ri - da mar - que - sa
 What is this my la - dy? my de - ar mar - chio - ness

Motivic comment

Vln. 1: *f* *p* *f* *p* *f*

Vln. 2: *f* *f* *p* *f*

Vc.: *f* *f* *f*

dominant arpeggio tonic arpeggio

186

Voice: di - ga us - ted que tie - ne que no - ve - da es es - ta
 tell me what is wrong what do these news mean

p *f* *p* *f*

Example 3.3: Motivic responses, Andantino, section B

Whereas the beginning of the Andantino could pass for an Italian aria, the cadences in the vocal line here express a more Spanish sensibility. Even though the harmony of the cadential formula is the same (IV-V-I), the melodic approach differs. Perfect cadences in Paisiello or Piccinni often jump from dominant to tonic, either upwards or downwards; however, Esteve preferred a stepwise descent from $\hat{3}$ to $\hat{1}$, or a leading tone-tonic movement, rather than a jump. Laserna, who composed in a more Italianate style, used the dominant-tonic jump as frequently as the stepwise approach, but octave leaps are extremely rare in his work, if they exist at all. Spanish stepwise melodic cadences were often ornamented with trills or triplets on $\hat{2}$ or $\hat{7}$ if the perfect cadence was authentic, or on $\hat{4}$ if the cadence arrived on $\hat{3}$ (inauthentic). The Marchioness of *El atarantulado* sings the latter formula at the end of the A section of the Andantino. The entire cadential pattern begins with an upward jump followed by a stepwise descent to the tonic or mediant; Esteve uses the very same pattern in *El teatro y los actores agraviados* and *El monstruo del gusto público* (see Example 3.4).

Even though recitative did not usually form part of Spanish musical theater, long or special pieces like comedias, musical comedies, or *loas* often called for one or more. The Andantino in *El atarantulado* features a mini-recitative before the closing section of the duet in which the two lovers sing together. This one-measure recitative reinforces the operatic parody of the entire movement, and, together with the opening cantabile, the romance topic, the upper-class characters, and the ceremonious language of the text, would be clearly recognized as such.

178

Jump Stepwise descent

Voice

Ay ay que pe - na Ornamentation
 Ay what a so - rrow

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vc.

f *p*
f *p*
fp

166

Jump Stepwise descent

Nuestro thea-tro vi - va vi - va su pla - zer

344

Jump Stepwise descent

Que son u - nos tra - pe - ros A la viole - ta Ornamentation

f

Example 3.4: One of Esteve's melodic cadential formulas. a) *El atarantulado*, b) *El teatro y los actores agraviados*, c) *El monstruo del gusto público*.

Esteve also pairs cantabile melodies with impolite lyrical text for comical effect. For example, in the Allegretto moderato that follows the Andantino, an animated 3/8 song frames the conversation between the Marchioness and her visitors, the Duchess's daughters. This ensemble approximates the form of a folk song, but still retains traces of Italianianism. For their part, the characters maintain their gentility within the melody, but from time to time slip to impropriety within the lyrics, like when the Marchioness asks about the Duchess, and the girls respond that she suffers from flatulence:

270 *Rodrigo* *Las dos*

Voice

Sen - ta - os a - mi - gas Co - mo es - ta la ma - dre? Los fla -
 Take a sit my friends How is your mo - ther? Fla - tu -

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vc.

p

277 *Alfonso*

tos la cau - san mo - les - tia bas - tan - te A
 lence bo - thers her quite a bit At

f *p*

f (Rodrigo)

f

Example 3.5: Opening phrase of Allegretto moderato, second text

In many ways, *El atarantulado* is not representative of other tonadillas by Esteve, Laserna, or by most Spanish composers; nonetheless, some of its distinctive traits do set stage tonadillas apart from other Italianate music. For example, tonadillas of the 1770s and 1780s never require bass singers, and almost never use patter, recitative, and octave leaps in vocal lines. Although sometimes Esteve and Laserna include viola and clarinet parts, the orchestra of *El atarantulado* is of a more standard character. Both composers write more numbers in triple meter than their Italian counterparts do, because many Spanish dances and folkloric songs follow such ternary rhythms. Still, Esteve shares with Italian composers the short melodic phrases, the instrumental ritornellos (sometimes in unison, for emphasis), the doubling of vocal parts in the strings, and the contrasting dynamics (sometimes in rapid succession – mainly *p*, *f*, *sf*) so common in that country. Yet other musical characteristics of *El atarantulado* do not apply to Esteve’s compositional style so clearly: for example, the lack of a clear movement to the dominant or standing-on-dominant sections. Esteve’s vocal pieces for tonadillas transition to the dominant less dramatically than Laserna’s, but in *El atarantulado* the tonic-dominant contrast nearly disappears, especially as the tonadilla progresses and the musical numbers become shorter and more minimal in terms of thematic material.

The coplas (verses) of *El atarantulado* provide the richest musical material in the second part of the work, not only because they are the only new, but also because Esteve substituted the coplas’ refrain with a plaintive short chorus (marked *Coleta* in the score). This is the only musical number that starts in minor mode, and the only occasion in all of *El atarantulado* where the flutes replace the oboes, playing a short duet marked “solo” in the score. Here, the flute duet simulates a tarantella melody, albeit at a slower tempo (*andante*). The pizzicato bass and the muted violins of the instrumental introduction add two more special sound effects in order to create a tense quietness in expectation of the scientific miracle soon to take place (see example 3.6). Except for the modal references to Spanish folklore - for example, the melodic ornamentation on ms. 463, to approach the dominant G via the upper semitone - the tonal language of tonadillas in general remained very simple. Chromatic alterations are typically

sparse, and seldom do composers write in keys with more than three sharps or flats. In this context, the two secondary dominants (ms. 467, 472) during the short twelve measures of Esteve's chorus really highlight the intense pathos of this section (see example 3.7).

Andante
Flute

423

Fl. Fl. Flute

Coplas

con sord. con sord. Punteado

Vln. 1 Vln. 2 Vc.

432 *Solo*

p *p*

i V⁷ ii i i V₄⁶ i⁶ iv ⁶/₄ V⁷ i

Example 3.6: *El atarantulado*, coplas instrumental introduction

459 460 465 470 475

Fl.

Fl.

Coro. Todos 6.

Voice

Po - bre - ci - to des - di cha - do que las - ti - ma que las - ti - ma que nos da
 Poor_ wretched thing_ what a pi - ty what a pi - ty we feel for him

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vc.

Cmin: V i V²/_{iv} iv⁶ iv f V₃ i vii⁷/_V V i

Example 3.7: Chorus (Coleta) in El Atarantulado coplas

Additions and corrections

Esteve sets all of *El atarantulado*'s solo and ensemble musical numbers in dal segno form, but some of the repetitions were eliminated for performance. For instance, the opening number (Allegretto, 1 in the table) by Garrido/The Doctor concluded with only one complete statement of the music as indicated in table 3.3. The italicized and emboldened text indicate portions discarded from the libretto, and the strikethrough indicate text discarded from the score.

		<i>DAL SEGNO TEXT</i>
Stanzas 1,2/ 5,6 octosyllabic Theme A	Physicians like me of fame and skill do not have one moment free to rest (bis) Everybody searches the aid of our great faculty and our mere presence soothes their ailments	I have five thousand patients to assist and cure but most of them, if they don't heal I believe they will die I visit eighty marquises ten priests, one sacristan, a thousand and four ladies and many vulgar people (bis)
Stanzas 3,4/ 7,8 hexasyllabic Theme B	From the king down they call us the big one and the small one, clergy and laymen And all day long like a drudge they drag me up and down all over the place	But the Marchioness of Great Chestnut Grove has sent me notice that she has a headache I hasten to see her, for her ailment is so intense it worries me
Refrain hexasyllabic	Blessed be my science which shall immortalize me (bis)	Blessed be my science which will immortalize me (bis)

Table 3.3: Discarded text, Allegretto(1), *El atarantulado*⁵⁹

Lyrics from this musical number may have been eliminated for three different reasons: first, to shorten the tonadilla by eliminating the *dal segno*; second, because stanza three mentions the king by name, which censors found problematic; and third, in order to eliminate the reference to “vulgar people” at the end of stanza five. This final theory is supported by the fact that the first prompter’s libretto rejected this line alone, whereas the score itself dispensed with the entirety of stanzas five and six. When censors vetoed words or lines, authors could substitute them for less contentious ones, or they could simply leave them out. In this case, if

⁵⁹ Verse 1: Los médicos como yo/ de fama y habilidad/ no tenemos un momento/ libre para descansar. Verse 2: Todos buscan el auxilio/ de nuestra gran facultad/ y con sólo presentarnos/ hallan alivio en su mal. Verse 3: Desde el rey abajo/ me mandan llamar/ el grande y el chico/ clérigo y seglar. Verse 4: y todito el día como un azacán/ me llaman y traen por todo el lugar. Refrain: Bien haya mi ciencia/ que me hará inmortal.

Dal segno text: Verse 5: Tengo cinco mil enfermos/ que asistir y que cuidar/ pero los más si no sanan/ creo que se morirán. Verse 6: Visito ochenta marqueses/ diez curas, un sacristán/ mil y cuatrocientas damas/ y mucha gente vulgar. Verse 7: Pero la marquesa/ del Gran Castañar/ que tiene jaqueca me mandó avisar. Verse 8: Voy corriendo a verla/ que su enfermedad/ como es tan aguda/ cuidado me da. Refrain: Bien haya mi ciencia/ que me hará inmortal.

Madrid's censor disapproved of all of verses three and four, and one line out of verse five, it may have been easier for Esteve to simply condense the remaining text into one iteration of music.

Nevertheless, the first idea that this text was removed simply to shorten the tonadilla, may further explain some of the cuts which took place in the second musical number, the Andantino. This number has two sections: a *dal segno* in two tempi, immediately followed by another section without repetition. The libretto marks all the text of the *dal segno* here for deletion, so that the whole Andantino would have been performed without repetitions.⁶⁰ The censor may also have found something objectionable in the lyrics, but there is no record of it here. Otherwise, repetitions in these two musical numbers may have been excluded in the interest of making room for a dance number in the first half of the tonadilla. In the second prompter's libretto copy, there is a loose page with the following text:

PAROLA		PAROLA
Suena adentro ruido de guitarra y dice la Marquesa:		<i>Guitar noise inside, and the Marchioness says:</i>
Marchioness:	Muchacha, muchacha	<i>Girl, Girl</i>
Female servant: ⁶¹	Mande usía	<i>Your ladyship</i>
Marchioness:	Qué ruido es ese	<i>What's that noise?</i>
Female servant:	Nos divertimos baylando el bolero	<i>We amuse ourselves dancing the bolero</i>
Girls:	Marquesita, haga usted que salgan aquí, pues tenemos deseo de verlo bailar	<i>Dear Marchioness, make them come over here, for we want to see the bolero danced</i>
Count:	Voy a traerlos	<i>I will get them</i>
Marchioness:	La muchacha le bayla lindamente	<i>The girl dances it beautifully</i>
Count:	Ya está aquí toda la gente	<i>They are all here</i>
Marchioness:	Sentemonos à este lado	<i>Let's sit here by the side</i>

The cue for this parola was written using different ink in the score.⁶² And, although there is no explicit indication in the libretto or the score, a bolero dance must have ensued here. Either before or after the first performance of the tonadilla, someone may have realized a lack of popular elements in *El atarantulado*, a cause for unfavorable reception. In addition, this bolero

⁶⁰ This deletion is not marked in the vocal score, but the instrumental parts crossed out the *dal segno* indications both for this and the previous number.

⁶¹ There is no female servant character in the original libretto.

⁶² The full text of all parolas, except for this one, is included in the score of *El atarantulado*.

would have rendered the tonadilla more quintessentially Spanish, added popular entertainment value, and, when combined with *dal segno* deletions, balanced the first half into with a more diverse spectacle.

The composer, the doctor, and the high-society ladies of Madrid

As amusing as the resulting reenactment of tarantism was, Esteve's harshest satire in *El atarantulado* was destined not for the crowd of observers, but the noble characters in the tonadilla: the Marchioness, the Count, and the Duchess's young daughters, all portrayed as superficial and whimsical. The Duchess's daughters fear that a tarantula might bite them, as did all the young ladies admonished in the *Diario de Madrid*: "Stop it gentlemen! We get upset! We get scared!" sing the girls in the Allegretto moderado at the first mention of tarantism. Elsewhere, the Marchioness feigns ailments, while her *cortejo*, the Count, carries on in exclusive worry over these minor ailments. In Madrid, courtships such as the one between the Marchioness and the Count were seen as an unacceptable aspect of modern behavior borrowed from the French, a corruption of decent Spanish mores.

According to the events recorded in Piñera y Siles's *Descripción*, Esteve's caricature of the nobility in "The tarantula-bitten man" may have been based on specific individuals. Indeed, a Countess, a Duchess, and a Marchioness had each visited tarantula-bitten Ambrosio at the Madrid General Hospital: María Faustina Téllez Girón, Countess of Benavente (1724-1797), her daughter, María Josefa Pimentel y Téllez Girón, Duchess of Osuna, and Rafaela Lasso de la Vega Sarmiento, Marchioness of Mortara. Doctor Piñera recorded their visits in his medical report, because these women were powerful, rich, and considered the top socialites of Madrid. Young Ambrosio usually danced twice daily, once in the morning, and once in the evening; prominent citizens always attended the evening sessions:⁶³

July 7, 1787. 22

⁶³ "Your Excellency" in Piñera's report refers to the president of the Madrid hospital board, Pedro de Alcántara Fernández de Híjar y Abarca de Bolea, 9th Duke of Híjar.

“En la tarde de ese día asistió V.E. con la Exma. Señora **Condesa de Benavente**, y otros personajes...”

*“On the evening of that day, Your Excellency attended together with Her Excellency the Lady **Countess of Benavente** and other personalities...”*

July 10, 1787. 23

“En la tarde de ese día asistieron al baile V.E.; la Excelentísima Señora **Duquesa de Osuna**: el Señor Don Joaquín de la Olmeda, y otros señores Oficiales...” “La Excelentísima Señora Duquesa de Osuna, á quien se había informado ser falsa la picadura, registró por sí el cuello del Ambrosio, y advirtió en el centro de la aplicación del vejigatorio que ya estaba curado, el vestigio y ligera señal de la mordedura, que hoy subsiste. Esta Excelentísima Señora, compadecida de la suerte del atarantulado Ambrosio, y excitada de su munificente y liberal corazón, dexó una limosna al Ambrosio, siguiendo el ejemplo de su Señora Madre, que le había hecho otra...”

*“On the evening of that day, attendees to the dance included Your Excellency; Her Excellency the Lady **Duchess of Osuna**: Sir Don Joaquín de la Olmeda, and other gentlemen Officers...” “Her Excellency the Duchess of Osuna, who had been told that the [tarantula] bite was fake, checked Ambrosio’s neck for herself, and noticed at the center of the already-healed spot where the poultice was applied, the trace and light indication of the bite, which survives today. This Most Honorable Lady, feeling sorry for tarantula-bitten Ambrosio’s luck, and prompted by her munificent and liberal heart, gave alms to Ambrosio, following the example of her Mother, who had also given...”*

July 12, 1787. 24.

“... asistió al baile la Excelentísima Señora **Marquesa de Mortara**, un gran concurso, y el Doctor Don Juan Soldevilla, Médico de Familia de S.M. y Examinador del Real Proto-Medicato...”

*“Her Excellency the Lady **Marchioness of Mortara**, a great audience, and Doctor Don Juan Soldevilla, Family Doctor for H.M. and Examiner for the Royal Protomedicato...”⁶⁴*

Because they were so wealthy, all three women mentioned here could afford to employ private musicians for their households, and were close to many artists, composers, and writers of the time. In fact, Pablo Esteve personally knew all three noble women who visited Ambrosio at the General Hospital. In the 1760s, before he was hired by the city theater, Esteve had been chapel master for the VIII Duke of Osuna, the Countess of Benavente’s now deceased husband, and the Duchess’s father. In 1774, he had also worked briefly for the VI Marquis of Montara, late

⁶⁴ The Marchioness of Mortara will reappear in chapter four as the patron of the sentimental play *La Cecilia*, with text by Luciano Francisco Comella and music by Laserna.

husband of the Marchioness as mentioned by Piñera.⁶⁵ In addition, Esteve had even served time in prison in 1779 for mocking the Countess of Benavente and another noblewoman in a tonadilla about *cortejos*, and he served time again in 1785.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, “The Tarantula Bitten Man” proves that the Catalan composer still refused to change his ways, and continued to write and publicly perform biting critiques of Spanish nobility. No retaliations against this particular tonadilla were recorded in the press, but one might suppose that neither the Countess, nor the Duchess or the Marchioness were particularly pleased with the piece.

