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Musical Expression and Spanish Nationalism in Selected Works of Tomás Bretón

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MUSICAL EXPRESSION AND SPANISH NATIONALISM IN SELECTED WORKS OF TOMÁS BRETÓN

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APPROVAL OF THESIS

We, the faculty supervising the work of Brent Matthew Darnold, affirm that the thesis, *Musical Expression and Nineteenth-Century Spanish Nationalism in Selected Works of Tomás Bretón* meets the high academic standards for original scholarship and creative work established by the School of Music and the College of Arts and Media. This work also conforms to the editorial standards of our discipline and the Graduate College of Marshall University. With our signatures, we approve the manuscript for publication.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the creation of a Spanish National Identity during the late nineteenth century within the orchestral works of Tomás Bretón. Style analysis and the use of musical narratological methods place these works in the context of Spain's turbulent nineteenth century and its new formation of national identity comparable to those that had been formed across the rest of Europe. The two conflicting styles that Bretón employed in his compositions represent two different approaches to the establishment of a national identity during the period. Bretón's own intent with these works and their actual reception by the Spanish public are also important in his goal towards creating a Spanish national style of music as the country attempted to modernize. Further, Bretón's music contains examples of both what composers will put forth as national music and what the public will actually adopt as their national identity and culture.

INTRODUCTION

Nationalism is among the most influential forces produced by European thinkers in the nineteenth century, and from the nineteenth century to the present, it has come to affect nearly every organized nation. Although intellectuals, politicians, and others have altered nationalist ideologies and philosophies to fit their own nations or needs, as Louis Snyder argues in his survey of the subject, *Varieties of Nationalism*, at its core nationalism remains an expression of identity in which a people identify with a national group or nation above all others.[1] Also, at the center of national thought, we find the concept of a unifying cultural force, such as language or the arts, that has existed since some of the earliest writings on the subject from Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831). Through these unifying cultural forces, nationalist identities are formed, holding together nations and nationalist movements. Beginning with the nineteenth century, whether this unifier be folk culture or highbrow art of German Romanticism, national identity was imbued with cultural characteristics in such a fashion that a population felt linked together as a nation. These identities came to be expressed in a number of ways and most especially through the arts in the form of national styles. Among the arts, music was one of the most common expressions of these national sentiments.

The focus of this thesis will be the music of Tomás Bretón (1850-1923) with an emphasis on his orchestral works. Bretón's music was shaped and influenced by Spanish nationalism and the cultural developments of nineteenth-century Spain, but his works have yet to be fitted into this context and that of European music in general. The music of Bretón existed within both the larger tradition of European art music and demonstrated an effort to create a Spanish national

[1] See Louis Snyder, *Varieties of Nationalism* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1976).

style of composition in relation to the developments surrounding nationalism in Spain at the close of the nineteenth century. Bretón was a fixture of the musical landscape of Madrid during the second half of the nineteenth century, and his audiences were the same middle classes and intellectuals who were the driving force behind the cultivation of a Spanish national identity.

Bretón was born in Salamanca in December 1850. The composer spent much of his childhood in the city where he began to compose at the age of twelve and, at the age of thirteen, began playing violin for various theaters and churches.[2] To this point in his life, Bretón was also teaching himself to compose using the treatises of Hilarión Eslava (1807-1878), a Spanish composer of the previous generation, and analyses of works from important composers of the past, such as Bach, Beethoven, Schubert, and Mendelssohn.[3] In 1866, Bretón and his family relocated to Madrid where he continued to play violin in numerous theaters and orchestras and studied composition at the *Real Conservatorio Superior de Música de Madrid* with Emilio Arrieta (1823-1894), a favorite of Isabella II (1830-1904) during her reign.[4] In Bretón's final year at the conservatory, he was awarded first place in composition which led to his obtaining a grant in 1881 from the *Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*. This grant allowed Bretón to travel across Europe from 1881-1884 to various cultural centers, such as Rome, Vienna, and Paris. This period proved to be highly influential for Bretón, as gleaned from his diaries kept during his travels, and he was introduced to numerous experiences and composers that he had not been exposed to in Spain.[5] Upon his return to Madrid in 1884, Bretón was again active musically in the city premiering numerous works in Madrid's theaters and concert

[2] Víctor Sanchéz Sanchéz, *Tomás Bretón: un músico de la Restauración* (Madrid: ICCM, 2002), 26.
[3] Ramón Sobrino, ed., *Sinfonía no. 2 en mi bemol Mayor* (Madrid: ICCMU, 1992), XV.
[4] Arrieta was primarily a composer of *zarzuela* and Italian opera. Bretón's success as a composer later in life would eventually sour their relationship; *Ibid.*, XVI.
[5] See Tomás Bretón, *Diario (1881-1888)* (Madrid: Caja de Madrid, 1995).

societies. Bretón also served as the conductor of the *Sociedad de Conciertos de Madrid* from 1885 to 1891, through which he attempted to introduce new works from both Spanish composers and their European contemporaries that had previously not been performed in Spain.[6] After leaving the *Sociedad de Conciertos*, Bretón continued to compose, and in 1896, he was elected to the *Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* upon the death of Francisco Barbieri (1823-1894), one of the most popular composers of *zarzuela* during the period.[7] From this position, Bretón began to advocate for the establishment of Spanish opera, such as he had in his treatise *Más en favor de la ópera nacional* (1885).[8] In 1901, Bretón was named the director of the *Conservatorio de Madrid*, a position which he held until 1916 and again between 1918-1921. Through the events of his life, it is clear that Bretón was highly active in the musical establishment of Madrid during his life, having occupied several positions important to the city's musical development. Because of the popularity of his works, such as the *zarzuela La Verbena de los Paloma* (1894), which is still performed today, we can confirm that Bretón was one of the most influential Spanish composers of the nineteenth century.[9] Upon his death in December 1923, Bretón left behind not only a mark on the state of Spanish music but also a varied compositional output, including twenty-nine *zarzuelas*, seven operas, five symphonies, three symphonic poems, and thirteen orchestral works along with numerous chamber works, works of lyrical theater, and choir works.

From these works, several will be selected for discussion based upon their relation to different aspects or interpretations of Spanish nationalism in music. Spanish nationalism and

[6] Sobrino, *Sinfonía no. 2 en mi bemol Mayor*, XVI; Sobrino also notes that Bretón always closed his concert seasons with works chosen by his audiences showing an attention to public taste.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*; Tomás Bretón, *Más en favor de la ópera nacional* (Madrid: Pizzaro, 15, Bajo, 1885).
[9] *La Verbena de la Paloma* also was issued an English edition created long after Bretón's death, which speaks to this work's popularity even outside of Spain.

other related cultural developments are at the core of the context surrounding these works. The concept of Spanish nationalism in the Castilian sense remains vague, even at present, as it chaffs against stronger, more established regional identities, such as that of Catalonia and Basque Country, which has led to political turmoil in Spain. Current events make an understanding of nationalism in Spain and its relation to the arts even more relevant. Some of the first attempts at cultivating a centralized Spanish identity were made during Bretón's life showing that his compositions, along with the efforts of intellectuals and the middle classes, lay at the heart of a centralized Spanish nationalism as some of its earliest manifestations in Castile. Through the discussion of various models of nationalism and the ideas surrounding it, a selection of Tomás Bretón's musical compositions will be placed within the context of nineteenth-century Spanish nationalism.

CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEMS OF A SPANISH NATIONALISM

The concepts relating to the idea of individual nations and nationalism are perhaps some of the most influential and volatile to be developed during the nineteenth century. National movements generated from these concepts and the modernization of society led, in some cases, to a flourishing of the arts, such as in the cultural aspects of the Italian *Risorgimento* or the German *Volkgeist* and the influences of Romanticism on national identity. Along with this ability to inspire, such cultural movements also possessed the power to create strife and were new causes to take up arms against those in conflict with a movement's identity, as evident in the processes of European colonization and the causes of both world wars. Although nationalism is a potent force that has shaped the course of history, the concept of nationalism and its related constructs elude a single model or definition. There has been much debate concerning the creation of modern nations and nationalist groups, with several different schools of thought appearing over the past two centuries. Yet, none of these theories and models that have arisen from this debate act as a universal explanation of the creation and inner workings in every individual instance of nationalism that has taken shape since the early nineteenth century. Despite this lack of unity and clarity, there are elements within each of these models that can be applied to different nationalist movements, so it is necessary to deconstruct each of the major theories and their relation to music in order to facilitate an analysis of national identity and compositional style in Spain during the late nineteenth century.

Before discussing these models individually, it is important to underline a factor that is shared among each of them. This factor is the acknowledged necessity that all forms of nationalism must be based upon some form of culture, language, or identity that acts as a

common linkage between the citizens included in any national movement. This concept is not new and can be traced back to Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803), who was one of the first philosophers to discuss nation states and nationalism more broadly. In his writings, Herder makes one of the first references to the ability of language to act as a foundation for the construction of nation-state communities. He also presents the idea that culture and traditions are used in similar ways to bring a population together under the guise of a nation. The notions of a common culture and language have appeared in some capacity in all theories and models although these ideas have been used differently depending on individual models. According to each of these theories, there must be a uniting factor which appeals to at least the majority of a society for without unity across social strata a nationalist movement will eventually falter under its own weight.[1] With this concept of cultural commonalities as a source of unity in nationalism, the difficulties found in the creation of a Spanish nationalism are made clear as Spain is a multi-lingual and multi-cultural country, which lacks an overarching common language or culture. For this reason, each of the dominant models of nationalism will be explored as an attempt to find a desirable model for the evaluation of the national music of Tomás Bretón (1850-1923). For the purposes of this discussion, I will draw upon Anthony D. Smith and his representations of these models in his book *Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism*.[2] Therefore, the major models, such as modernism, perennialism, and ethno-symbolism, that have relevance to this discussion will be reviewed individually in order of their development.

[1] Anthony D. Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 3-23.
[2] *Ibid*.

MODELS OF NATIONALISM

PERENNIALISM

The first of these theories is perennialism, in which societies are labelled as nations throughout human history from the beginnings of the earliest civilizations, although the terms and concepts themselves are of modern creation. Among these scholars of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were Herder and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) who initiated the study of nations and nationalism and constructed some of the core concepts that shape this scholarship today.[3] Perennialists presented the nation as an eternal construct and believed that nations could be found throughout history from ancient Greece to medieval Europe onward to the present.[4] Perennialism also presents the generation of these nation states and societies as having occurred naturally rather than as the result of an attempt to create communities around constructed identities. In the eyes of perennialists, national identity still lies in the connectedness of a group of people and through the bonds of language, culture, or shared experience, yet there is little explanation of how these bonds allow for the development of nations. This lack of explanation is one of perennialism's many flaws, but the greatest flaw in perennialism lies in the teleological use of modern terminology and concepts to explain historical phenomena during periods when only traces of these concepts existed. Although there are historical references to nations and national mannerisms or characters, we cannot, as some historians assume, that these

[3] Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Philosophical Writings*, ed. Michael N. Foster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), *Selected Writings on Aesthetics*, ed. Gregory Moore (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), *Herder: Philosophical Writings*, ed. Desmond M. Clarke and Michael N. Foster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), *J. G. Herder on Social & Political History*, ed. F. M. Barnard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), and *Song Loves the Masses: Herder on Music and Nationalism*, ed. Philip Vilas Bohlman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017); Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, trans. S. W. Dyde (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1896), *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree (New York: Dover Publications, 1956), *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art*, trans. T. M. Knox (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), and *Phenomenology of the Spirit*, trans. Howard P. Kainz (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994).
[4] Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism*, 3.

societies that have been labelled as such by perennialists had fully developed or similar concepts in regard to nation building and national identity. In fact, an example from Louis Snyder's *Varieties of Nationalism: A Comparative Study*, in which ancient Greece is portrayed as a nation by perennialist thinkers rather than as a collection of independent city states, makes it rather clear how flawed this approach can be when modern constructs are forced upon past societies and historical ideas and particular political formations are not taken into consideration.[5]

MODERNISM

This issue led many post-World War II scholars away from perennialism to the establishment of the modernist school of thought. The modernists' rejection of "retrospective nationalism"[6] has changed our perception of the concepts of nations, nationalism, and national identities. The basic modernist definitions of nations and nationalism as being "recent and novel" and "the products of 'modernisation'" are clearly at odds with the perennialist concept of the nation as an eternal construct that is found throughout the history of human civilization.[7] This refinement restricts the application of concepts such as the nation and the social constructs of nationalism to a more recent history dating from the creation of these ideas in the nineteenth century to the present. Any social structures that resemble nationalism or the cultivation of a national identity prior to this time period are to be regarded as mere flukes or, in the case of fourteenth-century England or eighteenth-century France, as simple precursors to nineteenth-century nations in the eyes of modernists.[8] The best survey of this model is found in Snyder's *Varieties of Nationalism* which reviews the basic constructs of modernist theory and its

[5] Louis Snyder, *Varieties of Nationalism* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1976), 14.
[6] Retrospective nationalism is simply another term provided by Smith for perennialist thought referring to the way in which they attempted to apply the concepts of the nation and national identity to the past.
[7] Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism*, 3.
[8] *Ibid.*, 10.

application across numerous time periods and regions of the world.[9] Snyder also gives us a collection of ideas from foundational modernist scholars such as Hans Kohn(1891-1971) and Carlton J. H. Hayes (1882-1964), who began categorizing nations as being constructed and modern rather than natural and eternal.[10] These scholars and the inherent flaws of perennialism have established modernism as the dominant theory used for the analysis of national movements in the era since the World Wars.

There are several important concepts and models that have developed from modernism as the dominant school of thought. One of the most influential is the top-down model in which nationalism and nations are constructed by the elites of a society as a means of social control or social mobilization of the lower classes. Snyder discusses this model of nationalism in *Varieties of Nationalism*, but Benedict Anderson details it to a greater degree in his book *Imagined Communities*.[11] Although Anderson is not the first to explore the role of intellectuals and societal elites in national movements, he provides some of the most developed and well-established arguments in regard to this specific model within modernism. As Anderson's title suggests, he argues that nations are social constructs rather than naturally occurring human societies, and the creators of these "imagined communities" were societal elites with intellectuals prime among them. This element of constructed-ness can be linked to the use of language and the notion that unique sets of cultural products and national myths form the basis of national movements.

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[9] Snyder, *Varieties of Nationalism*.
[10] Hans Kohn, *World Order in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942), *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins and Background* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946), *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History* (Princeton: D. Van Norstrand Company, Inc., 1955), *The Age of Nationalism: The First Era of Global History* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), and *Prelude to Nation-states: The French and German Experience, 1789-1915* (Princeton: D. Van Norstrand Company, Inc., 1967); Carlton J. H. Hayes, *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, vol. 2 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948), *Nationalism: A Religion* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960), and *Essays on Nationalism* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1966).
[11] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991).