Beyond references to real-life individuals, *El atarantulado* portrays Doctor Don Celedonio as a talented professional undervalued by his aristocratic employers, a circumstance that Esteve probably experienced himself in his years as chapel master and as theater composer. In the tonadilla, both the Marchioness and the Count abuse their privileged positions by wasting the Doctor’s time: when in the Andante vivo he comes, “tired and worn out,” to take care of the lady’s headache, the Marchioness lightly responds that her headache is gone. Don Celedonio tries to protest, but the Count halts him, and here, the text substitutes “paid physician” with “famed physician,” possibly to avoid any further negative depiction of his noble patrons:

Doctor:	Sofocado vengo, molido y cansado, porque me teníais con mucho cuidado	Here I come, short of breath, tired and worn out because you had me so worried about you
Marchioness:	Pues Don Celedonio, ya no es necesario porque la jaqueca se me ha disipado	Well, Don Celedonio, you’re not needed anymore because my headache has vanished
Doctor:	Por frioleritas de nuevo la encargo que jamás Usía me mande recado	For such frivolities, I beg your honor to never send for me
Count:	Usted de esta casa es medico pagado afamado, y debe asistirle cuando sea llamado	You are a paid famed physician of this house, and you must assist her whenever you are called

⁶⁵ Several sources affirm that Rafaela Lasso de la Vega died in 1777, but the *Diario de Madrid* reports in 1786 that the image of Our Lady of La Salud donned a new dress presented by the widow Marchioness of Mortara. *Diario curioso, erudito, económico y comercial*, issue 86, p. 356 (9-27-1786).

⁶⁶ Felipe Pedrell, *Diccionario biográfico y bibliográfico de músicos y escritores de música españoles* (Barcelona,: Tip. de V. Berdós y Feliu, 1894).Vol.2, 606.

In his time working for the Madrid theater, Esteve received little to no recognition or praise for his work. During the 1780s, several actor-singers accused both Laserna and Esteve of writing bad tonadillas, and of denying equal opportunity for company members to showcase their talent. For their part, the composers were overworked; with 62 new tonadillas per year, plus all the music for comedias and sainetes, they could not keep up. In 1783, several formal complaints were mounted against Esteve, claiming that he frequently missed rehearsals. In response, Esteve penned a letter to Madrid city officials that same year, airing his grievances with the theater company while referring to himself in the third person:

Don Pablo Esteve ought to be a Madrid composer in the fashion of Paris and other courts, who have their assigned salaries, as do the actors; yet the music master and the author [of dramatic texts] are not actors, but maestros, established to serve audiences, whereas the [theater] company wrongly believes that the composer is a useless part of the company, who has been included in the companies' rosters only out of kindness on the part of Madrid.⁶⁷

In *El atarantulado*, Doctor Don Celedonio claims for himself the same recognition that Esteve never received. This is the case from the opening musical number (“Blessed be my science, which shall immortalize me!”), to the final chorus, also sung at the end of the first half of the tonadilla:

Chorus:	Que viva Don Celedonio Orfeo medicinal que cura por las folías la tarántula mortal	Long live Don Celedonio, medical Orpheus who cures the deadly tarantula to the tune of folias
Doctor:	Vivan ustedes cien años	May you live a hundred years
Chorus:	Viva vuestra habilidad	Long live your dexterity

⁶⁷ “Don Pablo Esteve debe de ser compositor de Madrid al modo de París y otras cortes, que están con sus sueldos señalados, e igualmente los cómicos; pero el maestro de música e ingenio no son cómicos, sí maestros establecidos para el servicio del público, y no que está la compañía en el error de que es el compositor igual a una inútil parte de la compañía que por pura benignidad de Madrid le ha incluido en la formación de las compañías.” Subirá, *La tonadilla escénica*. Vol. 1, 178.

Peformance of *El atarantulado*

A pertinent question remains still: did *El atarantulado* pass Madrid's routine censorship and actually make it to the stage? I suggest that it did, possibly on August 8, 1787. On that day, the *Diario de Madrid* announced a new tonadilla by the Martínez Company at the Coliseo del Príncipe with characters played by Francisca Rodrigo, Miguel Garrido, and Alfonso Navarro. Ensuing *Diario* issues only mention "a good tonadilla" by the Martínez Company. The title for a new tonadilla appeared on August 20, performed by Rodrigo and Garrido.⁶⁸ Thus the tarantula tonadilla may have been staged anytime from August 8 until August 19. According to Piñera y Siles's report, young Ambrosio left the hospital completely cured on August 11. Additions and corrections to the score and libretto support a reading that the tonadilla was indeed performed around this time.

3.5 CONCLUSION

With this case study, I have intended to demonstrate that the Spanish adopted scientific paradigms as well as modern societal dynamics through intense negotiation via a diversity of media, including music. The reactions to tarantism in 1787 and the following years combine two important strands of the Enlightenment that preoccupied the Spanish at the time, namely, the consequences of science on everyday life, and the possibility of a public opinion that was, if not independent, separate from the opinions of the monarchy and the church. The study of social modes of communication in Spain, such as the ones triggered by cases of tarantism, gives insight into the formation of modern public opinion and modernity in the context of Catholic society. Even though opera dominated musical theater in many European cities, local and regional genres like tonadillas performed crucial functions in such society. In this case, they provided social commentary that disseminated knowledge and fostered critical attitudes among the Madrid citizens who frequented the theaters. Although Madrid's musical theater of the late-

⁶⁸ On August 24, the *Diario* warned that theater companies changed their programs last-minute during the summer, so they had a hard time keeping track.

eighteenth century did not directly support or challenge the political regime as did opera from France, Italy, or the Austro-German courts, it offered a common language through which city dwellers, and later the Spanish nation, came to understand and redefine themselves as modern Europeans.

CHAPTER 4: *LA CECILIA*, AN INSTANCE OF SENTIMENTAL THEATER

“Your play was splendid in everything,
by the audience celebrated and applauded,
for they saw evil censured,
and watched virtue being praised.
Music made it fun,
action got everyone interested...”

“The drama, the harmony, the actors,
among themselves competed fiercely...”¹

These were some of the words Madrid admirers and friends dedicated in 1786 to the Marchioness of Mortara on the occasion of her sponsorship of and performance in the sentimental play *La Cecilia* in her very own mansion, with text by Luciano Francisco Comella and music by Blas de Laserna.² Comprising virtue and entertainment, music and drama, *La Cecilia* constituted one of the first instances of sentimental theater in Enlightenment Spain, set in a rural village where peasants plead their devotion to their lord, the Count. The Don Juanesque character of the Marquis, who arrives from the city and tries to rob Cecilia of her virtue, disrupts the harmony between master and villagers. With the support of the righteous Count, Cecilia and her husband Lucas, impoverished but of noble birth, enlighten the Marquis with their flawless virtue. The once corrupt Marquis mends his ways, and the village returns to peace under their master.

This chapter, examines all seven musical numbers that formed part of *La Cecilia* either in the private version at the Mortaras, or in the public version soon thereafter staged at the coliseos. Comella freely borrowed from sentimental aesthetics and *drame bourgeois* to create a

¹ Luciano Francisco Comella, *La Cecilia. Primera parte*. (Madrid: Benito Cano, 1786). Opening pages.

² Like all the first-tier nobility of Madrid, the Marchioness of Mortara was always referred to in public by title, never by name. See section on the Mortara house for my hypothesis on the identity of the Marchioness who sponsored and performed in *La Cecilia*.

multifaceted play that pleased his aristocratic patrons, coliseo audiences, and regalist ideals of enlightened absolutism. However, *La Cecilia*'s genre mixture, with its secondary plots, comic characters, music, and dance numbers, did not gain the approval of Comella's contemporaries, the neoclassicist critics. Comella used music and dance to model the ideal community, as well as to entertain the audience by presenting them with a pastoral version of rural Spain.

4.1 SENTIMENTAL COMEDY IN SPAIN DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Ignacio de Luzán, the most important neoclassicist literary theorist in eighteenth-century Spain, came into contact with Nivelles de la Chaussée's *comédies larmoyantes* when he served as a secretary to the Spanish embassy in Paris from 1747 to 1749. According to his writings, he approved of the new genre:

Besides these two Poets [Voltaire and Crébillon], there are currently in Paris others worth special mention. Mr. de la *Chausée*, of the French Academy, is the Author of excellent Comedies, which have been given the epithet *Larmoyantes* (llorosas), due to the tender affections that the author expresses in them, with great art.... They are all very good, and can compete with the most celebrated ones, that have so far been performed anywhere...³

The plays that Luzán praised were *Mélanide* (1741), *L'École des mères* (1744), *La Gouvernante* (1747), and above all, *Le Préjugé à la mode* (1735). This last one he translated into Spanish in 1751, with the title *La razón y la moda*. Given Luzán's decisive influence in Spanish neoclassicist literature, his high regard for La Chaussée's work opened the door for sentimental

³ "Además de estos dos Poetas, hay otros actualmente en París, dignos de una particular mención. Mr. de la *Chausée*, de la Academia Francesa, es Autor de excelentes Comedias, á quienes se les ha dado el epitheto de *Larmoyantes*, (llorosas) por los tiernos afectos que en ellas exprime con grande arte el autor.... Todas son muy buenas, y pueden competir con las mas célebres, que se hayan representado hasta ahora en parte alguna..." Ignacio de Luzán, *Memorias literarias de París: Actual estado, y methodo de sus estudios* (Madrid: Gabriel Ramírez, 1751), 21.

theater to enter the canon of respectable and decorous dramatic art during the second half of the eighteenth century.

In the 1770s, Spanish neoclassicists led by Luján continued to promote tragedy as the dramatic genre par excellence, but following the example of their main exponent, they also began to translate and write sentimental plays themselves. The sentimental plays of these years observed Diderot's poetic guidelines for the *drame bourgeois* and adhered to neoclassicist principles, including the strict Aristotelian units.⁴ Most importantly, playwrights wrote them for the large part in prose, which immediately set them apart from both the Golden Age Spanish theater of Lope de Vega and Calderón de la Barca, as well as from comicity. Tableaux and monologues delivered by bourgeois characters were intended to provoke a highly emotional response from the audience.⁵ Perhaps more importantly for the Spanish public, Diderot's *drame bourgeois* aimed at "inspiring in men the love of virtue, the horror of vice." This elevated didactic purpose, expressed in the anonymous Madrid author of the sonnets in praise of *La Cecilia*, satisfied the moral imperative that governed all Spanish theater: a sense of Catholic virtue, along with the Horatian *delectare et docere*, and a regard for regalist policies of civilized behavior.⁶

Under Charles III's main policy-maker, the Count of Aranda, the writers Clavijo y Fajardo, Pablo de Olavide, Tomás de Iriarte, and Jovellanos, all joined the ranks of translators of French classicist tragedies and *comédies larmoyantes* during the 1770s. Policy makers and intellectuals wanted to abandon the baroque comedy dramatic formula that had won the

⁴ Denis Diderot, "Entretiens sur Le fils naturel," in *Oeuvres de Denis Diderot*, ed. Jacques-André Naigeon (Paris: Desrey & Deterville, 1798). "De la poésie dramatique," in *Oeuvres de Denis Diderot*, ed. Jacques-André Naigeon (Paris: Desrey & Deterville, 1798).

⁵⁵ María Jesús García Garrosa, "Algunas observaciones sobre la evolución de la comedia sentimental en España," in *El Teatro español del siglo XVIII*, ed. Josep María Sala Valldaura, coord. (Lleida: Universitat de Lleida, 1996), 429-30.

⁶ "Quel est l'objet d'une composition dramatique? C'est, je crois, d'inspirer aux hommes l'amour de la vertu, l'horreur du vice..." Diderot, "Entretiens," 207.

admiration of Corneille, and the loyalty of audiences since the seventeenth century. They found in the sentimental genre a dramatic alternative with the potential to educate the public, so Spanish playwrights adapted the genre to more closely match official attempts at theater reform. Consequently, authors focused their plots more on collective, societal virtues and vices, rather than on those of an individual.⁷ At the same time, the plots asserted the capability of the individual to contravene obsolete social contracts and laws for the sake of a higher virtue and order. In this way, sentimental theater served as a metaphor for the new Bourbon ideal, one both rational and civilized, replacing the old Habsburg order wherein honor was derived from birth rather than from rectitude. For example, in Jovellanos's *El delincuente honrado* (*The honest delinquent*, 1773), the main character Don Torcuato murders the Marquis of Montilla, a nobleman of devious manner. Following this act, the drama develops around Don Torcuato's honesty and rectitude, which ultimately triumph over unjust laws.

Because the 1770s generation of sentimental theater largely abided by precepts of verisimilitude and genre purity dictated by Luzán, it excluded all music. For mid-century neoclassic *preceptistas*, music belonged in the "ornament" (*adorno*) of theater, as did the number of characters in a play. Furthermore, when it came to theatrical apparatus, they prized architecture and painting over music and dance, considering the latter two arts essentially "foreign" to poetry (drama).⁸ Strict neoclassicists, from Luzán in his 1737 *Poetics* to Leandro Fernández de Moratín in the early-nineteenth century, decried genre mixture as an abomination. For *preceptistas*, crimes against classical poetics started with baroque theater and

⁷ García Garrosa, "Algunas observaciones..." 430-1.

⁸ "What does poetry have to do with the movement of the feet, or the pitch of the voice? That would be to mix the names of the musician, dancer and Poet: nor can these arts aspire to being more than foreign adornments of poetry (*¿Qué tienen que ver con la poesía el movimiento de los pies, ú el tono de la voz? Eso sería confundir y equivocar los términos de músico, baylarin y Poeta: ni estas artes pueden pretender mas (...) que ser adornos advenedizos de la poesía.*) Ignacio de Luzán, *La poética: ó Reglas de la poesía en general y de sus principales especies*, Corregida y aumentada ed., 2 vols. (Madrid: A. de Sancha, 1789), V.1, 57.

found their way into the diverse genre reinterpretations practiced at the city coliseos during the eighteenth century.⁹ Luzán distrusted even opera, while Iriarte and later Moratín accepted it but only in its “pure” form, as Farinelli had brought it to Madrid: in Italian, and with Metastasian-style librettos.¹⁰ Given the lack of a native Spanish theorization or precept for the sentimental genre, playwrights in the 1770s obeyed the general neoclassicist stance about music – or lack thereof – in dramatic poetry (theater). Not until 1793 did censor and literary critic Santos Díez González (1743-1804) theorize sentimental plays under the name of “urban tragedies;” nevertheless, he maintained the position that music belongs only in opera, and should not be inserted in other genres.¹¹

With the declining popularity of baroque theater among audiences in the 1780s, commercial theaters needed new styles to satisfy demand.¹² Neoclassicist plays appealed more to royal and intellectual ambitions than to public taste, so sentimental plays had to undergo a makeover before they became main staples at the Madrid coliseos during the 1780s and 1790s. Such a makeover came in the 1780s from the pens of “lesser” playwrights like Zavala y Zamora, Antonio Valladares de Sotomayor, Vicente Rodríguez de Arellano, and Comella.¹³ These writers

⁹ “Genre purity was one of the essential dogmas of classicist poetics, hence its rejection of hybrid or new genres which could destabilize the consolidated and stiff traditional genre system.” José Checa Beltrán, “La preceptiva dramática,” in *El teatro en la España del siglo XVIII: homenaje a Josep Maria Sala Valldaura, 2012*, ISBN 978-84-8409-398-5, págs. 79-94, ed. Judith Farré, Nathalie Bittoun-Debruyne, and Roberto Fernández (Lleida: Edicions de la Universitat de Lleida, 2012), 69.

¹⁰ See Leandro Fernández de Moratín and R. Academia de la Historia., *Obras de D. Leandro Fernandez de Moratin*, 4 vols. (Madrid,: Aguado, 1830). V.2, XXV ff.

¹¹ Santos Díez González, *Instituciones poéticas, con un discurso preliminar en defensa de la poesia; y un compendio de la historia poética ó mitología, para inteligencia de los poetas* (Madrid: Benito Cano, 1793). Díez González granted public performances of music a useful function in society as an opportunity for constructive leisure (p. 98). Still, he considered zarzuelas “faulty.”

¹² According to Andioc, the percentage of golden-age (mainly Calderón de la Barca) repertory programmed in the city coliseos of La Cruz and El Príncipe during the eighteenth century dropped sharply during the 1780s. Whereas it remained around 20% from the 1708-9 up until the 1775-6 seasons, it fell to roughly 10% for the 1775-6 comic year. René Andioc, *Teatro y sociedad en el Madrid del siglo XVIII*, *Pensamiento literario español* (Madrid: Fundación Juan March, 1976), 14-15.

¹³ Historiography of Spanish literature has for a long time considered these playwrights’ output poor compared to their predecessors and their successors. See Carlos Cambroner, “Comella, su vida y sus obras,” *Revista contemporánea*, no. 102, April-May-June (1896).

tried to preserve the aura of dignity surrounding neoclassicist drama, while at the same time enthralling audiences who loved *comedias de magia* and tonadillas. In particular, one feature of sentimental theater facilitated their goals. As described by Diderot, the sentimental drama that he called *le genre sérieux* was meant to be an intermediate genre between tragedy and comedy, and so could borrow elements from both: “C’est l’avantage du genre sérieux, que, placé entre les deux autres, il a des ressources, soit qu’il s’élève, soit qu’il descende.”¹⁴ Although the authors of sentimental comedies departed from Diderot’s (and neoclassicist) precepts, they took advantage of the intermediate status of the genre, and moved it closer to the comic, without relinquishing the pathetic potential characteristic of the *genre sérieux*. At the same time, they reified Bourbon regalist ideologies of productivity and progress in the dual stereotype of the unworthy aristocrat and the virtuous peasant or bourgeois.

Sentimental comedies of Comella’s generation infringed on neoclassicist precepts in several different ways, but each of them related to the need to make the plots more complex and the staging more spectacular. Introducing music and dance was one such infringement, but so were secondary plots and adding comic characters. Audiences were accustomed to the high “plot density” of golden-age *comedia de enredo* (*imbroglio*), which the authors of the 1780s actualized to fit newer ideas about human nature lifted from sentimental aesthetics. Parallel storylines led to more characters, including purely comic ones such as the male *gracioso*, another bequest of baroque theater, but also a prestigious acting position at the coliseos: spectators wanted to see the *gracioso* Garrido when they came to the show.¹⁵ *La Cecilia*, for

¹⁴ “Je demande dans quel genre est cette pièce [*Le fils naturel*]? Dans le genre comique ? il n’y a pas le mot pour rire. Dans le genre tragique ? la terreur, la commisération et les autres grandes passions n’y sont points excitées...” Diderot laid out a gamut of dramatic genres: “Le burlesque... Le genre comique... Le genre sérieux... Le genre tragique... Le merveilleux.” The serious genre falls right in the middle. Diderot, “Entretiens,” 184-6.

¹⁵ According to Angulo Egea, Lope de Vega “invented” the *gracioso* in the Tristan character of *La Francesilla* (ca. 1596), and called it “figura de donaire.” María Angulo Egea, “El gracioso en el teatro del siglo XVIII,” in *La construcción de un personaje: el gracioso*, ed. Luciano García Lorenzo (Madrid: Editorial Fundamentos, 2005), 383.

example, contains seventeen characters, compared to the nine in Jovellanos's *El delincuente honrado*, and whereas the latter has one female and one male servant, the former includes three female and four male villagers, plus two peasant choirs. The number of low-class characters increased partly to make more room for comedy, and partly as an excuse to introduce musical and dance numbers. García Garrosa maintains that Comella and his colleagues added music and dance for the sake of comic relief from the tears of sentimentality, but the public's demands for spectacle and the configuration of theater companies probably weighed even more.¹⁶ Most neoclassicist literary critics never thought that music belonged in any genre other than opera, and never approved of Comella or his contemporaries.

4.2 THE HOUSE OF MORTARA IN THE 1770S-1780S

The names of the Marchioness and Marquis of Mortara are never mentioned in the printed librettos, manuscript copies, or newspaper references to *La Cecilia*. Having consulted the few available references to the Mortara family in the second half of the eighteenth century, I suggest that in 1786 the Marchioness of Mortara was Rafaela Lasso de la Vega (1734?-?), and the Marquis was her son, Benito Palermo Osorio Orozco Lasso de la Vega (1762?-1819).

The House of Mortara sat on the Calle del Prado, a few blocks in between the Madrid coliseos and the Paseo del Prado, the city's eastern edge. The Marquisate of Mortara was granted over Milanese territory in 1614, but the title only reached the status of grandee of Spain in 1765, under Charles III. Famously, the second Marquis of Mortara, Francisco de Orozco y Ribera, had defeated the French army in the mid-seventeenth century and seized Catalonia back under the Spanish monarchy; in return for his services, Philip IV appointed him viceroy of Catalonia twice. Francisco de Orozco's grandson, army brigadier Joaquín Osorio y Orozco, held the grandee title

¹⁶ García Garrosa, "Algunas observaciones..." 432-3.

during the third quarter of the eighteenth century until his death in 1782. In his will, he gave a power of attorney to his wife, Rafaela Lasso de la Vega, “curator and administrator” of his estate. They had only one son, Benito Osorio y Orozco Lasso de la Vega, who inherited the grandee. Benito Osorio y Orozco, seventh Marquis of Mortara, claimed administrative control in 1785, arguing that he was of age and had married.¹⁷ In fact, he married twice: first to a non-noble woman, and then in 1794 to his powerful cousin. This second marriage was annulled that same year, and neither union bore children, so the Mortara estate went directly to the Spanish government after Benito died in the early-nineteenth century.¹⁸

Whether Benito was married or not during the year 1786, he occupied the Marquis title, while the title of Marchioness belonged to his widowed mother, Rafaela Lasso de la Vega.¹⁹ Both the composers Esteve and Laserna had worked for Benito’s father in the 1770s, but whereas Esteve seems to have lost connection with the noble house, Laserna continued for Benito and Doña Rafaela occasionally – *La Cecilia* being one such occasion. Laserna entered the service of the Marquis of Mortara as his main source for employment probably in 1772. We know this because in 1773 he became engaged to María Teresa Adán, but deferred the marriage to keep it

¹⁷ Poder que otorgó en su testamento Joaquín Osorio, Marqués de Mortara, a favor de su mujer Doña Rafaela Lasso de la Vega, como curadora y administradora de los bienes de sus hijos; y petición de Benito Palermo Osorio, su hijo, del testimonio de habilitación para poder administrar sus bienes al haberse casado y haber cumplido los 18 años. Certificación 1785. Sección Nobleza del Archivo General de la Nación, ES.45168.SNAHN/3.10.5.3//FERNAN NUÑEZ,C.844,D.12

¹⁸ The first marriage was to María Paula de Mena y Benavides, sister of one of the Charles III’s secretaries; according to the *Descripción genealógica de la Casa de Aguayo* published in 1781, this first marriage had not yet taken place. His cousin and second wife was Josefa Dominga Catalá de Valeriola Luján y Góngora, who changed her name to Gilaberta Carroz de Centelles (1766-1814). The marriage was annulled possibly in 1794 (Partida de matrimonio de Benito Osorio Lasso de la Vega, Marqués de Mortara y Gilaberta Carroz de Centelles, antes Josefa Catalá y Luján, marquesa de Quirra. Va unida certificación de disolución del matrimonio, 1794, Sección Nobleza del Archivo General de la Nación, ES.45168.SNAHN/3.10.5.1//FERNAN NUÑEZ,C.174,D.47.) Eugenio Ruidíaz y Caravia, *La Florida; su conquista y colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés* (Madrid: Hijos de J.A. García, 1893), 655-6.

¹⁹ She was the Marchioness that Bartolomé Piñera y Siles mentions visiting tarantula-bitten Ambrosio at the Madrid General Hospital. Some sources say Lasso de la Vega died in 1777, but this is impossible considering that her husband left her as the state administrator when he died in 1782.

concealed from his noble patron, lest the marquis fire him.²⁰ He had arrived in Madrid in 1768, and had worked for the city theaters since 1774, where he rose to a composer position in 1779, although he had been informally acting in that capacity since 1776, when Antonio Guerrero died. Laserna's full-time job was at the Madrid coliseos, but he also played and collaborated in private households like those of the Marquis of Mortara or the Countess of Benavente, playing Italian opera and Austro-German symphonies. Around the time he composed the music for *La Cecilia*, Laserna was the keyboard master for José Lidón's concerts hosted at the Benavente house, enjoying a small salary for that position.²¹

At the House of Mortara, Laserna met playwright Comella, who had from a young age been a protégé of the 8th Marquis of Mortara, Joaquín Orozco y Osorio.²² Both born in 1751, they resided temporarily at the noble house and married ladies-in-waiting to the Marchioness of Mortara. Over time, the Catalan Comella and the Navarre Laserna wrote musical theater together. Even though they are not directly attributed, Laserna's tonadillas are often believed to be the work of Comella; Comella, in turn, relied almost exclusively on Laserna to musicalize his comedias, tonadillas, and *melólogos* (melodramas).²³ They also shared a common interest in the press, which the former saw briefly realized in the *Diario de las Musas* in 1791, but the latter never brought to fruition.

²⁰ Julio Gómez, "Don Blas de Laserna. Un capítulo de la historia del teatro lírico español visto en la vida del último tonadillero.," in *El músico Blas de Laserna*, ed. José Luis de Arrese, Biblioteca de Corellanos Ilustres (Corella: 1952), 165-6.

²¹ *ibid.*, 136.

²² Joaquín Osorio y Orozco had been in the army with Comella's deceased father, and took the young orphan under his care. "Vida de Don Leandro Fernández de Moratín," *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* vol. 2, 1850, XXVIII. Quoted in Cambronero, "Comella," 571-2.

²³ Early in his career, Comella also supplied tonadilla texts for Esteve. María Angulo Egea, Luciano Francisco Comella (1751-1812), otra cara del teatro de la Ilustración, (San Vicente del Raspeig: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante, 2006). 27.

4.3 LA CECILIA

4.3.1 LA CECILIA IN THE CONTEXT OF COMELLA'S WORK

La Cecilia was one of Comella's earliest long-format plays. Before 1786, the Madrid coliseos had staged a few of his sainetes and tonadillas, as well as the heroic drama *La buena esposa* (*The Good Wife*, 1781), and the one-act piece *El ardid militar*. He had also written (*La Joven más afligida y esclava del Negro Ponto* in 1776 (attr.), *El matrimonio por razón de estado*, and *María Teresa de Austria en Landaw* in 1778). Comella had tried his hand at musical plays, like the zarzuela *La isla de la pescadora* (1778) and the one-act "music piece" *El puerto de Flandes* (1781), both with scores by Esteve. He had collaborated with Laserna on tonadillas and sainetes, including *La bola de gas*, from 1784. However, Comella's heroic-military success *Federico II, rey de Prusia* was yet to come in 1788.²⁴

During the 1780s and 1790s Comella specialized in heroic and military dramas (*comedias*). These were popular with audiences because they restaged epic battles and revisited the topic of honor characteristic of Golden-Age Theater and fundamental to Habsburg social order – a cherished mark of Spanishness. These exact same features brought Comella the criticism and mockery from neoclassicists: notably, consensus has suggested that Leandro Fernández de Moratín based *La comedia nueva's* (1792) ridiculous heroic-drama writer Don Eleuterio on Comella.²⁵ Over time, the premises of neoclassicism's rejection of late-eighteenth-century heroic drama have lingered in the reception of Comella, and in particular of *La Cecilia*. García Garrosa, for example, thinks that *La Cecilia* is essentially a baroque play about honor with a cloak of sentimentality; worse, she continues, it "flagrantly" violates the unity of action

²⁴ Angulo Egea believes that Comella's creative output peaked between 1789-92. *Ibid.*, 79.

²⁵ See, among other references to Moratín's poor treatment of Comella, Le Guin, *Tonadilla in Performance*, 52.

with music and dance numbers, along with comic interventions.²⁶ In her study of dramatic pathos in Spanish theater, I.L. McClelland refers to the figure of “that Cecilia, popularized in the frivolous play by the same title.”²⁷ The same author affirms “Drama in the eighteenth century sank to the lowest level of decadence ever reached by any form of Spanish literature,” and “Comella’s emotionalism lies stiffly couched in pedantry.”²⁸

In addition to the influence of sentimental drama and novels from France and England, and beyond the conventions of baroque Spanish theater, Comella and his contemporaries drew from Italian opera, both *seria* and *buffa*. Metastasio’s libretti enjoyed great popularity in eighteenth-century Spain as did Goldoni’s. Dances, choruses, duets, and ensembles, along with *cavatinas*, *arias*, and *rondòs*, all enhanced theater spectacle and attracted more spectators. Scenic apparatuses, complex stage machinery and lavish decorations were other legacies of court productions of opera in commercial eighteenth-century Spanish theater. Furthermore, Italian opera retained a highbrow aura, because during the decades of Ferdinand VI and Charles III, it had been hosted only privately at the *reales sitios*. That was until 1777, when Charles III ruled it out, and before 1787, when it made a public comeback to Los Caños del Peral. Italian opera always had detractors, but in 1786-7 (the years of *La Cecilia*) there was still hope for the peaceful and productive coexistence of Italian and Spanish musical theater. The conciliatory efforts of intellectuals and noble patrons, together with the audience’s tolerance for some degree

²⁶ María Jesús García Garrosa, *La retórica de las lágrimas: : la comedia sentimental española, 1751-1802* (Valladolid: Caja Salamanca, D.L., 1990), 151, 205.

²⁷ Ivy Lilian McClelland, *"Pathos" dramático en el teatro español de 1750 a 1808: La alta tragedia* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1998), 160. For McClelland, heroic *comedias* are just another version of Comella’s sentimental drama, which she divides into military (*Federico II*) and domestic (*La Cecilia*). Also in LeGuion.

²⁸ *The Origins of the Romantic Movement in Spain*, 2nd ed. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1975), 159, 228.

of genre *mélange* would disappear throughout the reign of Charles IV (1788-1808) in reaction to the events of the French Revolution and to the Napoleonic invasion.²⁹

Comella accessed sentimental drama not only through French *drame bourgeois* and *comédie larmoyante*, but also via buffa libretti such as Goldoni's *La Cecchina* (1757), for some scholars the main inspiration behind *La Cecilia*.³⁰ Before Comella's time, *La Cecchina ossia La buona figliuola* had made a considerable impact on the Madrid stage in the mid-1760s, having been translated by Spanish playwright Antonio Furmento Bazo and arranged by Esteve into a zarzuela based on Piccinni's setting. Even though it would be difficult to ascertain whether Comella based his play directly on Goldoni's, or whether he wrote it under the umbrella of continued inspiration from Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*, the fact is that the playwright translated several Italian libretti. In total, Comella adapted over a dozen operas, by Goldoni (*Le pescatrici*, *Lo speziale o La finta ammalata*), Giovanni Bertati (*Il matrimonio segreto*, *L'avaro*, *La donna di genio volubile*), Ferdinando Casoni (*Il disertore*), Francesco Cerlone (*L'astuzie amorose*), Giuseppe Maria Diodati (*Il credulo deluso*), Giovanni Battista Lorenzi (*Nina, o sia La pazza per amore*), Caterino Tommasso Mazzolà (*La scuola de' gelosi*, *L'amore ingegnoso*), and Lorenzo Da Ponte (*La cifra*, *L'isola del piacere*). Most of the libretti became musical pieces that would technically fall under the category of zarzuela, but which Comella preferred to call *comedia de música*, *pieza de música*, *ópera bufa*, or simply *opera*. Comella mostly selected libretti set by Paisiello and Gazzaniga, with a predilection for buffa. However, some works he chose were closer to the sentimental genre, such *La pazza per amore* and *Il disertore*.

In 1787, Comella wrote a three-act sequel to *La Cecilia* entitled *Cecilia viuda*. Like its prequel, it was first performed at the Mortara house (which also sponsored the libretto printing), and soon thereafter made its debut at the Coliseo de la Cruz, on November 16, 1787.

²⁹ Alva Vernon Ebersole, *La obra teatral de Luciano Francisco Comella, 1789-1806* (Valencia: Albatros, 1985), 11-12.

³⁰ McClelland, "*Pathos*" dramático, 161.

There are two contemporary prints of *Cecilia viuda*: one by Benito Cano, dated 1787, and one by the Librería del Cerro, which is undated. The title page of the former says, “part two,” whereas Cano’s (the one sponsored by the Mortaras) says “part three.” However, both seem to be the same play, *Cecilia viuda*. The play was reprinted as part of a collection by the Librería del Cerro in 1790; this print indicates it as a third edition, but omits any reference to “part two” or “part three.” The music manuscript for *Cecilia viuda* sequel is kept in Madrid’s Biblioteca Histórica Municipal: its title page originally read “Music of the comedia in the *third* part of La Cecilia,” but this was eventually corrected to “*second* part.” The manuscript attributes the composition to Laserna, for the Manuel Martínez theater company, and the lyrics correspond to the songs in the printed third edition of *Cecilia viuda*.

After *La Cecilia*, Comella pursued the sentimental genre through the composition of fifteen melodramas or *melólogos*, five of them set to music by Laserna.³¹ Only a few of the *melólogos* take place in the domestic sphere characteristic of sentimental drama, yet all of the characters, even mythological ones, display intense emotions which are taken up in the accompanying music, emotions that often lead to suicide or death. Most melologues have only one act and one character – hence the Spanish denomination *unipersonal* –, but there are a few longer ones: *El amor conyugal o la Amelia*, for example, has three acts, which place it closer to an actual sentimental drama like *La Cecilia*. The musical interventions found in the librettos of Comella’s melologues range from one-line descriptors to fully notated orchestral parts.

³¹ *Doña Inés de Castro* (1791), *Idomeneo* (1792), *Los amantes de Teruel* (1793), *El amor conyugal o la Amelia* (1794), and *Hércules y Deyanira* (1796). María Angulo Egea, “Los melólogos de Comella-Laserna en el ideal ilustrado de expresión teatral,” in *Teatro y música en España: los géneros breves en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII, 2008*, ISBN 978-84-8344-097-1, págs. 425-438, ed. Begoña Lolo Herranz and Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2008).