Although these ideas are in line with those of Herder, these also incorporate elements of semiotics and linguistics developed during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries from the writings of Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) and Jacques Derrida (1930-2004), among others. For those who use the top-down model in their work, national identity is seen as being constructed by an elite. The symbols selected for any movements are therefore constructed as well and represent the values the elite were attempting to set forth for their nation. Additionally, the values attached to these symbols allowed for the masses to be organized. The role of these movements, as presented in this model, was to bind the people to the will of a nation. For this reason, there is a tendency among those advocating the top-down model to emphasize the concept of nationalism as a source of social control used by the state in order to control and direct its citizenry. This mindset flows from the same post-World War intellectual landscape from which modernist theories of nationalism were formed, and the horrors of war and the cruelty of fascist regimes from this period were a clear influence on this formation.

In the origins of modernist theories of nationalism, there are problems contained within both the top-down model and the modernist school of thought in general. Among these issues is the attempt to conflate nationalism with fascism as well as racism.[12] Unsurprisingly, the conclusion of many scholars who experienced the World Wars and their aftermath was to focus on the darker aspects of nationalism that flowed from these fascist regimes. The most well-known example is National Socialist Germany which wreaked havoc across all of Europe in the name of expanding their nation. The National Socialist government also fostered a national movement, which focused on cultural homogeny and social control, based on falsified history and constructed national myth. The Nazi Party also committed numerous atrocities against

[12] Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism*, 4-7.

various ethnic groups, such as the Jewish and Roma peoples, that were not included in this national image. When considering how these regimes used their national movements, it is clear why modernist theories of nationalist movements focus on methods of social control based on the use of constructed myths and values from a modernist perspective. From this point of view, nationalism appears as a dark exclusionary force that enslaves the common people to the will of the elite using artificial cultural constructs. Nationalism is, however, not always sinister, and this notion is only truly one side of nationalism as a political and cultural force at its worst. Although modernists do not always go to this extreme when studying nationalism, they do tend to focus on the artificiality and constructed-ness of nationalism and national identity.

Any attempt to place all forms of nationalism into this dark mold of social control and treachery by the elites and declare that the culture and national myths used in their creation are falsified constructs does not capture the essence of every movement or national identity. Most varieties of this elite model and modernism cannot wholly explain why a population would give itself over in unquestioning loyalty to a nation based upon a constructed national identity that is not derived from the culture or cultures developed by the peoples of a nation. To look at these movements only as social constructions meant for social mobilization and control ignores elements of history and ethnicity that have in many ways contributed to the success or failure of nationalist movements. For this reason, there have been several responses to the dominant modernist model of nationalism in recent years. These newer models include post-modernism, neo-perennialism, and ethno-symbolism, each of which expand out from the modernist model but seek to address what they see as flaws in the dominant model. For the purposes of this thesis, only neo-perennialism and ethno-symbolism will be considered because post-modernism lacks a

single approach and is often concerned with the "post-national" order as a part of the post-modern era, which is beyond the time period of the current study.[13]

NEO-PERENNIALISM

Neo-perennialism is, in many ways, an enhanced version of perennialism that has been tempered by modernist ideas. This neo-perennialist model does not view nations through the entire historical record dating back to the most ancient of known civilizations as perennialists did in the nineteenth century; it does, however, attempt to identity those societies in the past which can be labelled as the predecessors of modern nations.[14] So, although these scholars do, in most cases, acknowledge that the nation as it is currently known is a modern concept created in the nineteenth century, they still look for those societies which could be defined as nations before what is considered the modern era and before nationalism was understood as a social and conceptual reality or even developed in the minds of intellectuals.[15] In some cases, the act of retroactively applying modern concepts to history is misguided; but with respect to nations, this application of concepts to older societies may help us to better understand the cultures and political structures that made the foundation of nations during the nineteenth century. There are several examples of this theory of nationalism, such as the works of Steven Grosby on the Armenian and Jewish people in the pre-modern period and Colette Beaune's writings on French national identity in the fourteenth century.[16] Both Snyder and Smith point to the example of medieval England during the late Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods of the fourteenth century,

[13] *Ibid.*, 11-13.
[14] *Ibid.*, 9-11.
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] *Ibid.*; John Grosby, "Territoriality: The Transcendental, Primordial Feature of Modern Societies," *Nations and Nationalism* 1, no. 2 (July 1995): 143-62 and "The Chosen People of Ancient Israel and the Occident: Why does Nationality Exist and Survive?," *Nations and Nationalism* 5, no. 3 (July 1999): 357-80; Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, trans. Susan Ross Huston (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

which has been explored in the writings of the historians Adrian Hastings, John Gillingham, and Patrick Wormald.[17] During this time period, England was ruled from a single capital and made use of a single language and system of law that, in the minds of some neo-perennialist scholars, could denote the formation of an English nation in the fourteenth century.[18] This conclusion, however, must be treated with some skepticism as all political and social constructs and concepts that are paired with nationalism and nationalist movements were not yet in place during this period of English history. Still, this period reveals a harbinger to England's emergence as a nation in the nineteenth century.

Although a retrospective approach, such as the older form of perennialism, may not work when one looks for political markers of nationhood and attempts to fit societies and civilization within the bounds of such definitions, it may be plausible to work with the idea of national identity within the arts and culture in general, at least within western Europe, where the concept of nations and nationalism later developed. National cultural characteristics and styles exhibited in the arts – and more specifically music – date to the Medieval and Renaissance eras in which there are historical references to individual national styles. The most prominent of these styles was the English style of vocal polyphony in the fifteenth century, which is often referred to as the *countenance angloise*, or the English manner, in scholarly writings on Renaissance polyphony.[19] This concept of national manners and compositional style does not come solely from scholars of the Renaissance but rather from contemporary sources such as Martin le Franc's

[17] *Ibid.*, 10; Snyder, *Varieties of Nationalism*, 72-75; Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); John Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity, and Political Values* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008); Patrick Wormald, "*Engla Lond*: The Making of an Allegiance," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 7, no. 1 (March 1994): 1-24.
[18] Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism*, 10.
[19] David Fallows, "The countenance angloise: English Influence on Continental Composers of the Fifteenth Century," *Renaissance Studies* 1, no. 2 (1987): 189-208.

poem *Le Champion des Dames* (c. 1440) or Johannes Tinctoris (c. 1435-1511), who was attempting to chronicle the musical practice, styles, and happenings of his time.[20] Although there is much debate over what le Franc was actually referring to musically when he first used the term *countenance angloise*, his writings, along with others, show that in the Renaissance the idea of national borders and identities with characteristics prescribed to them was already forming in the realm of culture and the arts. A concept of separate national identities was taking root in what the people of that era would have likely called manners or countenances, so it is not entirely out of the realm of possibility to apply some of the concepts related to national identity to the culture of these societies in Medieval- and Renaissance-era Europe and those that would follow. During the sixteenth century, the development of several national genres of song forms also occurred, and these were deeply connected to the regions and cultures in which they originated. In most cases, each had their own individual constructions and stylistic conventions making them in some ways unique to one another.