4.3.2 STAGINGS

La Cecilia was first staged at the Mortara house in 1786, the year that the libretto was printed; no sources have so far been found to indicate that a performance took place at anytime before. The Mortaras paid for their luxury edition printed by Benito Cano which confirms the date of performance.³² The cast, as indicated in the libretto, included the Marchioness of Mortara in the role of Cecilia, and her son, the Marquis of Mortara, in the role of Bartolo, one of the villagers:

Cecilia, poor noblewoman	Her Excellency Lady the Marchioness of Mortara
The Marchioness	Doña Polonia Sánchez ³³
Village girls	
Manuela	Doña Gertrudis Velasco
Paca	Doña María Vital
Tomasa	Doña Ana Sánchez
Petra	---
Marchioness's maids	---
Lucas, Cecilia's husband	D. Valentín Paredes
The Marquis	D. Luciano Comella
The Count, prudent man	D. Joseph Cabaza ³⁴
Beltrán, the Marquis's lackey	D. Joseph Casanova
Maldonado, the Count's butler	D. Francisco Govéo
Celedonio, the village mayor	D. Diego Sancho
Bartolo	His Excellency Sir the Marquis of Mortara
Pascual	D. Joseph Calderon
Benito	D. Manuel Goya ³⁵
Simón	D. Pedro Rodriguez
Luis	D. Mariano Rosales
Blas	D. Isidro Moreno ³⁶
2 alguaciles	
The Marquis's lackeys, silent	
Male peasant chorus	
Female peasant chorus	

³² Luciano Francisco Comella (1751-1812), *otra cara del teatro de la Ilustración*. 26.

³³ Charitable Madrid lady.

³⁴ Author of "Conversación política sobre el lujo, daños que causa al Estado, y modos que ha tenido de entronizarse."

³⁵ Military officer from Toledo

³⁶ Hyeronimite friar from El Escorial, d. 1818. Musician, born in Alocén. *Revista de Madrid: Ciencia-literatura-política*, Volume 6, 42.

The first public performance of *La Cecilia* took place at the Coliseo del Príncipe on July 14-23, 1786, together with the *fin de fiesta El maestro inglés*, a trio tonadilla also composed by Laserna. The city coliseos programmed the play again on September 1787 (Cruz); December, 1792; May, 1801 (Príncipe, ran for eight days together with *Cecilia viuda*), and January, 1810 (Príncipe). The *Diario de Madrid*'s issue on May 30, 1812 announced Comella's two-act play at the Coliseo de la Cruz with the modified title *La honesta Cecilia*, and again in May 1813 as *La Cecilia*, but the last date annotated in the manuscript prompters' librettos is 1810.

4.3.3 PLOT

Comella wrote some sentimental plays that take place in urban settings, but *La Cecilia* is set in a village, in the tradition of the rural plays by Lope de Vega and Calderón de la Barca. The rural setting gave playwrights the opportunity to incorporate government ideals regarding economic progress based on agriculture, which the Bourbon ministers had developed along the lines of Quesnay's physiocracy. According to physiocracy, economic progress presupposes a social order that reproduces the immutable laws of nature. In *La Cecilia*, the loyalty of peasants to their aristocrat master guarantees the proper functioning of the natural order. The Count embodies the industrious, righteous member of the high nobility, while the Marquis stands for the idle aristocrats that refuse to cooperate with the monarchy and dilapidate the resources of the land. The topic of honor is modernized in Comella's piece according to regalist principles: honor resides in wholesome behavior and is not a birthright.³⁷ The Marquis (a grandee) loses his honor as a consequence of his lust and laziness, while Lucas (Cecilia's husband) retains his in spite of having lost his fortune.

³⁷ Angulo Egea, *Luciano Francisco Comella (1751-1812), otra cara del teatro de la Ilustración*. 77.

In Act One of the piece, Cecilia and her husband Lucas, *hidalgos* by birth, live as modest and honorable poor farmers after they unjustly lose their estate. Their house is located near the village lands owned by the Count, who treats the peasants fairly and uses his riches moderately; in other words, he behaves like a model aristocrat according to regal parameters. In contrast, his daughter, the young Marchioness along with her husband, the Marquis, have adopted the urban mores of Madrid, superficial and corrupt. As a result, the Marchioness brings the Marquis to the village to keep him away from love affairs. When the aristocrats meet with the villagers, who want to receive their visit with music and dance in the town hall, the Marquis sets his eye on Cecilia. Lucas discreetly sends Cecilia home to protect her from the Marquis's advances, but the aristocrat sends his servant to follow her. Meanwhile, Lucas goes out hunting with the Count, and the Marchioness arrives at Cecilia's house expressing her fear of infidelity to Cecilia. After Cecilia reassures the Marchioness of her virtue, the Marquis comes and tries to assault Cecilia, but Lucas returns and stops him without any physical violence. The Count witnesses the scene and his admiration for Cecilia and Lucas grows.

At the beginning of Act Two, Lucas is desolate because the Marquis looms over Cecilia's virtue. The Count visits the couple in their humble cottage, and suggests that they secretly spend the night at his butler's, to ward off another unwanted nightly visit. In the meantime, the Marquis and his lackey, Beltrán, plan to kidnap Cecilia in a carriage that night during village festivities. So before the Marchioness and the Count, the Marquis pretends to repent in order to dispel any suspicions, but the Count does not fall for it. After the festivities that night, Lucas goes to thank the Count for protecting their honor. The Marquis and Beltrán go in search of Cecilia to kidnap her, but they run into some of the villagers making rounds, and engage in a fight. At the Count's butler's house, Cecilia falls asleep and dreams that Lucas has been killed. She is awoken when the Marquis arrives covered by a cloak, persecuted by Lucas and the

villagers, and asking her to hide him. She obliges him, not knowing that he has in reality shot Lucas. As instructed by the villagers, Cecilia goes to find the Count for help, and she then stumbles upon Lucas's body. In spite of shock and grief, she resolves to forgive the killer while kneeling by her dead husband. She calls the Marquis out of his hideout and tells him to flee, for she pardons him. Soon, the Count arrives on the scene and the Marquis confesses to his crime. Shaken by Cecilia's magnanimity, he tries to jump out the window, but the villagers stop him. All of a sudden, Lucas regains consciousness. The Marquis repents sincerely this time, and offers Lucas and Cecilia a yearly stipend as atonement.

4.3.4 MUSIC IN *LA CECILIA*

General characteristics of the score

The available score for *La Cecilia* comes from the archives of the Madrid coliseos; if Laserna wrote a different score for the Mortaras, it has either not survived or not been found.³⁸ Like most music in the theater archives, the manuscript consists of a series of parts in oblong quarto, but no orchestral score. In this case, the parts available are for two flutes, clarinet, contrabass/bassoon, two horns, vocal score (voice and bass line), two violins (duplicated), contrabass, bass, and keyboard. The vocal score exhibits considerable wear and tear on the title and first pages. The songs that recur are only indicated at the end of the vocal score, but the instrumental parts copy the repeated music in full. The keyboard (*clave*) part consists only of a bass line, without figures or any other harmonic indication. The keyboard melody is identical to those of the contrabass/bassoon, contrabass, and bass, but each is copied separately, for different performers. The three latter instrumental parts seem to be in a different, possibly later

³⁸ The archives from the coliseos of La Cruz and El Príncipe were transferred to the Biblioteca Municipal (now Biblioteca Histórica Municipal) in 1898.

hand. The optional bassoon section was added later on the title page of one of the contrabass parts, suggesting that one copy was kept for the actual contrabass, and the other one made available to the bassoonist. Some of these changes could have been introduced as late as 1810, the latest performance recorded at the Madrid coliseos.

There are two short instrumental dances at the end of most of these parts: the first one is a 24-bar contradance, and the second one, on a different page, itself contains two small dances under the title, “Una marcha.” The word “contradanza” is written above the title. This is the only piece that has a title separate from the generic or tempo indication (e.g. allegro, seguidillas, etc.). It comprises two separate items, the first one called “*baile*,” and the second one “allegro.” “Una marcha” may have been added as an afterthought, given the different ink color that was used, although the hand is the same that copied the first contradance. Furthermore, “Una marcha” is written on a separate page in all instances, even when empty staves were available (for example, in the horn parts). In any case, this last dance was eliminated from later performances – the word “no” is penned on the upper-left corner of the page, and it seems that because the piece was discarded, later copies simply do not include it. Based on this distinction, it is possible that the clarinet, the keyboard, and the contrabass part were added later - the original contrabass score was repurposed for bassoon.

Songs eliminated for public performance: Act I, scene 1

The review of the first coliseo performance (July, 1786) in the *Memorial literario* warns “this play had previously been staged in an illustrious house adorned with some musical songs, omitted from the public performance.”³⁹ Indeed, Cano’s printed libretto begins with Cecilia singing the following song as she winds a skein:

³⁹ “Teatros,” *Memorial Literario, Instructivo y Curioso*, no. 32 (1787): 471-3.

Aunque el hombre y la alfalfa
sin contratiempo
disfruten verdor,
cortan su lozanía
al mejor tiempo,
tiempo y labrador

Even though man and alfalfa
without disturbance
enjoy verdure
their vim and vigor cut
when the time comes,
time and peasant

Lirio y jazmín,
rosa y clavel
quiero yo coger
para hacer guirnaldas
a mi dulce bien

Lily and jasmine,
rose and carnation
I want to pick
to make garlands
for my beloved

In the privacy of her mansion, the Marchioness of Mortara would have sung these lyrics establishing the bittersweet character of the play and sets up the pastoral, rustic environment, where the marchioness enacts a shepherdess. Instead, the manuscript libretto from the *Coliseo del Príncipe* begins with the ensuing monologue by Cecilia, evoking the Calderonian trope of *theatrum mundi*:

Cansada estoy: El destino
icómo muda las escenas
del teatro de la vida
donde el hombre representa,
haciendo que en un instante
la alegre pase a funesta!

I am tired: fate
How it changes the scenes
of the theater of life,
this place where man performs,
and makes in an instant
the happy ill-fated!

Here Cecilia is cropping grass instead of winding yarn like she was in the Mortara version, an activity she interrupts in order to say her lines. Perhaps in the public theater version Comella would have had no problem with an actress actually performing peasant chores, but for the Marchioness of Mortara he preferred domestic work. After Cecilia recites her monologue explaining the loss of her fortune, her husband Lucas comes on stage and continues the opening song:

Matizados objetos
que de este prado
fuisteis el primor:
Adornad de Cecilia,
mi dueño amado,
el dulce candor.

Lirio y jazmín...

Even though man and alfalfa
without disturbance
enjoy verdure
their vim and vigor cut
when the time comes,
time and peasant

Lily and jasmine...

Lucas's class is also demoted in the play's public version: instead of appearing as a "poor military [officer]" with a flower bouquet for his wife (as in the Mortara version), here he is dressed as a "decent villager" and spurs on a donkey loaded with firewood. After a dialogue between Lucas and Cecilia, the scene wraps up with a reiteration of the song's chorus: *lily and jasmine...* The first scene in the libretto sponsored by the Mortaras looks like this:

1. "Lily and jasmine," verse and chorus by Cecilia.
2. Monologue by Cecilia.
3. "Lily and jasmine," verse and chorus by Lucas.
4. Dialogue between Lucas and Cecilia.
5. "Lily and jasmine," chorus by Lucas and Cecilia.

The first scene in the coliseo version has no music at all, but Comella structured other scenes of the play's public version with the same layout consisting of recited dialogue framed by a song, as was conventional in Spanish comedias. Comella may have removed Cecilia and Lucas's songs for the sake of brevity, or perhaps to bring the play closer to the kind of *costumbrista* theater practiced by Ramón de la Cruz and represented in many tonadillas of the 1780s. These modifications point to a more rigid stratification of the characters in the public version, where the lead roles were further away from the middle class of the Mortara domestic drama and clearly members of the working class.

Bailete: Act I, scene 3; Act II, scene 4.

The coliseo version eliminates all solo songs, retaining only choruses and dances, all performed by peasants, and none by noble characters. The first of these occurs when the peasants dance a *bailete* with tambourines to welcome the young Marchioness and Marquis into the village, during the third scene of the first act. This *bailete* arrives just after the Count's monologue on the virtues of work and austerity, which formed part of the Mortara and the first coliseo libretto, but was progressively eliminated from the 1792 or 1801 performances. At the beginning of Act I, scene 3, the Count appears in his palace, "modestly [without luxury] dressed, reading some *memoriales* [periodical press]," a leisure activity which prompts him to extol the virtues of his private retreat amidst the village life, far from city opulence: "Oh, what pleasurable days, the village retreat provides!" The scene as Comella designed it merged the Bourbon trope of the uncorrupted village vs. the corrupted city with the "novel privateness" that individuals, according to Habermas, experienced while reading periodicals at home.⁴⁰ Originally, the Count recited thirty lines, but in time he was left with only six and finally with none. All that remained in the coliseo version was a short dialogue with his butler to announce the upcoming dancers.

For the lyrics of this *bailete*, Comella turned to one of his favorite topics for choruses: the support of regal policies, here embodied in an open display of the Count's representative publicness which hardly had any equivalent in real-life Madrid. Choruses in Comella's long-format plays, whether heroic dramas or sentimental ones, usually represent the people declaring their support for the fictional monarch's wisdom, or endorsing the fairness of the status quo. This was Comella's bow to regalism and to the powerful men who supported it, including the

⁴⁰ "Even before the control over the public sphere by public authority was contested and finally wrested away by the critical reasoning of private persons on political issues, there evolved under its cover a public sphere in apolitical form – the literary precursor of the public sphere operative in the political domain. It provided the training ground for a critical public reflection still preoccupied with itself – a process of self-clarification of private people focusing on the genuine experiences of their novel privateness." Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 29.

neoclassicists. For example, in his famous *Federico II Rey de Prusia* a group of soldiers and female food vendors, happy to give their lives for their monarch, sing the following verses

“accompanied by fife and drum:”

Pues de Federico el nombre grabado le tiene el soldado en su corazón: Cantemos, bailemos del Rey en honor Cuando en los combates manda nuestra suerte, á buscar la muerte vamos con tesón: Cantemos, bailemos del Rey en honor	For Federico’s name the soldier has engraved in his heart: Let us sing, let us dance in the King’s honor When in battle he dictates our fate we seek death with determination Let us sing, let us dance in the King’s honor
---	--

Similarly, *La Cecilia*’s first *bailete* recalls the villagers’ love for the Count because, as a fair ruler, he does not tax his subjects. The people applaud the Marchioness and the Marquis not for their own virtue, which is lacking, but for the Count’s.

Pues los amos no exigen tributos de los pobres, nuestro afecto a sus plantas tribute corazones, coronando de aplausos su hermosa prole.	For the masters do not demand taxes from the poor, may our affection at their feet pay hearts in tribute crowning with applauses his beautiful progeny.
--	--

The Count is the highest-ranking character in *La Cecilia*, and may have served as a model for Comella’s heroic dramas’ enlightened monarchs: Frederick II (three plays: 1788, 1789, 1792), Maria Teresa of Austria, Peter the Great, Christina of Sweden (1797), and Catherine I of Russia (two plays: 1797, 1799).

The *bailete*’s major key (D), 6/8 meter and rounded binary form each contribute to its pastoral and celebratory aura. The pickup beat at the beginning of the vocal line also connects it to other dance forms, as I will note below in the contradance. All the male and female villagers sing in thirds (occasionally sixths), as was common in Laserna’s and Esteve’s choruses. The

rhythm of the melody emphasizes the rocking feel of the 6/8 meter, mostly abiding by a quarter note-eight note figuration (long-short, long-short), or a dotted rhythm variation of this figure:

Example 4.1: Bailete, vocal lines, opening.⁴¹

Even within the limited scope of this short, simple eight-phrase *bailete*, Laserna introduces harmonic variety: the second phrase ends in the dominant, and the third and fourth stand in the dominant and conclude with a cadence in A major. The second part of the rounded binary begins in B minor, the relative minor, and moves to the dominant F# (phrases five and six), to return to the tonic D in the last two phrases.

Vocal phrase	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
tonicization	D	D	(A)	(A)	(B min)	(B min)	D	D
Harmonic movement	I	I→V	V	V→V/V	V/vi→vi	vi→V/vi	I	I
cadences				HC/D		HC/Bmin		PAC/D
section	a				b		a'	

Table 4.1: Structure of bailete, *La Cecilia*, first musical number

The *bailete* repeats at the end of act one, scene 4, and reappears during act two on the occasion of the village festivities, before the Marquis kidnaps Cecilia. The lyrics for the second act change, but maintain a sense of collective praise for the Count.

⁴¹ Vocal parts, reduction from the *parte de apuntar*. Blas de Laserna, *Música en la comedia La Cecilia, primera parte*, Comedia, 1786. Parte de apuntar, 2 vn, 2 fl, cl, bn, 2 hn, cb, bass, harpsichord. BHM Mus 25-11.

Seguidillas (boleras): Act I, scene 4.

If the *bailete* asserts the Count's righteous authority, the seguidillas sing the beauty of his daughter, the young and thoughtless Marchioness who married a scoundrel. Whereas the stage indications for the *bailete* call for the actor- and actress-singers to dance as they sing, the ones written for the seguidillas require singing only as the villagers open a small procession that leads their noble patrons to the plaza for a village dance. As they enter the stage in the procession, all the characters sit around the plaza while the seguidillas play. The piece thus frames dance as a public event; its lyrics focus on the Marchioness, but the music celebrates social dancing.

In the arena of the village plaza, nobles and plebeians share common ground; and in fact, it is in this level situation that the Marquis eyes Cecilia for the first time and becomes infatuated with her. Musically, the seguidillas, a mischievous and seductive dance, open the gates for desire and for a subversion of order characteristic of the carnivalesque. Indeed, right after the first verse is sung, the Marquis states "In hearing seguidillas, my feet and legs tickle [with desire for dancing, and action in general]," whereas the Marchioness, for her part, feels an uncertain and suspicious grief in her soul. The Count in turn says that he "loathes such festivities, because in turning and turning, willing and not willing, modesty is trampled upon." Dance per se causes no harm, the Count continues, but misuse perverts it.

7

Fl.

Fl.

Fl.

Bsn.

Hn.

Hn.

Voice

Pa-ra que som-bre - ri - llo. Why e- ven a sun hat. nues-tra a-ma u - sa quan-s our la - dy wears when s

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vc.

Cb.

Body of verse begins

Example 4.2: Seguidillas (boleras), prefatory vocal phrase, ritornello, and body of verse

The seguidillas present all the markers of the play's overall style: triple meter (3/8), highly ornamented melodies such as rapid figurations in the violins and turns in the vocal line, and lively tempo. Further standard devices include a prefatory phrase placed before the segno for the repeat, and separated from the body of the verse by a brief instrumental ritornello. Therefore, a complete verse consists of the opening phrase plus two repetitions *dal segno* of the verse body (ms. 11). As seen in many of Esteve's and Laserna's compositions in seguidilla style, the vocal line of the verse body ends in the idiomatic melodic cadence that approaches the tonic from above via a trill.

16

Voice

Ay_____ quan-do el sol no se a tre - ve con su blan-cu-ra_____

D.S.

Example 4.3: Seguidillas, end of vocal part featuring cadence with upper trill.

In the printed and original manuscript libretto, the second seguidilla verse follows after the Count’s cautionary preface regarding the perils of dance, which acknowledges the rules of religious modesty and regalist regulations of public entertainment. This second verse is marked as a duet instead of a chorus, to which only the Marquis and Marchioness dance. However, in further modifications to the manuscript libretto for later stagings (1792, 1801), the Count’s admonition was crossed out and an annotation on the right margin indicates, “With guitar/ they dance [seguidillas] *boleras*.” At this point, either dancing without singing would have taken place, accompanied by the guitar instead of the orchestra, or the entire passage would have been eliminated. These posterior changes point to the idea that theater programmers pushed *La Cecilia* towards *acostumbrista* repertory depicting a generic working class, and away from an intermediate-genre sentimental theater, which originally allowed for more nuanced characters in terms of social status.

After the Marquis dances with his wife, he spots Cecilia among the peasant girls and asks her to dance; Cecilia accepts reluctantly, and the dance resumes with the third seguidilla verse. Stage notes indicate that “during the entire time of the seguidilla the Marquis shows restlessness and love in his actions, and Lucas expresses his suspicions with gestures, and when [the dance] is over he brings Cecilia to the side and orders her to leave.” In the verse, the Marquis breaks the social contract performed during the first verse through the hierarchical, orderly seating of all the community around the public space. He takes over the rights of the peasants, seizing Cecilia from her husband, and everything falls out of balance until order is restored at the end of the

play. After the third verse, the Marquis sends his servant to follow Cecilia, and the scene wraps up with a repetition of the last tercet (indicated between bars //). The following chart for this scene shows how Comella and Laserna used one song to frame and develop the action, making the music structural to the plot.

ACT I, SCENE 6 ⁴²			
Verse 1	Para qué sombrero \$ nuestra ama usa quando el sol no se atreve con su blancura [D.S.]Pues aunque es nieve, no es de la que sus rayos derretir pueden	Why even a sun hat our lady wears when the sun does not dare touch her paleness For even though it's snow it's not the kin the sun rays can melt	[Villagers enter the stage singing, with the Count, the Marchioness, and the Marquis behind, followed by their house servants, the town council, Lucas and Cecilia. They sit on chairs and pews around the plaza, with the masters at the center. Nobody dances].
Spoken verses: Count's speech			
Verse 2 original	La que gracias pretenda \$ acuda al ama, porque el ama contiene todas las gracias [D.S.]Y así su esposo como anda entre las gracias es tan gracioso	She who hopes for graces come to the mistress, for the mistress holds all of the graces And thus her husband since he walks among the graces is so graceful	[One female and one male villagers sing in duo. The Marchioness and Marquis dance.]
Spoken verses: The Marquis asks Cecilia to dance, makes intrusive queries; Cecilia evades queries, focusing attention back on dancing.			
Verse 3	Entre las zagalejas \$ el jazmín sobra porque cada una tiene llena la boca [D.S.]/Y aunque guardados es la risa tercera para enseñarlos/	Among the peasant girls jasmine abounds because each one has her mouth full [of jasmine] And though well kept laughter the mediator to show them	[Two couples dance: Cecilia with the Marquis, and two of the villagers. The Marquis makes obvious advances to Cecilia].
Spoken verses: Lucas sends Cecilia home; the Marquis sends his servant after her; the Count requests Lucas's company.			
Refrain	[D.S.]/Y aunque guardados es la risa tercera para enseñarlos/	And though well kept laughter the mediator to show them	
End of scene. Actors leave the stage.			

Table 4.2: Seguidillas, lyrics and accompanying actions, *La Cecilia*, second musical number

⁴² Key for reading the table: underlined text- prefatory musical phrase; \$ - segno, beginning of body of verse; [D.S.] – dal segno, music for body of verse repeats. The lyrics follow the compound pattern of the compound seguidilla, with assonant rhymes on the pentasyllabic verses: [7- 5a- 7- 5a] + [5b- 7- 5b].

Comella's original three-verse plan for the seguidillas contemplates the possibility of harmonious coexistence between masters and subjects, and also the belief in a ruling class to guide, model, and contain public entertainment. The second verse is danced under the watchful eye of the Count, after his discourse on decorum; under the same spirit of enlightened moderation, Charles III's government minister, the Count of Aranda, had designed the masked balls of 1767. During these events, Madrileños could come to party and dance at Los Caños del Peral (when it was vacant, and before it became the Italian opera theater). Similarly to events taking place in monarchical theaters around Europe, every aspect of the evenings, from attire to interpersonal contacts, was regulated.⁴³ Optimism in the possibility of civilized entertainment progressively vanished, however, during the reign of Charles IV, giving way to a more black-and-white moral stance towards dancing and theater. The second seguidilla verse was omitted from later stagings because it was unessential to the plot, but also possibly because Comella's didactic excerpts seemed anachronistic or boring.

Canzoneta de payas, Act I, scene 4.

The last musical number in the first act of *La Cecilia* is a canción or canzonetta sung by the peasant girls. This fourth scene happens in the village (the public sphere); after this song, all remaining events of Act I (scene 5) take place at Cecilia and Lucas's property – the private sphere. The print (Cano) and manuscript (coliseo) libretti call this number “canción,” whereas the music parts and script refers to it as “canzonet[t]a.”⁴⁴ Some of the sources use the title “peasant song” (“canción paya”), and others read “peasant girls song” (“canción *de* payas”), but

⁴³ See chapter 1.

⁴⁴ The music script or *guión de música* are all the lyrics in one play written one after the other, indicating who sings them, and cuing spoken dialogue sections. This would allow prompters and rehearsal directors to have a clear overview of all the musical numbers and their repetitions throughout the play.

annotations as well as lyrical content (“mother, I want a suitor”) make it clear that this was an all-female peasant song.

The *canzoneta de payas* comes after yet another “invitation-to-virtue” scene (7). Before the number, the village feast framed by the seguidillas concludes and the actor-singers leave the stage, save the Count, who engages in conversation with Lucas and offers him financial support, on the basis of Lucas’s righteousness. However, the impoverished man refuses any money and only accepts the Count’s friendship; both men end scene seven with emotional admiration for each other (“What an act of honesty! What a virtue!). They both leave, and the peasant girls enter “wearing straw hats and baskets,” singing in unison the following lyrics:

Madre, yo quiero novio
yo quiero novio madre
antes con antes

Mother, I want a suitor
I want a suitor, mother
sooner than soon

La niña y la ciruela
cuando van a pintarse
deben cogerse luego
para que no se pasen

The girl and the plum
when they are getting ripe
must be picked quickly
before they rot

This song stands apart from the previous two in a few respects: firstly, it is gender-specific, a song genre instead of a dance one, and it is set to a distinct ternary form – melodically, if not harmonically. The verse meter loosely follows seguidilla form for the tercet (7+7+5) and cantilena form (seven-syllable verses) for the quatrain, with the lax poetic form mirroring the generic “song” form of the music. Consequently, Laserna focuses on making this song cantabile and rustic, rather than adjusting it to more specific conventions as he does with his seguidillas. He uses a musical language here that relies on conventional codifications of the pastoral, similar to the one in the initial *bailete*. The pastoral signifiers in both instances include a bass line that moves in long-short groupings (♩ ♪) to anchor the swing of the 6/8 meter, while the rest of the instruments and the vocal melody follow the same pattern except for the occasional dotted figures (♩.♪♪). In addition, the bass moves directly from a tonic pedal to the

IV-V-I cadential formula, simulating a bourdon; the *bailete*, in contrast, alternates between tonic and dominant before moving to the cadence. The *bailete* also features some melodic turns to break the monotony of the long-short swing, which the *canzonetta* does not.

1

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vc.

Cb.

I [V⁷] I I [V] I IV V I

Example 4.4: Canzonetta de payas, instrumental introduction

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vc.

Cb.

I I IV V I 6 IV V I

Example 4.5: Bailete, instrumental introduction

Note that the main melody of the *bailete* (as well as the seguidillas) begins on the upbeat, as was characteristic of dances, but that the canzonetta starts on the downbeat.

Traditional Spanish sounds mix here with those of Neapolitan canzonettas on the shared ground of popular song. In the vocal line, Laserna distances himself from those aspects of eighteenth-century Italian canzonetta borrowed from opera, leaving out patter, melodic cadences that leap from $\hat{5}$ to $\hat{1}$, or octave leaps. However, the tripartite design here with a contrasting middle part certainly points to a stylization and Italianization of Spanish folk song.

In this case, Laserna highlights the B section by assigning it to two soloists (one in the printed libretto), and by directing it towards a very brief tonicization of the dominant leading into the repeat of the A section. As in previous cases of Comella’s use of music for comedia form, one more iteration of A closes the scene after the spoken verses.

Vocal phrase	1	2	3	4-5	6-7	6	7	1	2	3
tonicization						D	D			
Harmonic movement	I	I	IV-V-I	I (IV) I	I (IV) I	V (V ⁶) V	IV/V - V/V - V	I	I	IV-V-I
	I → V							I		
cadences			PAC/G				PAC/D			PAC/G
section	A			B				A		

Table 4.3: Structure of “Canzoneta de payas,” *La Cecilia*, third musical number

While the peasant girls sing, the Marquis, waiting for his servant to return with directions to Cecilia’s house, decides to entertain himself.⁴⁵ The canzonetta reveals the girls’ commonplace aspirations, antithetical to Cecilia’s more elevated moral character. Indeed, during the scene they appear more than willing to cooperate with the Marquis’s seductions, which involve writing their names and addresses down in a little book. The Marquis then embodies a Don Juan type traceable to the Golden-Age playwright Tirso de Molina (*El burlador*

⁴⁵ “While I wait for Beltrán, I will have fun with these ones.” Comella, *La Cecilia*. *Primera parte*.

de Sevilla y convidado de piedra, 1630), internationalized by Molière (*Dom Juan ou Le Festin de pierre*, 1665), and later revamped for eighteenth-century Spanish audiences by Antonio de Zamora (*No hay plazo que no se cumpla ni deuda que no se pague o Convidado de piedra*, ca. 1714). The trope of the aristocrat who takes advantage of peasant girls living in his territory under the false promise of marriage and status also circulated in popular culture, as narrated in the romance-song “La Merenciana” from Salamanca: the Marquis routinely sends his carriage to fetch the young Merenciana from her village home in order to spend the night with him. Merenciana believes he is single, and in that piece her mother even sends her daughter willfully to the powerful man in hopes of wealth and jewelry.⁴⁶

Canzoneta de payos. Act II, scene 2.

In the two canzonettas (female in act one, male in act two), Comella builds upon the public aspect of the private drama playing out between the Count and Cecilia’s families, but while the first canzonetta welcomes the Marquis’s charms, the second one problematizes them. Act two begins at Cecilia and Lucas’s cottage, where act one ended; after Lucas confronts the Marquis, the Count intervenes and asks Lucas to forgive Cecilia, who is not at fault for the Marquis’s scandalous actions. The second scene then takes place at the village plaza, where the town’s mayor (a comedic character) and his entourage sit outside enjoying refreshments. The male villagers enter the stage “with winnowing rakes, as if coming from the threshing floors.” In the second canzonetta, they bring to the forefront the damage that the perverted aristocrat has caused the community. Out of the four songs in *La Cecilia*, only the lyrics of this one connect to the plot intrinsically, because they mention the Marquis.

⁴⁶ “Merenciana se creía/ que el marqués era soltero/ para casarse con ella/ y disfrutar del dinero.” Recorded by shawm player and folk musician Nino Sánchez, *i... Y al aire!* (Nino’s, 2005).

<i>Solo</i>	Su señoría el Marqués a las niñas de esta villa, por quererse hacer merced las quiere hacer Señorías. ⁴⁷	<i>His lordship the Marquis to grant them (or himself) a favor wants to make the girls of this village ladies</i>
<i>Chorus</i>	Tirarira rira (bis) qué bueno anda el chiste con su Señoría	<i>Tirarira rira (bis) what a joke, it turns out, with his lordship</i>
<i>Solo</i>	Como es de memoria flaco deja a cuantas niñas mira en su libro de memorias su señoría escritas	<i>Since his memory is weak every girl he sets eyes on in his journal his lordship writes down</i>
<i>Chorus</i>	Tirarira rira...	<i>Tirarira rira (bis)</i>

This “Canzoneta de payos” combines a somber solo section in D minor, evocative of traditional songs about the hardships of the lives of peasants and shepherds, with a lighter chorus that begins in the relative major (F) but moves back to the tonic in its second half. The syllabic vocal melody of the solo in 2/4 meter evokes the heavy stepping of peasants bearing tools after a hard day’s work, illustrating as well the moral burden that the newcomer has put on the community’s shoulders. Laserna enhances the austere sonority by stripping the accompaniment of the solo entry down to only two violins. This twelve-bar instrumental introduction is the most expressive that Laserna wrote for *La Cecilia*: first, the two violins quickly ascend an octave and a half in just four bars (ms. 1-4), and then, after a tentative cadence, Laserna prolongs the subdominant through a sequence (ms. 7-10), to arrive at the real cadence (ms. 11-12) right before the vocal line starts (see Example 4.6). The stark the vocal line sounds striking after the pathos of the introduction.

⁴⁷ This verse was later changed to: “Su señoría el Marqués/ desde que vino a la villa/ quiere a todas las muchachas/ que encuentra su señoría.” (*His lordship the Marquis/ since he came to the village/ loves all the girls/ that his lordship finds*). The text seems to have been changed for the 1801 staging, possibly because the original’s turns of language referred to baroque conceptism[conceptualism] so much that they did not make any sense by the beginning of the nineteenth century.

1

Fl. *f*

Fl. *f*

Cl. *f*

Bsn.

Hn.

Hn.

Voice

Violin 1 *f*

Violin 2 *f*

Vc.

Cb.

i [V⁷ i i V i V⁴ i⁶ V²/VI VI⁶ V⁴/iv iv⁶ iv

Example 4.6: Canzonetta de payos, beginning

Repetition of the initial bailete with stick dance, Act II, scene 4

Laserna's initial *bailete* is repurposed during act two, transformed into a chorus with new lyrics, which again praise the Count as he, the Marchioness, the Marquis, and the domestic servants look out from a balcony onto the singing villagers. No dance is indicated at this point:

Esas ardientes teas
que al amo se dedican,
de nuestros corazones
el amor simbolizan,
deseando a su pro genie
dichas cumplidas.

These burning torches
dedicated to the master,
symbolize the love
from our hearts
wishing his offspring
bountiful joys.

This second iteration of the *bailete*-chorus celebrates the reconciliation between the Count's family and the villagers. In the previous scenes, the Marquis falsely promised to mend his ways, apologizing to his father-in-law and swearing faithfulness to his wife. The Marquis's spurious conversion quiets the concerns of the town for its women, though in reality he is plotting to kidnap Cecilia later that night. His plan being unknown to the rest of the characters, the social order is here momentarily restored and sealed with collective music and dance.

Comella's original libretto for the Mortaras called for a stick dance following this chorus: "Six couples enter the stage to the beat of a march, who form a stick dance, and at the end of each shift, the dancers say the following verses; once they are finished, they leave to the beat of the same march." Stick dances (*danzas de paloteo*) accompanied by fife and drum form a part of the traditional folklore in many provinces across Spain including Castille, Navarra, La Rioja, Cantabria, Asturias, and the Basque Country; from there they were exported during the colonial era and took root in numerous regions of the Spanish Americas.⁴⁸ The cast of *La Cecilia*, as well as the fact that the preceding chorus was performed by both men and women, would suggest that the six dancing couples were mixed; traditionally, only men participate in most regional

⁴⁸ According to José Inzenga, stick dances were practiced in most peninsular provinces. José Inzenga, *Cantos y bailes populares de España*, vol. 1 (Madrid: A. Romero A., 1888), ix.

stick dances, although some do feature both genders. The following passage from José Francisco Isla y Rojo's (1703-1781) satirical novel *Historia del famoso predicador Fray Gerundio de Campazas, alias Zotes* describes a stick dance as part of festivities in the small village of

Campazas:

Once the feast day arrived, and the time for the show, a group of people came to get Fray Gerundio out of his house: his father, as the *mayordomo* of the year, an uncle of his..., the two Mayors and the two local councilors... with their clerks behind them, in their appropriate place... [with many clergymen joining the crowd]... Before all came the drum and the dance formed by eight lads, the stoutest and handsomest of Campazas, all of them with their crowns.... [Isla describes in great detail the dancers' attire].... All with their neckerchiefs well tied, to fasten the sticks for the *paloteo* in the same place, just like the mule drivers carry the rod on their belts.