During the Baroque and Classical eras in music, there were national styles of composition established across all types of music rather than just songs. Three traditional national styles are the French, German, and Italian, which can be traced most clearly back to the Baroque era and coincide with the countries most studied by the discipline of musicology. Although these styles carry national names and may seem to be the beginning of established national styles, in many ways they were not. Composers of any region could make use of them to appeal to different audiences, or simply because the characteristics fit the piece that they were composing.[21] For example, it was not odd to find French overtures or English dance suites from German or Italian

[20] *Ibid.*
[21] Philip Downs, *Classical Music* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992), 627-28; if we look to a composer, such as Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791), these styles may also be mixed together within a single work, such as in Mozart's case to represent the singing styles of different characters in opera.

composers, such as Handel, who was German but was largely known for his Italian operas. The names given to individual dances during these periods simply denoted their origin and their typical sound and composition traits. It was not until the nineteenth century that composers began to restrict themselves to specific national schools of composition based upon their own nationality. This change in regard to style is evidence of the coalescence of nationalist ideals and constructs into the realm of music in the nineteenth century. These styles did not, in Classical or Baroque thinking, belong solely to the creative minds of a singular nation. Rather, many of these national styles would serve as harbingers or direct models for the national styles of the nineteenth century, which were far more restrictive in terms of who could use them without criticism from intellectuals. Although these styles reveal an issue with the attempt to retroactively label distinct cultures as nations, these also lend themselves to the discussion of the final model of nationalism.

ETHNO-SYMBOLISM

Ethno-symbolism grew out of critiques of modernist theories of nationalism and concerns with the use of symbols and cultural memory to form national bonds. Like modernists, ethno-symbolists believe that the nation is a modern community and a modern social construct and concept, but they have reconsidered how national movements have been formed. These scholars focus on the role of ethnicity and acquired cultural symbols and myths from a nation's history rather than maintaining the idea of constructed culture from above that is prevalent among modernists. Smith simplifies his basic explanation of ethno-symbolism and how it contrasts with modernism to the issues of "symbolic resources, *la longue durée*, *ethnie* and nation, elites and masses, and conflict and reinterpretation."[22] Within these foci, there are many disagreements

[22] Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism*, 13-23.

with modernist precepts centering on the power dynamic between the elite and the common people as well as the degree to which national movements are constructed rather than generated as a consequence of historical events or cultural ties. One of the most prominent disjunctions is the rejection of a top-down model of nationalism, which is replaced by the concept of an agreement across societal classes on national identity. Ethno-symbolists turn from this model and instead focus upon the ways in which the chosen symbols of a national identity resonate with a population, and to what degree these symbols are effective carriers of national identity and thought.[23] Ethno-symbolist analyses also offer evidence that the elites of a nation adapt traits of the popular culture into their own identity as a way of mobilizing the population of the nation.[24] The value of the ethno-symbolism to the study of national styles in visual arts has already been established through the writings of Athena S. Leoussi in her essay "The Ethno-cultural Roots of National Art," which also draws upon the ideas of Smith.[25] Leoussi examines painting and sculpture in relation to their connections to the "ethno-cultural" roots and formation of a modern identity through the arts.[26] In her own words, her study "indicated the participation of artists in the formulation, crystallization, and celebration of the ethno-cultural roots and identities of modern societies."[27] This same value of the ethno-symbolist model will become apparent in both chapters two and three in relation to the study of national style in music in Spain during the nineteenth century. This thesis will also attempt to highlight the role of Bretón in the formation of a Spanish identity through music as Leoussi has done with various artists from many traditions of European art. But, for the purposes of this initial more general discussion of the

[23] *Ibid*., 13-14.
[24] *Ibid*., 23-41.
[25] Athena S. Leoussi, "The Ethno-Cultural Roots of National Art," in *History and National Destiny: Ethnosymbolism and its Critics*, ed. Montserrat Guibernau and John Hutchinson (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 143-59.
[26] *Ibid.*, 143-45.
[27] *Ibid.*, 156.

model's application to music, German Romanticism and the adoption of folk song and folk styles into works of art music are ideal. This use of a folk style in the music demonstrates a change in the culture identity of the German middle classes that occurred through emulation of the common people in the cultural products they consumed. In many ways, this change coalesced into a major cultural force across Germany with Carl Maria von Weber's opera *Der Freischütz* (1821) as an ideal representation of the combining of elite and folk culture to form something new. Although Weber was not the first composer to make use of folk-like melodies, *Der Freischütz* was one of the first works to resonate across social boundaries to all Germans, situating it prominently among the cultural symbols of German nationalism in the early nineteenth century.[28]

Der Freischütz also further illustrates the significance of symbols and the reception of symbols in terms of an ethno-symbolic approach to nationalism. Weber's use of symbolism from German folk culture in *Der Freischütz* made the work remarkably successful. These symbols ranged from the music, which did not quote folksong but rather mimicked it, to costumes of the performers and the use of German folk legend to inspire the plot. If we look to ethno-symbolism to explain the appeal of these symbols, their success lies in the ability of German audiences to relate to them and feel connected to them. According to ethno-symbolists, symbols either do or do not "resonate" with a population, and the symbols that do resonate characterize what the people and elites define as the representation of their national identity.[29] As Smith states, this concept of an agreement between the elites and the common people on representation of the nation is also a shift in perspective from the typical power dynamics of modernist models of

[28] Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 191-205.
[29] Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism*, 14-15.

nationalism.[30] In other words, for a set of symbols, myths, or traditions to be a successful part of a national movement, the majority of people in the polity must to some degree agree that those symbols represent them, although they may have somewhat distinct meanings to different social classes and groups.[31] This aspect of ethno-symbolism alters conventional modernist thinking on the power dynamic between social strata and more equally represents all involved in the building of a nation, perhaps even placing more control of a national movement's success in the hands of the common people.

Another change initiated by ethno-symbolic thought is the return of ethnicity as a basis for national movements. Although the older notion of perennialism also relies on ethnicity in its theories, the two interpret them differently. These perennialists often conflated the terms "race," "nation," and "ethnicity," therefore giving ethnicity a racial bent, rather than referring to its simpler definition, a social group with common cultural historical, or traditional ties.[32] Smith emphasizes the role of ethnicity further to include ethnic communities, or *ethnies*, which he calls "a more complex and unifying form of ethnicity," as the foundations of nations.[33] He defines an *ethnie* as a "a named and self-defined human community whose members possess a myth of common ancestry, shared memories, one or more elements of common culture, including a link with a territory, and a measure of solidarity, at least among the upper strata."[34] These communities make up an "ethnic base" or "ethnic core" that then form the basis of a nationalist movement.[35] These communities occur most commonly as predecessors to various national groups, which leads to another facet of ethno-symbolism: its use of historicism.

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[30] *Ibid.*, 18-19.
[31] *Ibid.*, 23-41.
[32] *Ibid.*, 3.
[33] *Ibid.*, 17-18.
[34] *Ibid.*
[35] *Ibid.*

Smith often refers to this ethnic element and chides theoretical modernists who neglect this aspect of nationalism and national movements.[36] Most modernists – but not all – tend to ignore the role of ethnicities and their individual histories and customs in national identity because they view nationalism as a product only of the nineteenth century that uses constructed versions of history and folk culture that suited the needs of the elite. Within the model of ethno-symbolism, one must study the source of the symbols through which a society has chosen to represent itself. Many of these symbols come from the past rather than being spontaneously constructed by an intellectual elite. Although it is true history can be bent to suit one's own needs, a symbol must have some relevancy to the majority of a population that are to be included in a national movement. Otherwise, the symbol will lack any meaning to the group as a whole or will be misinterpreted by different individuals. Further, the meaning of these symbols is often gleaned from important events of the past whether they are represented factually or are in some way fabricated. Therefore, a nation's history provides us with the symbols that are important to specific groups although the meanings of these symbols can change and be distorted over time. A nation's development can also be traced, at least in western Europe, through the creation and shaping of various kingdoms with many predecessor states existing prior to their establishment in the nineteenth century. Smith and Snyder both point to past golden ages or times of great conflict as being the inspiration for many of the nationalist movements of the nineteenth century, providing evidence that historicism was often in the minds of the forebears of these movements as well.[37] For this reason and from the ethno-symbolist perspective, there is importance in reviewing a nation's past to find its symbols and consequently, the inspiration and representation of that nation's national movement.