Llegado que hubo el dia deseado de la fiesta, y la hora de la funcion, vinieron à sacar de casa à Fray Gerundio, su Padre como mayordomo de aquel año, un Tio suyo..., los dós Alcaldes y los dós Regidores del lugar... y con su Alguacil detrás en el sitio que le correspondia... [with many clergymen joining the crowd] Precediales à todos el tamboril y la danza compuesta de ocho mozos los mas jaquetones y alentados de Campazas, todos con sus coronas.... [Isla describes in great detail the dancers' attire].... todos ceñidos con sus corbatas, para meter los palos del paloteo en el mismo sitio, y ni mas ni menos como los arrieros llevan la vara al cinto.⁴⁹



Figure 4.1: Castilian *paloteo* dancers wearing attires closely resembling those described by Isla in the mid-eighteenth century. Torrelobatón, Valladolid, 1953.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ José Francisco de Isla y Rojo, *Historia del famoso predicador Fray Gerundio de Campazas, alias Zotes*, vol. 2 (En Campazas: a costa de los herederos de Fray Gerundio, 1770), 40.

⁵⁰ Source for photograph: Fundación Joaquín Díaz/ Colección de fotografías de Castilla y León/ Monumentos y pueblos. Item: va1596, "Grupo de paloteo," 1953. Original print: black and white, 245 x 185 mm. http://www.funjdiaz.net/basefotos3.php?ID_lugar=286

Isla's vignette and Comella's dance scene both capture the ritual life of rural Spain, with its local hierarchies upholding a wider system of privileges that sustained social order. Through a critique of the excesses of baroque conceptism and *culteranismo*, Isla focuses on the corruption and ignorance of Spanish clergy, personified in Fray Gerundio. In *La Cecilia*, Comella similarly reproduces the bombastic petty leader in the town's mayor, Celedonio, and his two clerks, who are responsible for most of the comic scenes in the play. At the same time, Comella pays tribute to local ritual in the villagers' sincere loyalty for their masters, a loyalty expressed through rustic language, music, and dance. The stick dance thus evokes primeval bucolics without the literary or musical stylization of the seguidillas, the *bailete*, or the canzonettas. Here, instead of invoking the pastoral through metaphor ("the girl and the plum" in the canzoneta de payas, or the more baroque "mouth full of jasmynes" of the seguidillas), Comella emulates vernacular peasant speech (i.e. "pechos endinos" for "pechos indignos"), in the verses recited in between stick dance formations.

The stick dance underwent different transformations through each staging. The first rendition likely consisted of an instrumental piece added to the end of the individual parts under the title "Una marcha," since Comella's stage annotations in the printed libretto direct the dancers to enter the stage "to the beat of a *march (una marcha)*." As copied on the manuscript page, the music for "Una marcha" has two separate sections: one in 6/8 labeled "baile," with three repeated sections of eight bars each (the last of the three is labeled "coda"), for a total of twenty-four bars. Copied below is a sixteen-bar piece labeled "allegro," composed of two eight-bar phrases, each repeated twice. The latter may have served as the march to which the dancers entered and exited, and the former may have constituted the actual stick dance alternated with the verses (see Figure 4.2).

The two surviving manuscript librettos, belonging to the coliseo prompters, copy the dance directions straight from the printed one, so there may in fact been stick dancing both in the Mortara version and the public staging, at least initially. One of the manuscript librettos specifies “music” and then “gaita” for this scene; music refers to the orchestra during the chorus (“Esas ardientes teas...”), and “gaita” to a shawm, possibly played on stage to accompany the stick dance. No further information is available to explain whether the shawm would have been played on top of the orchestra, or instead of it once the “Una marcha” score parts were eliminated.

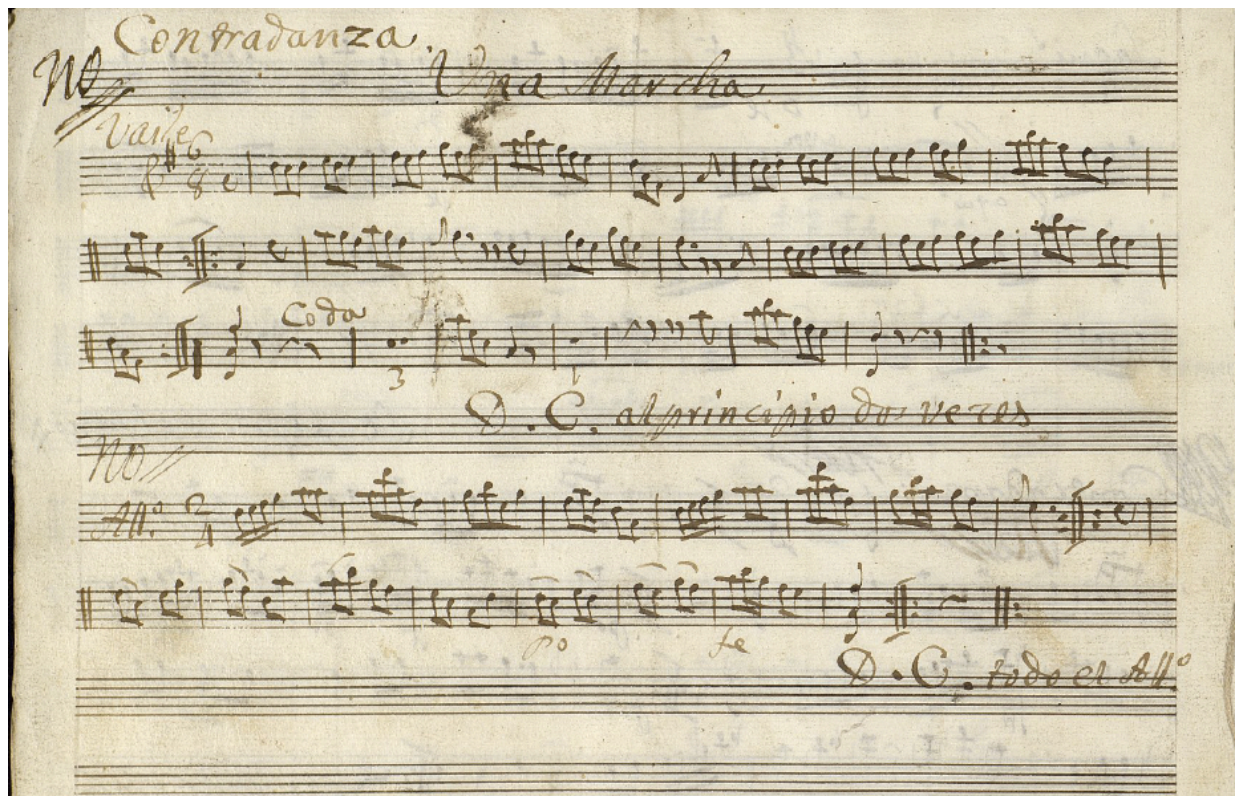


Figure 4.2: “Una marcha,” first violin

In any case, a contradance quickly replaced the stick dance, and the verses lauding the aristocrat masters were left out. Contradances enjoyed great popularity at the time – and also

quite a bit of notoriety. During the last decades of the eighteenth century in Madrid, this form imported from England and France was often considered unacceptable because it accompanied new forms of socialization which allowed women to dance. The contradance bore the mark of modernity, as did cafés, coiffure, tertulias, and newspapers; in this sense, it modernized the dance scene in Act Two of *La Cecilia*. “Figures” and partner changes were practiced both in contradances and stick dances, so the structure of the scene alternating dance “figures” and recited dialogue could be preserved even with the new, more modern dance form. Ultimately, the stick dance may have returned to the stage, this time maybe to the tune of the shawm. A *Diario de Madrid* advertisement on May 30, 1812, announced “the original comedia *La honesta Cecilia*, adorned with a great set of an illuminated plaza, and with an entertaining national *bailete*.”⁵¹ While this note may refer to the *bailete* of the first act, the description fits better the folkloric aura of the stick dance. This advertisement from 1812 was the first time that any part of *La Cecilia* was referred to as “national.”

Repetition of seguidillas, Act II scene 5

The last musical number of *La Cecilia* consists of a repetition of the first-act seguidillas (same music, with new lyrics), here transformed from dance to serenade. While female and male villagers sang together in the first act, in the second one, the men alone make rounds through the town’s streets policing after the festivities, carrying clubs under their capes and holding guitars. As they police the town on the look for any irregularities, they take a break to sing under one a village girl’s window, to which the girl replies by throwing eggs on their heads. This scene is very short and functions as a brief comic diversion before Cecilia’s kidnapping.

⁵¹ "Teatros," *Diario de Madrid*, 5-30-1812, 608.

4.5. CONCLUSION

La Cecilia originally combined several dramatic and musical strands in a sentimental piece suitable for noble and bourgeois entertainment at the House of Mortara. Later adapted to fit a more general taste at the public coliseos, it was progressively modified into a *comedia de costumbres* towards the turn of the nineteenth century. In the work, Comella revisits traditional elements of the Spanish long-format play such as comic characters (especially the male comic or *gracioso*), rural settings often found in Golden-Age comedias, spoken dialogue in verse, as well as music and dance. However, he infused these elements with new currents derived from English sentimentality, French *drame bourgeois* and *comédie larmoyante*, Italian sentimental operas, and Spanish neoclassicism. With regards to the latter, Comella preserves the unity of place in *La Cecilia*, but introduces short comic scenes which break the unity of action.

Beyond formalisms, *La Cecilia* also converges with the regalist and elitist ideals of many Spanish enlightened thinkers. In the figure of the Count, Comella models the productive, austere aristocrat, willing to quietly absorb some of the financial burden of the state by solving the needs of the poor out of his own pocket. The disfigured nobility of the Marquis, on the other hand, can be tolerated because he belongs to a rotten generation lost to “modern,” urban mores; it is the Count’s older generation that holds its value and serves the patria. The peasants’ choruses and dances endorse the hierarchical status quo, but demand that the aristocrat be fair and wholesome, just like Charles III’s regalist model expected nobility to relinquish their life of leisure and embrace work and virtue.

The protagonist couple of Cecilia and Lucas were initially designed as almost middle-class: they stand apart from the rest of the villagers given their noble birth and unblemished virtue. Several scenes take place in the private sphere of their cottage; their dialogues reveal personal aspects of domestic life, such as quarrels, loving words, and hugs. The Count, who

often interferes as a “marriage counselor”, safeguards their domesticity. This arrangement suggests that, while an ideal of a family built on love and friendship was just beginning to permeate Madrid society, cultural institutions still relied on paternalistic authority to guarantee the social contract.

The surviving musical numbers for *La Cecilia* – that is, those performed at the coliseos, all take place in the public sphere, as can be seen in the following table:

	Scene	Place	Public or private	Musical numbers
ACT I	1	Forest, Cecilia and Lucas’s cottage	Private	Songs eliminated from public performance
	2	Town hall	Public	---
	3	Count’s palace	Private/public	Bailete
	4	Village plaza	Public	Seguidillas, canzonetta de payas
	5	Forest, Cecilia and Lucas’s cottage	Private	---
ACT II	1	Forest, Cecilia and Lucas’s cottage	Private	---
	2	Town Hall	Public	Canzonetta de payos
	3	Count’s palace + village plaza	Private/public	Danza de paloteo
	4	Street	Public	Seguidillas bis
	5	Entry hall of anonymous house	Private/public	---

Table 4.4: Scene structure in *La Cecilia*

The presence/absence of music and dance shows that the only truly private space is Cecilia and Lucas’s cottage, the only place where domestic interactions visible to the audience occur. The Count’s palace doubles as a private and public space: it is private when it functions as a setting for the Count’s reflections, but it becomes public when it opens its doors to the villages on Act I, scene 3, so the commoners can ceremonially welcome the Marchioness and Marquis with a bailete. Similarly, on Act II, scene 3, the aristocratic characters (together with Cecilia, Lucas, and the house servants) come out on the balcony to watch the *danza de paloteo* (a repeat of the bailete in Act I, scene 3). Thus, the Count’s palace in Comella’s place allows for permeability

between the private and the public. Comella planned for Act 1, scene 1, the only music that communicated the emotions of sentimentality, but these songs by Cecilia and Lucas were eliminated from the coliseo version of the play. As a result of these cuts, sentimentality in *La Cecilia* is largely concentrated in the long monologues and dialogues delivered by the Count, Cecilia, and Lucas, the vast majority of which were crossed out from the prompters' manuscripts librettos over time. Consequently, *La Cecilia* lost several of its didactic admonitions and sentimental scenes to time. In terms of the music, the clarinet, bassoon, keyboard, and contrabass parts also seem to be the later corrections or additions.

CONCLUSION

Music debates and performances served as an intermediate mode of communication in the formation of public opinion in Spain during the last decades of the eighteenth century. Music mediated between the written and the oral, the Spanish and the foreign, the learned and the vernacular, and the old and the new. A medium such as music, which could negotiate different views of the collective self, best suited the mechanisms of the late Enlightenment in Madrid. The changes generated by Enlightenment and modernity in Spain needed to follow a pace and a course different from the radical Enlightenment of some of the philosophes, or from the revolutionary enterprise of the Jacobines in France. Enlightenment and modernity did not upturn Spain during the 1780s-90s; instead, the new paradigms permeated identities and mentalities until they progressively became integrated into a new understanding of Spanishness.

Around the 1780s-90s, Spanish society often felt torn between its traditional identity, linked to Catholicism and the monarchy, and Enlightened Europe's vision of human nature and societal fabric. Tension reached the level of ontological crisis as the 1790s progressed, after the French Revolution confirmed that overthrowing the monarchy was possible, and ratified the secular state founded on rational principles. Charles IV's monarchy progressively tried to protect the nation from foreign influence, be it French philosophy or Italian opera. The threat to absolutist authority, a stronghold of the Spanish way of being, culminated with the Napoleonic invasion of Spain in 1808.

However, before the crisis infused Spain's intellectual life with increasing suspicion, public arts such as musical theater opened a forum for criticism of and commentary on the constant transformations in taste, fashion, and socialization. From the *Costumbrista* theater of Ramón de la Cruz, to the Italian programs of Los Caños del Peral, to Esteve and Laserna's stage

tonadillas, to the sentimental works of Comella, stage and press scrutinized social mores. In this transitional phase, opinion broke loose from the crown and the Church, but still remained the prerogative of an elite that strove to guard the right to speak from the general public. Men of letters like Sempere y Guarinos and Jovellanos, followed by all those writing editorials and letters in the newspapers, insisted that the rabble that filled the cheap localities of the Madrid coliseos was not material suitable for citizens. They prized civilization and orderly respect as preconditions for freedom in the exchange of ideas. This regulated, restricted model for public opinion found its aesthetic counterpart in neoclassicist precepts that originated in Luzán's works from the early part of the century, and continued into the last decades through Iriarte and Leandro Fernández de Moratín, among others.

The musical life of Madrid in the time period studied was very different from other European court-cities because the king only minimally intervened in decisions about the theaters. With few exceptions, the court-sponsored productions at the royal sites of El Retiro and Aranjuez that had bloomed during Farinelli's tenure in Madrid in the 1740s-50s, came to a halt around 1777, when Charles III decided to suspend them.¹ This meant that for the following two decades, music spectacle revolved around the city theaters: the coliseos of La Cruz and El Príncipe, and starting in 1787, the Italian opera Theater of Los Caños del Peral. The City of Madrid administered the theaters through a board, which also oversaw the hospitals, given that since the times of the sixteenth-century *corrales de comedias*, the purpose of the theaters was to obtain revenues for the hospitals' benefit. Powerful aristocrats formed part of this board, and they promoted the project of Los Caños del Peral in the hopes of making Madrid a more cosmopolitan city on par with the most prominent European cities.

¹ Leandro Fernández de Moratín attributed the closing of the royal sites theaters to the end of the governmental tenures of the Count of Aranda and the Marquis of Grimaldi. Fernández de Moratín and Historia., *Obras de D. Leandro Fernandez de Moratin*.V.2, XXXVIII.

Because there was practically no court theater in Madrid during the 1780s-90s, distinctions between learned and popular musical theater blurred, although they did not completely disappear. The city coliseos sometimes produced “zarzuelized” versions of Italian operas that substituted recitatives for spoken dialogue, for example, a very successful staging of Paisiello’s *The Barber of Seville* in 1787. These adaptations notwithstanding, the popularity of zarzuela declined sharply after the late 1760s, and the genre did not make a comeback until the nineteenth century. Writers like Comella, who liked to include music in their long-duration plays, used multiple designations ranging from “opera” and “opera *bufa*” to “*comedia de música*.”² The reopening of Los Caños del Peral brought back some of the divide between highbrow and lowbrow musical entertainment: the upper classes supported opera and criticized the motley audiences of the coliseo’s cheaper seats, and the working class did not show interest in opera. However, between the two extremes, a significant audience segment attended both spectacles. This is evident in newspaper articles that compare the opera theater to the coliseos. Press criticism sometimes targeted the quality of the coliseo productions, but for the most part it rejected the behavior of the patio patrons, working-class males standing in the area right in front of the stage.