[36] *Ibid.*
[37] *Ibid.*, 45-49; Snyder, *Varieties of Nationalism,* 24-25.

History, however, is not the only source of cultural symbols used in different nationalist movements. Ethno-symbolism also considers popular and folk culture as areas from which symbols are extracted for use.[38] These elements are sometimes adopted into the culture of the elites through the imitation of their music and art, such as in *Der Freischütz.* Art music, an elite genre, can be blended with folk and popular music. Even if musical emblems of the common people were not inserted in works of art music verbatim, the works often were made to mimic them closely in terms of style. These combinations of folk elements and the fine arts occurs across almost all nationalist movements and especially in Spain as will be discussed in the next chapter.

The nineteenth century also displays contemporary forms being used as nationalist art, which would be of prime interest to ethno-symbolists. Clinton Young highlights the use of popular culture in *zarzuela*, a Spanish genre of stage works derived from opera, in his *Music Theatre and Popular Nationalism in Spain, 1880-1930*.[39] This example is the use of popular dance hall tunes, which included dances from all across Europe as well as those native to Spain, in the *zarzuelas* of composer Frederico Chueca (1846-1908). Chueca was heavily involved in a genre of *zarzuela* called *género chico*, or the "little genre," that featured elements of modern life in Madrid including the frequenting of dance halls and the popularity of the music played within them.[40] Many *zarzuelas* came to be symbols in their own right of a type of nationalism in Spain which glorified modernization and, by proxy, "Europeanization." Chueca's *La Gran Vía* (1886), or "The Grand Boulevard," is a prime example of this genre and its use of popular dances.[41] This

[38] Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism*¸ 23-41.
[39] See Clinton Young, *Music Theater and Popular Nationalism in Spain, 1880-1930* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2016).
[40] *Ibid.*, 41-44.
[41] Frederico Chueca, *La Gran Vía, Revista madrileña cómico-lírica-drámatica en cuatro actos*, ed. María Encina Cortizo and Ramón Sobrino (Madrid: ICCM, 1996).

zarzuela makes use of a variety of dances ranging from the native *pasodoble* and *jota* to the waltzes, polkas, and mazurkas of central Europe and the imported tango.[42] Although these dances are not national statements when played without the context of a work like *La Gran Vía*, they can be considered symbols of a national movement that was attempting to modernize Spain during the late nineteenth century. The integration of popular dances into a nationalist movement through art music gives weight to the ethno-symbolist focus on popular culture as a source of symbolic resources.

Another tenet of ethno-symbolism is the subjective nature of all nationalist movements, in terms of the inclusion of popular or folk culture symbols. As Smith asserts, subjectivity in regard to nationalism allows multiple versions of the same national movement to exist at any given point through the separate perspectives and interpretations of its members.[43] In other words, a national movement is more akin to a multi-faceted surface than a single united front due to the subjective points of view held by its audience. Subjectivity therefore plays a pivotal role in the construction of national movements in the ethno-symbolic model. This subjectivity lies within what Smith terms the "inner world of the participants," and involves the actions of individual actors along with their "perceptions and visions."[44] This focus brings nationalism and the study of national movements down to smaller dimensions and individuals rather than viewing national movements as large mobilized social forces that operate as if they share one mind and one similar purpose. The impact of individuals within a nationalist movement reveals why ethno-symbolists emphasize use of subjectivity in the study of nationalism and hold that national movements have turbulent and shifting identities, rather than being static singular forces.[45] These

[42] Young, *Music Theater and Popular Nationalism in Spain*, 44-47.
[43] Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism*, 23-40.
[44] *Ibid.*, 19-21.
[45] *Ibid.*

interpretations of subjectivity in relation to nationalism lead to the view that national movements have identities that are in flux as their participants vie with each other for control of the majority; yet, there has never been a single interpretation, and therefore, any identity will always continue to shift and change through time. The importance of studying subjectivity in nationalism is then compounded by the aforementioned differences in meaning that can occur across different social classes. This role of subjectivity can be extended to the consideration of political associations and their influence upon the interpretation of national symbols and the meanings they have for the national participants, as will become apparent in the discussion of Spanish nationalism.

Ethno-symbolism is, however, not without its flaws. As Montserrat Guibernau asserts in "Anthony D. Smith on Nations and National Identity: A Critical Assessment," Smith's ethno-symbolist does not engage with the political elements of nationalism.[46] Guibernau praises Smith's contributions in terms of "ethnies" and collective cultural origins as well as the study of subjectivity within national movements but also raises questions about the state's role in the construction of national identity.[47] In her own words, Guibernau states,

> My objective here is not to undermine the ethnosymbolist's contribution. Instead, I wish to argue that the ethno-symbolist approach, due to its narrow focus on the cultural aspects of nations and nationalism and the scant attention it pays to the study of the nation-state, remains insufficient to offer an integral view of nations and nationalism in the twenty-first century.[48]

The political importance, in regard to "myths, symbols, traditions, heroes, and holy places studied by ethnosymbolism," is also called into question by Guibernau, as it should be.[49] These symbolic resources are those, in which a nation seeks to shroud itself, and Guibernau extends

[46] Montserrat Guibernau, "Anthony D. Smith on Nations and National Identity: A Critical Assessment," in *History and National Destiny: Ethnosymbolism and its Critics*, ed. Montserrat Guibernau and John Hutchinson (Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 125-41.
[47] *Ibid.*, 126.
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] *Ibid.*

this idea to the concept of establish the "political legitimacy" of nations and "the power of states claiming to represent them," alluding heavily to the next section of her essay, which defines the concepts of the nation, state, and nation-state using the example of Catalonia, a nation without a state.[50] These concerns with the political aspects of nationalism need to be rectified within the ethno-symbolist model as Guibernau has established, but this element may be better handled individually by scholars working with this model. The role of the state within a nationalist movement varies between individual movements with some being driven by policy mandated by a state, such as French nationalism, and others being fostered largely by certain social strata within a nation, such as Spanish and Catalan nationalism. We, however, cannot ignore these political elements in favor of cultural subject matter, even in the study of the arts, and for this reason, the remainder of this chapter will be devoted to the political and social ramifications of Spanish history on the construction of a Spanish national identity.[51]

In summation, there are several different theories of nationalism. Some of these schools of thought are more plausible than others although each has its own strengths and distinct foci. Perennialism attempts to impose modern concepts and ideas upon societies across all of history, even those that lack any relatable philosophies or constructs that are linked to the modern concept of nationalism and national identity. Neo-perennialism makes up for the short-comings of perennialism but still lacks the coherence to hold it together as a meaningful theory of nationalism. Modernism is the dominant coherent philosophy in the study of nationalism, but it has far more relevance to political dimensions and lacks attention to popular agency and thus,

[50] *Ibid.*
[51] Many often think of the arts as being apolitical, but as later portions of this thesis will reveal music, especially national music, was highly political and intertwined with the contemporary social and political developments of its time.

does not lend itself as readily to studies of the arts and culture.[52] Preoccupation with constructed-ness and social control within modernism that appears as paranoia in reaction to the destructive forms of right wing nationalism also restricts some scholars from evaluating national movements fully. With these ideas in mind, ethno-symbolism provides the most logical methodology and framework for the study of musical nationalism in relation to the music of Spain. Later chapters will demonstrate that the pairing of ethno-symbolism and musical narratology will be pivotal in placing the music of Tomás Bretón within different nationalist identities based upon what musical topics, and by extensions what symbols, he chose to include in individual works. Symbols make up a large part of both a narratological analysis of a musical work and an ethno-symbolic review of nationalist movements. Ethno-symbolism will also reveal which symbols were and were not successful in terms of nationalist activities in Spain during the nineteenth century.