Composers, writers and actor-singers often had to juggle elitist demands for civilized taste and conversation, with less elitist preference for spectacle and tradition on stage. This is not to say that audiences’ tastes remained frozen in baroque, Golden-Age formats and arguments; on the contrary, they favored a mix of the old and the new, the national spiced with the foreign. Even the most folkloric genres like seguidillas relied on galant musical structures. Most theatergoers may not have been willing to sit through an entire opera, but they applauded the occasional aria, rondo or cavatina in comedias and tonadillas. The explicit discourse of

² The low number of zarzuelas programmed in the 1780s and 1790s can be verified through a survey of Andioc and Coulon’s compilation of Madrid’s theater listings. René Andioc and Mireille Coulon, *Cartelera teatral madrileña del siglo XVIII 1708-1808* (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 1997).

Spanish-centric genres often rejected and mocked foreign ones such as opera or English contradances, but in practice, tastes changed, and called for updated styles that brought to the Madrid stages musical languages popular in other parts of Europe.

Stage tonadillas best suited the function of opinion-forming medium that music had in late-Enlightenment Madrid. House composers at the coliseos, like Esteve and Laserna, had to compose a certain number of tonadillas as part of their yearly contracts with the city administration. Hence, theater evenings constantly featured new tonadillas, and as a consequence, the content of the pieces could keep pace with current events and stay tuned to the directions to which everyday life moved. New forms of socialization such as tertulias in the 1760s-70s, and later on the growing demand for periodicals and printed press in general, were recorded in tonadillas as indicia of modernity alien to Spanish essence. However, as with other issues, writers and composers did not dismiss all aspects of modernity: Laserna's tonadilla *El Diario* (1789) for example, mocks the different sections of a newspaper while following their structure and adopting some of their language. At the same time that tonadillas criticized social behaviors, they occasionally disseminated information that interested the general public, as exemplified in Esteve's *El atarantulado* (1787), which staged a famous case of tarantism in the city.

Other stage genres dominated by spoken dialogue, such as sainetes and comedias, also commented on current concerns through brief songs and dances. Sainetes, for example, often included seguidillas to portray types, such as the *majos* and *majas* of Madrid's extramural working class.³ Thus, an orange-vendor in De la Cruz's sainete *La botillería* (1766) advertises her produce with seguidillas to the crowd attending a refreshment shop after a theater show at the coliseo. Composers also wrote choruses to give voice to collective characters in sainetes and

³ Working class men and women were favorite subjects of music in sainetes, but other types are also found paired with their representative genres. For example, Esteve's sainete *El italiano fingido* (1785) introduces a buffa aria by Sacchini.

comedias; through choruses, authors expressed the real or ideal views of sectors of the Spanish population. In the 1780s and 1790s, Comella often used choruses to speak for the model people loyal to their ruler, whether a king or queen in his heroic/historic drams, or a high aristocrat like the Count in the sentimental play *La Cecilia* (1786). This last use of stage music was not critical or parodic, but emulative, because it attempted to shape public behavior.

The music and criticism pieces analyzed in this dissertation are concentrated around the late 1780s and early 1790s as that special moment when political, theatrical, and printing press conditions led to a thriving dialogue about music and its functions in Spanish society. However, I have also included references to the 1760s, the first decade of Charles III's reign, in order to provide context for the praxes and theories that came twenty years later. Two phenomena from the 1760s bore particular significance regarding music and opinion: the journalism of pioneer Francisco Mariano Nipho, and the first great successes of Ramón de la Cruz. Nipho introduced modern journalism in Madrid: through periodicals such as the *Diario Noticioso* and *Caxón de sastrre*, he set the model for social critique in periodicals. He was also the first to consistently include reviews of theater productions in his publications. De la Cruz in turn consolidated the *Costumbrista* or *casticista* model that underlay countless tonadillas and sainetes up until the end of the century and beyond. De la Cruz wrote long-duration plays, but he left his most distinctive legacy in his sainetes, which he continued to produce into the 1780s, several of them with short musical interventions by Esteve, and a few by Laserna.

In general, Spanish intellectuals favored strands of Enlightenment that coexisted with belief in God and allowed for faith in the invisible. The sensism (sensualism) of Bacon, Locke, and Condillac left a deep imprint in the Spanish Enlightenment. Their imprint can be seen in articles about the effects of music on listeners written around the time of the rehabilitation of Los Caños del Peral, and also in neoclassicist discussions about the pertinence of music in

drama. Sensist principles underlie as well medical treatises and reports of tarantism in 1786-7. Finally, Locke influenced conceptualizations of opinion and taste from Feijoo early in the century to Jovellanos several decades later.

In addition to contributing to the knowledge of Spanish music and criticism, this dissertation proposes that the late Spanish Enlightenment can be better understood through public cultural debates than through the official history of Bourbon reforms and enlightened despotism. Whereas Spanish historian Francisco Sánchez-Blanco has advanced this thesis, the specific relevance of music for the changes of mentality that took place during this period has only been considered by a handful of scholars, mostly in the Iberoamerican academia. Many of the cornerstone books about the musical repertory of the 1780s-90s were written in the early-twentieth century, so the repertory has not been in dialogue with newer approaches to the history of Spain. In bringing the background of music history together with scholarship in the fields of literature, history, and aesthetics, this dissertation adds to the understanding of a period crucial to Western modernity and to European dynamics of power that stand to this day.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: EL DIARIO, TONADILLA A SOLO, BLAS DE LASERNA. VOCAL SCORE.

El Diario

1791

Blas de Laserna

Allegro

Voice

Bass

8

18

25

32

39

f p *f p*

p *f*

f

Un dia-rio muy
En el se rre-

nue- bo___ quie - ro pre-sen - tar___ y co - sas es - tra - ñas en
fie - re___ y se da a no - tar___ mil co - sas que al - gu - nos no

el - se ve - rán___ Y co - sas es - tra - ñas en el___ se___ ve___ rán
com - pren - de - rán___ Mil co - sas que al - gu - nos no com pren - de - rán

45

Tie-ne ven - tas tie - ne a - llaz - gos tie - ne a - sun - tos li - te - ra - rios to - do tie - ne en con - clu
 Los de - fec - tos bien se en - tien - den y de - se - o que se en mien - den pa - ra lo - grar mi in - ten

f ps

51

sion en con - clu - sion pe - ro so - lo se di - ri - ge a en men
 cion si mi in - ten - cion Y a - si que - ri - dos del - al - ma pres tad.

p

57

dar el fie - ro ho - rror el fie - ro ho - rror a en - men -
 me bues - tra a - ten - cion bues - tra a - ten - cion pres tad -

62

dar el fie - ro ho - rror el fie - ro o - rror
 me bues - tra a - ten - cion bues - tra a - ten - cion

f p f p

D.S.

66

f p f

Allegro

Del dia - rio se - ra el pre - mio y muy jus - ta re - com - pen - sa que a - quel
 De es - ta ma - ne - ra la y - de - a que lle - va mi pen - sa - mien - to Sin un

80

que en el da-ño pien-sa de-je de pen-sar el mal. que a-que en el da-ño pien-sa de-je de pen
re-me-dio vio-len-to a e-fec-tuar-se lle-ga-rá Sin un re-me-dio vio-len-to a e-fec-tuar-se

88

sar el mal de-je de pen-sar el mal de-je de pen-sar
lle-ga-rá a e-fec-tuar-se lle-ga-rá a e-fec-tuar se lle-

95

D.S.

el mal
-ga-rá

A - ten - cion que a - lla

va y lo que fue-re se - rá La y-de-a qual se-a a-lla se ve - rá a-lla se be

f p f p

rà a - ten - cion que a - lla bá

a - lla va a - lla va

Allegro

Coplas

(Literatura)
(Ventas)

p *f* *p*

139

Por un es - cri - tor_ de mo - da se im - pri me un li - bri - to nue - bo
Un re - lox_ de o - ro muy bue - no ven - de un in - fe - liz_ yn - dia - no

146

que con - tie - ne do - ce cien - cias y pue - de ir por el_ co - rre - o el co
que de qua - ren - ta_ mil pe - sos u - na ni - ña le a_ de - ja - do le a de

152

rre - o Los sa - bios mo - der - nos los sa - bios mo - der - nos Que a - cu
ja - do Quienque - ra com - prar - lo quienque - ra_ com - prar - lo le res

159

dan a subs - cri - bir - se per - de - ran_ tiem po y di - ne - ro per - de - ran_ tiem - po y di -
ti - tui - ra el ca - ri - ño mien - tras que_ du - ren_ los quar - tos mien - tras que du - ren los_

164

-ne-ro y di - ne - ro
quar - tos los quar - tos

(Perdidas)
(Nodrizas)

171

Se per dio un pe-rro de la - nas
U-na bu - ra bus - ca cri - a

y a-quel que lo ha-ya en-con
Con le - che de qua - tro

178

tra-do me-ses

dos mil rea-les en di - ne-ro da u - na se - ño ra de a
den-tro o fue - ra de su ca - sa Si es que al - gu - no la - qui-

f *p*

184

llaz-go, si de a-llaz-go A - cu - da al dia - rio a - cu - da al dia-rio
sie - re, la qui - sie - re Bien cla - ro se ad - vier - te bin cla - ro se ad-vier-te

191

Si se la per die-ra un hi - jo Tal vez no die ra o-tro tan - to Tal vez no die - ra o-tro
Pa-ra un ni - ño ma-yo - raz-go me-jor a - ma no ser pue-de me-jor a- ma no ser-

197

tan - to o tro tan - to
pue - de no ser pue - de

(Hallazgos)
(Alquileres)

204

A la o ra de la re - tre - ta Se ha en-con - tra-do un cu - rru
Se al-qui - la en un ter - cer pi - so Sa - la y al - co - ba - pe

211

ta - co que - ñas Si-guien - do el po bre in-fe - li - ce A u-na ni - ña de quin
Con dos me - sas y tres si-llas Y sin nin - gu - na a-sis-

f *p*

217

ce a - ños, de quin-ce a - ños Quienque - ra bus - car - lo quienque - ra bus - car - lo
ten - cia, a - sis - ten - cia A - quel que la quie - ra a - quel que la quie - ra

224

A - cu da en An - ton Mar - tin que le da - rán sin ha - llaz - go Que le da ran sin ha -
pa - ga - rà se - gun cos - tum - bre mas que por la ca - sa en - te - ra Mas que por la ca - sa en

230

llaz - go sin a - llaz - go
- te - ra en - te - ra

237

Allegretto

El que cri - ti - car quie - re la mal - dad fe -
Las co - plas del di - a - rio Cla - ro se ad - vier

242

- a la mal-dad fe - - - - a la mal-dad fe - a -
- te cla-ro se ad- vier - - - - te cla-ro se ad- vier - te -

247

La mal-dad fe - - a so-bre qual-quier a - sun -
Cla-ro se ad- vier - - te que tie-nen mas ma - li -

p

252

- to mo-ti-vo en cuen - - tra_ so - bre qual quier a - sun - to
- cia que no pa - re - - ce_ Que tie-nen-mas ma - li - cia

257

— Mo-ti-vo en cuen - - tra Mo - ti-vo en cuen - - - -
— Que no pa - re - - ce Que no pa - re - - - -

262

- tra mo - ti-vo en cuen - tra_ A - si pro - si - -
- ce que no pa - re - ce_ Sir-va de en mien -

p

267

- go pues de-ven cri-ti - car - - se siem-pre los vi - - - cios
- da y a-ca-be la to - na - - da por si mo- les - - - ta_

272

Pues de-ven cri-ti-car-se. Siem-pre los vi cios. Siem-pre los
 Y a-ca-be la to-na-da por si mo-les - - ta por si mo

277

vi - cios. Siem-pre los vi -
 les - ta Por si mo-les -

D.C. a las coplas

280

1.
 cios
 - ta

Allegro**Final**

Y so - la - men - te es - pe - ro Si a

292

ca - so os a - - gus - ta - do de - jeis - re - com - pen - sa - do con bues - tro -

301

fi - no a - plau - so Mi a - fec - - - - -

365

to y hu mil dad Ya

ten. *f*

374

ten-tos y a-mo-ro-sos fi-nos y ca-ri-ño-sos mis a-fec-tos ve-nig-nos sa-ved re-com-pen-sar

p *f* *p*

385

sar a

392

re-com-pen-sar sa-bed re-com-pen-sar sa-ved re-com-pen-sar re-com-pen-sar

cres. *f*

400

re-com-pen-sar sa-bed re-com-pen-sar sa-ved re-com-pen-sar re-com-pen-sar

413

sar, re-com-pen-sar

APPENDIX 2:

EL MONSTRUO DEL GUSTO PÚBLICO, TONADILLA A TRES Y CORO. PABLO ESTEVE.

El monstruo del gusto publico

Tonadilla â 3 y coro

Pablo Esteve, 1785

Allegretto

Voice

Bass

11

24 *Sale la graciosa Ybañez*

Que pla - zer y que a - le - gri - a pues me an e - cho la jus - ti - cia pa
 (Sale Garrido) O que a - le - gre y pla - zen - te - ro des - ta for - ma me pre - sen - to à

32

ra la to - na - da de oy pa - ra la to - na - da de oy de con - ten - to bu - llo y vai - lo y a - go a
 to - dos a di - ver - tir a to - dos a di - ver - tir que fes - ti - vo brin - co y vai - lo y a - go a

40

to - dos ve - sa ma - nos U - no a u - no dos a dos u - no a u - no dos a dos
 to - dos ve - sa ma - nos cien - to a cien - to y mil a mil cien - to a cien - to y mil a mil

47

Se - ño - ri - tos se - ño - ri - tas to - dos chi - to y a - ten - cion y ve - rán de la to - na da to - di -
 Ca - va - lle - ros ma - da - mi - tas to - dos chi - to y a - ten - cion y ve - rán en mi fi - gu - ra que un ca -

54

ta la ex-pli-ca-cion y ve-ràn de la to-na-da to-di-ta la ex-pli-ca-cion y ve-ràn de la to-xon de sas-tre soy y ve-ràn en mi fi-gu-ra que un ca-xon de sas-tre soy y ve-ràn en mi fi-

61

Allegro

na-da to-di-ta la ex-pli-ca-cion
gu-ra que un ca-xon de sas-tre soy

72

Del fie-ro
Que soi el

85

mons-truo del gus-to que-jo-so elthea-tro se be que-jo-so elthea-tro se bè
thea-tro jo-co-so la tar-ge-ta a di-cho ya la tar-ge-ta a di-cho ya

96

Co-mo es-tà tan ex-tra-ga-do que na-da le sa-be bien que na-da le sa-be bien
y mi Al-gua-ci-la dis-cu-rro que a-brà di-cho lo de-mas que a-brà di-cho lo de-mas

107

el thea-tro por es-ta cau-sa quie-re ca-rear-se con el
me bis-to de Mis-ce-la-nia y a-si pre-ten-do mos-trar

120

quiere ca-rear-se con el Y yo ha-cien-do de Jus-ti-cia a-qui le voy a tra-er
y a-si pre-ten-do mos-trar la di-ver-si-dad de tra-ges que me sue-len a-dor-nar

131 **Allegretto**

a-qui le voy a tra-er que me sue-len a-dor-nar A-dios a dios mis-se
Mos que-te ros-ca-zue

140

ño-res to-dos chi-to-y a-ten-cion que yo vu-l-len-do y vai-lan-do a mi di-li-gen-cia voy que yo
li-ta to-dos chi-to-y a-ten-cion ya que vi-van mis a-fec-tos un par de ca-brio-las doy ya que

147

bu-l-len-do y vai-lan-do a mi di-li-gen-cia voi que yo bu-l-len-do y vai-
vi-van mis a-fec-tos un par de ca-brio-las doy ya que vi-van mis a-

152 **D.S.**

lan-do a mi di-li-gen-cia voy (vase)
fec-tos un par de ca-brio-las doy (sigue el vailete 2o.)

157 **Salen los seis del coro: de mascara sin careta**

165 Todos

Nues-tro thea-tro vi - va vi va_ su pla-zer que ins-tru-ye y doc tri-na

172

ri-yen-do cas - ti - ga ri-yen-do cas ti-ga el vi-cio cru - el Ri-yen-do cas - ti-ga el vi-cio cru

178

el A - le gre - mo - nos A - le gre - mos - le y jus - tos a -

185

plau - sos los sa - vios le den y jus - tos a - plau - sos los sa - vios le

188

den los sa - vios le den

Vailete 2o.