SPAIN'S TROUBLED NINETEENTH CENTURY AND THE QUESTIONS OF A SPANISH NATIONALISM

During the lifetime of Tomás Bretón (1850-1923), Spanish nationalism began to emerge as a result of historical events and the coalescence of the regenerationist movement, which attempted to develop several different Spanish national identities. Throughout the nineteenth century, Spain had begun to decline through its government's misuse of funds, loss of its international colonies, and Spanish involvement in numerous wars, which served only to drain the Spanish treasury and cause instability. There were also many different governments established along with multiple civil wars, such as the Carlist Wars, and military coups known as *pronunciamentos* that were meant to restore order when the people or the military had lost faith

[52] Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism*, 4-7.

in the Spanish government. These *pronunciamentos* were at times justified and others misguided, but in most cases, provided major turning points in Spanish history in both centuries. These conflicts also led to societal instability and an inability of any government to fully maintain order compounded by the influence of new political movements as well as struggles with the Catholic Church. It would not be until 1875 and the beginning of the Bourbon Restoration that any sort of stability or long-term form of government would be re-established after almost constant flux following the Napoleonic Wars.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN

The eighteenth century also provided several historical developments that influenced the construction of a Spanish nationalism. The first of these events was the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714) that came to include most of Europe's major powers as the Hapsburg and Bourbon families vied for the throne following the death of Charles II (1661-1700). The conflict ended for Spain with the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), which named Philip V (1683-1746), the Bourbon claimant, as the king of Spain and included the loss of several Spanish territories to Great Britain and Austria, such as Gibraltar, the Spanish Netherlands, and Spain's Italian territories. Philip V initiated many reforms to mirror France and the rule of his grandfather Louis XIV (1638-1715). These changes were instituted through the Nueva Plantes decrees (1707-1717), which covered a wide range of acts and policies both political and cultural.[53] The most important to this discussion were those that involved efforts to centralize Spain, such as the abolishment of the various *furs* and *fueros*, regional constitutions and laws, and the suppression of regional languages such as Catalan.[54] These two acts alone would be later points of contention

[53] William D. Phillips and Carla Rahn Phillips, *A Concise History of Spain* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 177-79.
[54] *Ibid.*

in the nineteenth century, but they also served to create the first political concept of a united Spanish identity that superseded that of regional identities. These trends of centralization would continue well into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries but not without resistance from Catalonia and the Basque Country, which sought to defend their unique cultural identities. Philip V's son Charles III (1716-1788) brought to Spain the various values and teachings of the Enlightenment along with further economic improvements and was known as one of Spain's first enlightened rulers.[55] These ideals of the Enlightenment would prove important to future educational, political, and musical developments. Until the reigns of Charles IV (1748-1819) and his son Ferdinand VII (1784-1833), Bourbon rule in the eighteenth century was fairly prosperous for Spain with the improvement of the economy and the adoption of Enlightenment thought among Spanish intellectuals. The nineteenth century would not continue this trend, however.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN: A CRISIS OF IDENTITY

The Napoleonic Wars and their Consequences

Spain saw patterns of decline and societal decay occur during the nineteenth century through numerous wars fought on Spanish soil and a lagging behind in infrastructure, industrialization, and cultural development in certain regions, especially in central and southern Spain, that would not be righted until the end of the nineteenth century or, in the case of some southern regions, the twentieth century. Other regions, such as Catalonia and Basque Country, were, however, largely flourishing centers of industry and the arts, housing numerous concert societies and theaters, which contributed to nationalist movements in these regions. Despite the growth, both economically and culturally, during the nineteenth century, the center of Spain began to decline during the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), which took a harsh toll on the

[55] *Ibid.*, 188-90

Spanish treasury and internal stability. During the conflict, Spain was initially an ally of France under the rule of Manuel de Godoy (1767-1851), a rather reviled advisor to Charles IV (1748-1819) as Great Britain had proved to be a greater threat to Spain when earlier agreements had been signed allying Spain to France.[56] After the conquering of Portugal (1801), the "War of Oranges," by French and Spanish forces conducted at the behest of Napoleon, and the loss of a large part of the Spanish fleet at the Battle of Trafalgar (1805), Napoleon turned upon Spain and initiated the Peninsular War, or the War of Independence, in 1808.[57] The French went on to conquer much of Spain with fighting occurring all across the Iberian Peninsula, thus pushing Spanish forces to the edges of their territory such as at the Siege of Cádiz (1810-1812).

The Siege of Cádiz and its Symbolic Value

The events surrounding the Siege of Cádiz also make their way into Spain's national mythos. Prime among them is the Cádiz Cortes and their drafting of the Spanish Constitution of 1812. The Cádiz Cortes is the name given to the parliamentary body called by rebel leaders that represented and ruled the Spanish people in the absence of Ferdinand VII (1784-1833) who had been taken prisoner by Napoleon.[58] This *cortes* was given its name because it convened in the city of Cádiz by rebel leaders where they eventually selected representatives from among its body to draft the Constitution of 1812, their most famous and influential act on the course of Spanish history. The Constitution of 1812 was built upon the ideals of the Enlightenment and would have created a far more modern constitutional monarchy with Ferdinand VII at its head. Because of its integration of liberalism, such as its conclusion of the Spanish Inquisition, and its association with the rule of a parliamentary body rather than a monarch, the Constitution of 1812

[56] *Ibid.*, 197-99.
[57] *Ibid.*, 198-201
[58] *Ibid.*, 209.

became a symbol of the beginnings of liberal government in Spain that would be reused later in the nineteenth century during the periods of the First Spanish Republic, the Bourbon Restoration, and the Second Spanish Republic. The document also became one of several symbols of Spanish nationalism from the period along with the victory that came out of the conflict. The Constitution of 1812 is clearly used in this manner in Federico Chueca's (1846-1908) *zarzuela Cádiz* (1886) in which a whole scene devoted to the constitution focuses on the common people of Spain, thus demonstrating the influence of the prominent Spanish philosopher Miguel de Unamuno (1864-1936) and his writings on the common people as the only force of historical change.[59] Clinton Young compares this moment to that of Valley Forge in the American mythos as both serve to uplift the people as examples of the nation prevailing in the face of insurmountable odds.[60]

Other aspects of the Peninsular War also came to be glorified, such as the guerilla warfare tactics of Spain's common people, who had become frustrated with French intrusions. began to rebel and attack French troops.[61] The people themselves were rather effective in their resistance to French forces as Napoleon eventually called the conflict a "Spanish ulcer" as it had cost him so many men.[62] The people also restricted the realm of control of Joseph Bonaparte (1768-1844), as Joseph I, to the region that surrounded Madrid, especially when French forces began to withdraw and left him with far too few men to take control of the entire country. This important role of the common people at this point in Spain's history came to inspire the philosophy of Unamuno who wrote extensively on the role of the common people in history as its primary actors. These sentiments are also found in the *zarzuela* of late nineteenth century with

[59] Young, *Music Theater and Popular Nationalism in Spain*, 64-70.
[60] *Ibid.*¸65.
[61] Phillips, *A Concise History of Spain*, 210.
[62] Young, *Music Theater and Popular Nationalism in Spain*, 65-70.

the use of the choir to represent the people.[63] The victory over Napoleon in the Peninsular War is an example of the influence the common people could have on the course of history feeding into these later concepts. The resilient character of the Spanish people also became a symbol of national identity as demonstrated by the late nineteenth-century *zarzuelas* of Chueca and the writings of Unamuno among others.

The Aftermath of the Peninsular War: The Ominous Decade and Spanish Decline

The Peninsular War, however, was only the beginning of the conflicts and turbulent periods of the nineteenth century as many others followed it, and true decline would only begin to take place during the reign of Ferdinand VII, who was known as the Felon King and considered by some as "one of the worst monarchs in Spanish history."[64] As a ruler, Ferdinand only served to deepen Spanish instability rather than to return stability with his reign. The first point of contention among the people occurred upon Ferdinand VII's return to Spain after which he disbanded the Cádiz Cortes, abolished the Constitution of 1812, and had some of the more liberal members of the Cortes executed. This act left a bitter taste in the mouth of the Spanish people, who had called him Ferdinand the Desired during his captivity and as a whole had been optimistic about his return and enlightened rule, and ultimately led to several revolts throughout his reign. His actions as an absolutist monarch generated resentment among Spanish liberals and intellectuals, some of whom would vehemently oppose the monarchy forever after his abuse of power. During the final decade of Ferdinand's rule, known as the Ominous Decade, most of Spain's imperial possessions were lost with only Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines remaining by the 1870s. The loss of the Spanish colonies also led to the bankruptcy of the Spanish crown as it ended the almost constant flow of goods from the Spanish treasure fleet

[63] *Ibid.*, 65-67.
[64] Phillips, *A Concise History of Spain*, 211.

leaving the country without a source of wealth. He also caused further chaos when, on his death bed, he decided to ignore Salic law and name his only daughter Isabella II (1830-1904) as his heir. Many within Spain were not content with Isabella as their ruler and supported Ferdinand's brother Charles as his true heir. This conflict of succession between Isabella and Charles would extend beyond them to their descendants and caused the Carlist Wars (1833-1876), some of Spain's bloodiest and most costly conflicts during the nineteenth century. Although Isabella was never deposed by Charles, her reign was fraught with controversies and discontentment, the result of her personal conduct and unpopular policies.[65] As resentment fermented and came to a head in 1868, Isabella was forced into exile by a *pronunciamiento*, known as *La Gloriosa*, led by General Juan Prim (1814-1870). After Isabella's exile, Prim attempted to find a monarch across all of Europe, eventually coercing Amadeo of Savoy into becoming king. Prim was assassinated shortly after Amadeo accepted the offer and began his travel to Spain. Amadeo only ruled from 1870-1873, due to chaos overtaking Spain, and the First Spanish republic was declared upon his abdication.

The First Republic: Struggles with the Enlightenment and Nationalism

The First Republic was just as turbulent as the previous dynastic disputes, lasting only from 1873 to 1874, as many of the common people and the more conservative representatives within the Republic's government did not wish to be ruled by a democracy and preferred a return to monarchy to republican rule. The Republic was in large part complicated by the problems that had accumulated in the decades prior to its founding under the ineffective leadership of Ferdinand VII and Isabella II. The Republic was sabotaged from within by more conservative

[65] Phillips, *A Concise History of Spain*, 219; Isabella is known in her personal life for excess, both in terms of her treasury and her sexuality. She was rumored to have taken many lovers who fathered her children, among them may have been Emilio Arrieta, Bretón's teacher of composition and her favorite composer.

representatives. The Catholic Church also managed to sour the common people's willingness to be governed by a republic. The combined discontent from all these issues allowed for the continuation of a pattern of instability as the Republic was not in a state to enact effective reforms and provided the spark for the *pronunciamiento* of General Martínez Campos as he deemed the Republic as acting against the will of the people. As can be ascertained from this recounting, the first half of the nineteenth century in Spain was highly turbulent. There was massive political instability which led to bankruptcy and the loss of the majority of Spain's colonies in the New World. It is also inferred that there were few resources available to develop a national movement or identity in this period especially when conflicts of interest and the various disconnects in Spanish society are taken into consideration. This lack of stability made any national projects practically impossible in the realm of the arts, and there were very few groups, such as the Catalan people, that could come together to form a national movement as Spain was so often divided in terms of regional, political, or social identities. A stable regime needed to take hold for Spanish nationalism to develop, and Campos quelled the rampant instability through his coup and the restoration of the monarch.

The Bourbon Restoration: Return to Stability

As a result of Campos's *pronunciamiento*, the Bourbon monarchy was restored in 1874 with the return of Isabella II's son Alfonso XII (1857-1885) bringing much of this conflict and instability to an end for a time. The Bourbon Restoration (1874-1931) comprised the reigns of Alfonso XII and his son Alfonso XIII (1886-1941), who was effectively deposed from power in the 1923 *pronunciamiento* lead by General Primo de Rivera (1870-1930). Politically, the Restoration was a return to constitutional monarchy after the failure of the First Republic. Its systems and policies were largely based on those of England, where Alfonso XII spent much of

his childhood during his mother's exile. Although the parliamentary system that was put in place by Alfonso XII was fundamentally corrupt, switching between liberal and conservative only at moments of unrest through falsified elections, this system, known as *el Turno Pacífico*, initially allowed for a period of stability and peace on the Iberian Peninsula when compared to its predecessors.[66] This corrupt would eventually lead the Restoration to a violent end as frustrations built among the middle and lower classes, the Carlists, and the anarchists, but the early years of the Restoration allowed for Spain to create and cultivate various cultural institutions, such as the numerous concert societies and *zarzuela* theaters of Madrid. As will be seen in the review of Tomás Bretón's vast compositional output, this period was the most productive in terms of the arts in nineteenth-century Spain. Bretón, and other composers, artists, and writers, were revitalizing Spanish culture which had begun to atrophy as a result of constant warfare and lack of financial support. The Restoration was not without its difficulties, and although it offered stability, its corrupt parliamentary system caused discontent to fester among the middle classes, intellectuals, and the regions outside Castile.[67]

The Path to Disaster: A Loss of National Identity

The first of many challenges to the restored Bourbons came in the form of Cuban rebellions which the Spanish government could neither quell nor allow to continue. Cuba accounted for a large part of Spain's exports, especially those of the Catalan textile industry, and helped to keep the Spanish economy afloat; but, the conditions that were forced upon the Cuban people were not favorable and led to instability and frustration in the colony.[68] These conflicts,

[66] Sandie Holguín, *Creating Spaniards: Culture and Identity in Republican Spain* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 18. This term *el Turno Pacífico* can be translated as "the Peaceful Turn" as the conservatives and liberals peacefully traded control at the will of the king through rigged elections, which largely ignored the voice of the Spanish people who became disenfranchised and eventually disenchanted with this system.
[67] Sebastian Balfour, *The End of Spanish Empire, 1898-1923* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 64-91.
[68] *Ibid.*, 8.

which occurred from the 1870s until the Spanish-American War, also served to drain Spain's treasury and its military strength, which had not recovered from the conflicts of the early half of the nineteenth century. Cuba, along with Puerto Rico and the Philippines, also remained as important symbols of Spain's empire although they barely compared to its previous holdings, but as Sebastian Balfour suggests, they held a high place in the Spanish psyché that still allowed the Spanish to see themselves as the civilizers and the spreaders of Catholicism in the world.[69] This concept was a strong part of the Spanish identity that had existed since the time of *Reconquista*.