A - le gre - mo - nos A - le gre - mos - le y jus - tos a -

198

plau - sos los sa - vios le den y jus - tos a - plau - sos los sa - vios le

201

den los sa - vios le den

Andante *Sale la graciosa y trae
al Gusto Publico*

Andante

210

Soi el_ mons-truo del gus-to soi_ el_ mons-truo del gus - to fie-ro ym

214

pi - o_ soy el_ mons-truo del gus - to_ fie - ro ym-pi-o_ fie ro ym-pi-o_ fie ro ym

218

pi-o por ser gus-to fun - da - do_ so-lo en ca pri-chos por ser gus-to fun - da - do_ so-lo en ca

222

pri - chos so-lo en ca - pri - chos a-si po-cas ve zes_ juz-go con ra - zon_ y tras si me

226

lle ba ne-ze-da o pa-sion ne-ze-da o pa-sion so-lo mi-gus-to si-go so-lo mi-gus-to

230

si-go y es-te he si-do y soy so-lo mi-gus-to si-go y es-te he si-do y

233

Representan ynterin el Ritornelo

soy y es-te he si-do y soy

Representan: endechas

Andante

Coro

Don Pu-bli-co a-ma-do cle-men-cia y pie-dad Cen

245

su-rar-nos me-nos vi-si-tar-nos mas vi-si-tar-nos

250

mas vi - si - tar-nos mas

Allegretto *Garrido*

Allegretto *Garrido*

Pues si us-ted me e-cha plan-tas ten-ga sa-

259

vi-do ten-ga sa-vi do Ten-ga sa - vi-do que pi-do me per-do-ne si le o-fen
(Alfonso)Ca-lla y a - ni-ma que el le-on no es tan bra-vo co-mo le

263

di-do si le o-fen-di-do Li li lo que te quie-ro yo li li lo y que ya se
pin-tan-co-mo le pin-tan Li li lo ya me lo se yo li li lo y que ya se

266

be li li lo e ehe us-ted ca - fe li li lo brin-do a la de us-ted li li lo que pi-do me per
be li li lo to - ca - me mi-nue li li lo vai-lo a la de us-ted li li lo que el le-on no es tan
(Los tres)

269

do - ne si le o-fen-di-do si le o-fen-di-do
bra - vo co-mo se pin-ta co-mo se pin-ta

D.S

Allegretto brillante

Ybañez

Coplas

Di-me di-me por- que a ve-zes va-rias
Di-me di-me a los cri-ti cos de-
 Di-me di-me por- que en las to-na- das

281

Alfonso

pie-zas nos pal - me - as de sai - ne - tes So - lo por - que al go - se a - lar - gan y tie -
mo - da que fun - cio - nes mas les - pe - ta *co - me - dias de ar ca bu - za - dos y so -*
 bue - nas a - plau - des u - nas mas que o - tras E - so es se - gun la - que can - ta tie - ne en

288

Garrido

-ne que ha zer la gen - te y tie - ne que ha - cer la gen - te Es - ta es fri - bo - la dis
bre to - do tra - ge - dias y so - bre to - do tra - ge - dias *Y son los prime ros*
 el pa - tio la - tro - pa tie - ne en el pa - tio la - tro - pa E - sos son u - nos en

296

cul - pa y ne - ce dad co - no - ci - da a se - si - nar un sai - ne - te por - que el o - tro ten - ga pri - sa
e - llos si tra - ge - dias e - xe - cu - ta que sa - len del co - li - se - o di - cien - do que se - ca - tu - ra
 gam - bres que an - dan por el pa - tio y gra - das que no bie - nen por las o - bras si - no por la que la can - ta

303

Alfonso

Garrido y Ybañez

por - que el o - tro ten - ga pri - sa Na - da ay que me pue - da a ra - zon ven - zer Gus - to mons tru -
di - cien - do que se - ca - tu - ra E - llo se dis - pu - ta hallà en el ca - fée a - lli se go -
 si - no por la que la can - ta Su gus - to es el mi - o de - jad - lo co - rrer Gus - to mons tru -

311

- o - so ci - vi - li - za - te de - ja - los ca - pri - chos y di - vier - te - te, y di - vier - te -
bier - na el theatro muy bien y que de ves - ti - dos nos cor - tan de mué, nos cor - tan de
 - o - so ci - vi - li - za - te que a be - zes nos po - nes pa - ra pe - re - zer, pa - ra pe - re -

319 Todos

-te Ay del que a di - ver - sos ha de com-pla - zer de gus-tos tan ra - ros y de pa-re-
mué Ay del que a di - ver - sos ha de com pla-zer en tiem po que el gus - to es - pi - rar se -
 zer Que-de-mos a - mi - gos re-vi-va el pla - zer y con se - gui - di - llas es-to a-ca-be

327

zer de gus - tos tan ra - ros y de pa - re - zer y de pa - re -
ve en tiem po que el gus - to es - pi - rar se - ve es - pi - rar se -
 -sè y con se - gui - di - llas es-to a - ca - be - se es-to a - ca - be -

333

D.S.

zer
ve
 -sè

Allegro

Seguidillas

347

los tres

Nues-tro a-fec to ren - di - do
 Y pues a - qui se a - ca - va

353

los tres

cor - te ve-nig na Vi-va vi - va vi - va nues tro a - fec - to ren - di - do cor - te ve -
 la to - na - di - lla Vi-va vi - va vi va lo - gre de tus pie - da - des cor - te que-

358

nig na cor-te ve - nig-na cor-te ve- nig na cor-te ve-nig - na cor-te ve-nig - na
-ri- da cor-te que - ri - da cor-te que-ri - da cor-te que-ri - da cor-te que-ri - da

363

Todos

Cor te ve - nig-na de-se - a com-pla - zer - te de-se - a com-pla - zer - te con al - ma y

367

Coro: Los 6

Todos

vi - da con al ma y vi - da Con al - ma y vi - da de-se - a com pla -

372

zer-te con al - ma y vi - da Di-me

380

que co - sa es a - que - lla de que u - no no a de fi - ar de que u no no a de fi - ar for - tu

388

Mas que importa fortuna, una no

na y a - pa - sio - na - dos co - mo a su ze - di - do a - cà que en un vol - ber de ca - ve za se los lle - vo Ba - rra - gan se los

396

Hablado

lle-vo Ba-rra-gan Vi - va_

407

vi-va la a - le - gri - a fue-ra pe-nas y vai - lar y al pu-bli-co le_ pi - da - mos lo

413

alto los panderos

que es-tas le - tras di-ràn el a-gui - nal-do el a-gui - nal-do pa-ra a-gui - nal do com -

418

D.S.

prar pues-cer-ca es - tà Na - vi - dad el a-gui - nal-do el a-gui - nal-do

APPENDIX 3: EL ATARANTULADO, TONADILLA GENERAL. PABLO ESTEVE.

El Atarantulado

Tonadilla general, 1787

Pablo Esteve

Allegretto

Musical score for the first system of 'El Atarantulado'. The score is in 2/4 time and B-flat major. It features two Oboes (Ob.), two E-flat Horns (Eb Hn.), two Violins (Vln. 1 and Vln. 2), and a Violoncello (Vc.). The Oboes play a melodic line with some rests. The Horns play a sustained harmonic accompaniment. The Violins play a rhythmic accompaniment with some melodic fragments. The Violoncello plays a steady eighth-note accompaniment.



Musical score for the second system of 'El Atarantulado', starting at measure 12. The score continues with the same instrumentation as the first system. The Oboes and Violins have more active melodic lines, including some sixteenth-note passages. The Violoncello continues with its eighth-note accompaniment. Dynamics markings include *p* (piano) in the Violin and Violoncello parts.

24

p sf p sf f



35

Los me - di - cos co - mo yo — de fa - ma y a - bi - li - dad no te

p mf p mf p

47

ne - mos un mo - men - to li - bre pa - ra des - can - sar li - bre pa ra des - can - sar



58

To - dos bus - can el au - xi - lio de nues - tra gran fa - cul - tad y con so - lo pre - sen

70

tar - nos ha - llan a - livio en su_ mal a - llan a-li-vio en su mal Des-de el Rey a-



81

ba - jo me man-dan lla-mar el gran-de y el chi - co_ cle-ri-go y se - glar y to-di-to el di - a como un a-za-

91

can me lla-man y tra - en por to-do el lu - gar Vien a - ya mi

f *p* *f* *ff* *p* *f* *ff* *p* *sf* *p*



101

cien - cia que me a-ra in-mor - tal bien a - ya mi cien-cia que me a-ra in - mor - tal Vien a - ya mi

sf *p* *sf* *f* *p* *sf* *f* *p* *sf* *f*

6

109 D.S.

cien-cia que me a ra in - mor - tal

To G Hn.

To G Hn.

(Vase)

118 **Andantino** *Sale la Marquesa*

p *f* *p* *f*

p *f* *p* *f*

127

Marquesa... Paca Rodrigo
Conde... Alfonso

p *f* *p* *f*

p *f* *p* *f*

138

Lue-go que me que-do so-la me a-co-me-te la ja-que-ca me a-co-me-te la ja-
So-sie-gue-se mar-que-si-ta que to-da el al-ma me-que-que-bra que to-da el al-ma me-

148

que-ca Tan fuer-te que me tras-tor-na to-tal-men-te la ca-be-za to-tal
que-bra Y di-ga-me de-que na-cen sus ma-les De-bues tra au-sen-cia Sus ma

158

men-te la-ca-be-za Que do-lor tan-gran-de Ay
les-De-bues tra au-sen-cia Que do-lor tan-gran-de Ay
(Alfonso)

168

Y con que vio-len-cia Ay me ye-re el ce-le-bro Ay Ay Ay
Y con que vio-len-cia Ay me ye-re el ce-le-bro Ay Ay Ay
(Alfonso) me tras-pa-sa el pe-cho

178

Ay ay que pe - na
Ay ay que pe - na

Que es - to se - ño ra
Con - de - ci - to mi - o

que - ri - da mar - que - sa
no pue - do aun - que quie - ra

f p f p f p f

fp f

186 (Rodrigo)

di - gaus - ted que tie - ne
de - jar de a - fli - gir - me

que no - ve - da es es - ta
si so - la me de - jan

Que do - lor tan gran - de
Que do - lor tan gran - de

p f p f p

f p

193 (Los dos) D.S.

que do - lor tan gran - de Ay ay - que pe - na
que do - lor tan gran - de Ay ay - que pe - na

f

200 (Alfonso)

Se - ño - ra ya prac - ti - ca - das que - dancuan - tas di - li - gen - cias, que - dan quan - tas di - li - gen - cias

p f

p f

208

me en-car-gas-teis y ven-drán las hi-jas de la du-que-sa las hi-jas de la du-que-sa Yo

216

las gra-cias os doi con-de pe-ro os pi-de mi fi-ne-za pe-ro os pi-de mi fi-ne-za que nome ha gais ca-re

224

zer mu cho de bues tra pre-sen-cia, mu-cho de bues tra pre-sen-cia Es-ta us-ted me

(Alfonso)

231

jor? Ya me he me-jo-ra-do

(Rodrigo)

239 *(Alfonso)* **a tempo**
a tempo *(Los dos)*

Lo ce-le-bro due-ño a - ma-do Que con-ten-to que pla-cer sien-ten

Rezitado

f *p* *p*

246

dos pe-chos a-man-tes que con-ter-nu-ra cons-tan-tes se lle-ga-ron a que-rer, se lle-

f *f* *fs*

252

ga-ron a que-rer se lle-ga-ron a que-rer

258 **Allegretto moderato** *(Sale la Torres y la Rosa, hijas de la Condesa [sic])*

(Rodrigo)

269 *las dos* *Rodrigo*

Be-so a us-ted la ma-no Mar-que-sa que-ri-da A mi-gas del al-ma se-ais bien-ve-ni-das
 Sen-ta-os a-mi-gas Co-mo es-ta la ma-dre? Los fla-tos la cau-san mo-les-tia bas-tan-te

(las dos)

p *f*

282 *Alfonso* *Rodrigo*

A bues-tros piessiem-pre rin-do mi o-be-dien-cia No con tan-to a-fec-to
 Lo sien-to in-fi-ni-to Tam-bien mi fi-ne-za No con tan-to a-fec-to

p *f* *p* *f* *p* *f*

(Rodrigo) *(Alfonso)*

294 *Alfonso* *las dos*

Per-do-nad Mar-que-sa Por no-so-tras ri-nen-ya los dos cor-te jos-
 Per-do-nad Mar-que-sa Por to-do le ri-ñe-to-do le da ce los-

p *f* *p*

307 *Rosa* *las dos*

Her-ma-na que tar-de tan bue-na ten-dre-mos tan bue-na ten-dre-mos Her
 Her-ma-na que tar-de tan bue-na ten-dre-mos

(Torres)

f *p*

319

ma - na_ que_ tar - de tan bue - na_ ten - dre - mos, her - ma - na que tar - de tan bue - na ten - dre - mos, tan



327

D.S.

bue - na ten - dre - mos



334 **Andante vivo**
Horn in G

Horn in G

Sale Garrido Garrido

Alfonso

So - fo - ca - do ven - go mo - li - do y can -
Co - mo bà de en - fer - mos Ay mu - cho tra -

341

sa - do por - que me te - ni - ais con su - mo cui - da - do Pues Don Ce - le - do - nio
ba - jo? por - que el ai - re cre o que es - ta in - fi - zio - na - do *Garrido* Si se - ñor y mu - cho

sf *p* *sf* *p* *p* *sf*

348

ya no es ne - ce - sa - rio por - que la ja - que - ca se me ha di - si - pa - do Por fri - o - le - ri - tas de
pe - ro es lo mas rra - ro que as - ta los in - sec - tos les lle - gò el con - ta - gio Ay me - di - co mi - o

p *sf* *p* *sf* *p* *sf* *p*

356

nue - bo la en - car - go que ja - mas U - si - a me man - de re - ca - do Us - te es de es - ta ca - sa
tiem - blo al es - cu - char lo sa - que - me de sus - to a - ble - me us - ted cla - ro An - da un A - bi - chu - cho

sf *p* *sf* *p*

me-di-co a-fa - ma-do Y de-be a-sis - tir - la quan-do sea lla - ma-do Bas - ta ya se - ño - res
 tan en-be-ne - na-do que si pi - ca cau - sa un mal mui es - tra-ño Bas - ta ya se - ño - res

f Las dos

sf *p* *sf* *p*



D.S. To G Hn.

Horn in Eb

no ay que dis-gus - ta - ros di - zen bien las chi - cas a to-do me a - lla - no;
 que nos a - sus - ta - mos di - zen bien las chi - cas a to-do me a - lla - no

Alfonso y Garrido Garrido

sf *p* *f* *sf* *f*

To G Hn. Horn in Eb

379 Allegretto

Horn in G

Horn in G

CORO

todos cinco

todos cinco

Que sus - to que pas - mo que

f p sf p sf p

f p ff p p ff p p ff p



386

co - sa tan ra - ra No quie - ran los cie - los

p sf p sf p

p ff p p ff p p

394

To C Tpt.

To C Tpt.

me de u - na pi - ca - da

ff *p* *p* *f*

Allegro

Coro

Trumpet in C

Trumpet in C

Que vi - va Don Ce - le - do - nio Or - fe - o me - di - ci - nal que

408

Vi - van us-te des mil a-ños vi - van us-te des mil a-ños
 cu - ra por las fo - li-as la ta - ran-tu-la mor - tal Vi - va

p f p f p f

fp fp

416

To Fl.
To Fl.
To G Hn.
To G Hn.

Vanse todos

bues - tra a-vi - li - dad vi - va bues - tra a-vi - li - dad

Andante

423

Flute

Coplas

436



Sale Garrido con todos los que se entraron

Practicante... Fermin

Fermin

Garrido

Si - len - cio - se - ño - res

El me - di - co bie - ne

A - quel es _ el om - bre

re - ti - ren - se a - llà

chi - ti - to y ca - llar

que pi - ca - do es - tà

451

Coro. Tóplos 6.

que den - tro de po - co le ve - ran cu - rar
 que - si o - ye rruí - do me - re - ga - ña - rà -
 sen - ta os que al pun - to le ban a - cu - rar

Po - bre - ci - to des - di -

467

D.S. 19
To Ob. Oboe

cha - do que las - ti - ma que las - ti - ma que nos da



Allegretto

todos cinco
CORO
Que sus - to que pas - mo que

488

co - sa tan ra - ra No quie - ran los cie - los

p sf p sf p p



496

me de u - na pi - ca - da

sf p p f

To Fl.
To Fl.
To C Tpt.

Andante

Coleta

Flute

Flute

p

Coro. Todos 6.

p *f*

Po - bre - ci - to des - di - cha - do que

p *f*

Arco



514

To Ob. Oboe

To Ob. Oboe

f

p

las - ti - ma que las - ti - ma que nos da

f *p*

Punteado

Allegro

Coro final

Trumpet in C

Trumpet in C

Que vi - va Don Ce - le - do - nio Or - fe - o me - di - ci - nal que



533

cu - ra por las fo - li - as la - ta - ran - tu - la mor - tal Y a - qui la to na - di - lli - ta pue - blo a - ma - do a ca - bò

p *f* *p* *f* *p*

fp *fp*

540

ya Ya - dios a - dios ca - va - lle - ros y los ye - rros per - do - Ya - dios ya - dios ca - va -

f *p* *f* *f* *nad*

546

lle - ros y los ye - rros per - do - nada Y los ye - rros per - do -

f *f* *nada*

550

nad Y los ye - rros per - do - nad