This ingrained belief in Spanish dominance and the Spanish people's national cause of civilizing the New World made defeat in the Spanish-American War truly devastating to the Spanish national identity. The conflict is known in Spain as the Disaster of 1898 due to its obliteration of Spain's national pride and the people's long held beliefs about who they were. Not only had Spain lost all of its remaining colonies, but it had also lost the conflict to the United States, a former British colony, which many in Spain expected to easily defeat in the field because they believed the United States was beneath them.[70] As a result of this loss, Spain was set spiritually adrift as a nation that lost its purpose, precipitating the intensification of a moment known as regenerationism, which sought to reinvigorate Spain and reverse the decline of the nineteenth century.[71] Regenerationism was a diverse movement which had many different facets and groups included under its banner, and although they all wished to restore Spain to its former glory, they did not agree on the proper course for Spain to take as a nation.[72] These groups are sorted into three main categories: 1) those that wanted to modernize; 2) those that looked to Spain's history; and, 3) those that were inspired by the common people and folk culture. The

[69] *Ibid*., 2-3.
[70] *Ibid*., 89-90.
[71] *Ibid*., 88.
[72] *Ibid*., 66.

groups within regenerationism are also tied to various national identities that developed throughout the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with modernizers attempting to cultivate a modern identity that drew from the cultural and political developments of other western European nations; historicists and folklorists, on the other hand, used elements of traditional Spanish culture to create a "Spanish" identity. Also noteworthy is the fact that there was no national movement flowing from the Restoration government, which in many ways neglected the people, leading the middle classes and intellectuals to construct their own national projects and identities.[73] This aspect of the Restoration is present in Young's analysis of themes and musical inspirations present in the *zarzuela* and musical theater of the time period, in which he reaches the conclusion that popular nationalism existed within that genre.[74]

Regionalism: Regional Identity and Cultural Renaissances

Before moving forward with a discussion of regeneration, we must return to developments in the diverse regions of Spain that had taken place since the beginning of the nineteenth century. There were several regional movements that began to take shape during this century, such as the Catalan *Renaixença* in the 1830s, the Galacian *Rexurdimento* in the 1840s, and Basque developments in the 1870s. The most prominent of these cultural movements was the Catalan *Renaixença*, which involved the reclamation of Catalan language and writings from before the Nueva Planta decrees with a particular interest in those from the medieval period. The wealth and influence of Catalonia's middle classes allowed this group to fund and develop this movement which eventually led to the creation of Catalan political nationalism that was centered around their own culture, language, and traditions which had remained separate from those in Castile. This reclamation of literature and art from earlier periods would later be mirrored by

[73] *Ibid.*, 64-70.
[74] See Young, *Music Theater and Popular Nationalism in Spain*.

regenerationists in Castile, and one could consider the *Renaixença* as a type of regenerationism towards the solidification of a Catalan national identity drawn from the language and culture of the region, whereas the Castilians attempted to create a Spanish identity based only in their own culture, neglecting these regional developments. Strong regional identities, particularly the Catalan identity embodied by the *Renaixença*, made the success of a Castilian-based central national identity, as was attempted by Castilian regenerationists, extremely difficult because the peoples of these regions identified far more with their native regions than with Spain as a singular nation.

Regenerationism: Reconstructing a Spanish Identity

The Modernists

If we break down regenerationism into the groups it comprised, we find that there were several different influences on the shaping of a Spanish national identity during this period. The first are the modernizers who began their work prior to the Disaster of 1898 but who are considered regenerationists due to their pursuit of renewing Spain through education and reform.[75] Modernizers sought to solve Spain's nineteenth-century issues and decline through the use of liberal thought and education to equalize and unify the general population, which at this point in time was highly illiterate and largely controlled by the church, especially in rural areas.[76] As these modernizers did not have governmental financial support, their efforts were fairly limited to areas around larger cities that had strong middle classes willing to enroll their children in schools run by modernists instead of those schools maintained by the church.[77] Many modernizers also came from the middle classes and supported republican forms of government

[75] Balfour, *The End of Spanish Empire, 1898-1923*, 64-70.
[76] *Ibid.*, 64-69.
[77] *Ibid*., 64-69; Holguín, *Creating* Spaniards, 24-28.

and felt repressed by the corruption of the archaic Restoration system. The corruption mentioned previously caused resentment and discontent with the government for the modernists. This group also used models from the Third French Republic which combined education and culture to bind the masses together, but they did not have the resources or the manpower to complete such an extensive project in Spain.[78] Education in republican, and later fascist, societies also served not only as a modernizing force but also as one that could nationalize its citizens and initiate citizens into a national movement. During this period, one of the most active organizations in regard to independent education was La Institución Libre de Enseñanza, (1876-1936) or the ILE, headed initially by Francisco Giner de los Ríos (1839-1919).[79] The writings of German philosopher Karl Krause (1781-1832) heavily influenced Giner and the ILE. Krausist thinking rectified Enlightenment and religious thinking and viewed knowledge and education as a means to bring oneself closer to God.[80] This idea of moving closer to God could also be applied to society, or a nation, as it is "perfected" through education, and this schooling and school of thought produced many of Spain's modernist cultural reformers.[81] Education also became a vehicle to mobilize and spread nationalism among the masses by the modernists, with the ILE as a model, but this use of education would not fully coalesce in Spain until the twentieth century. For the modernizers, an ideal national identity would have been made up of features from cosmopolitan Europe rather than a simple reclamation of Spanish folk culture.

Historicism and Folk Culture

The modernist identity contrasted heavily with one propagated by historicists and folklorists who sought to regenerate Spain through its own native cultural products and through

[78] Holguín, *Creating Spaniards: Culture and Identity in Republican Spain*, 10.
[79] *Ibid.*, 20-23.
[80] *Ibid.*, 20-22.
[81] *Ibid.*, 20-22.

the glorification of events and the arts from its Golden Age or the Reconquista. Historicists attempted to return Spain to a golden age through the reclamation of literature and other cultural products from the Spanish sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There was a renewed interest in the past through the study of works like Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (1605, 1615). Historicists also placed an emphasis on the use of Castilian culture over all others. This movement of historical reclamation was concerned only with Castilian art and history and thought to unify the Spanish people through the Castilization of all Spain. The historicist national identity and its symbols were therefore Castilian and did not appeal to most outside Castile. The influence of Castilian historicists was displayed rather curiously in music with the creation of a national style that incorporated various regional folk dances from outside Castile into their cultural vision of Spain. These dances, however, were most often shrouded behind Castilian myth and history in the plot of stage works, thus concealing their non-Castilian origins to most listeners. This identity could not be successful across Spain using only the cultural symbols of Old Castile.

Also, in the vein of these folk dances, there is the concept of *patria chica*, or the "little homeland," in the literature of the period. These works represented a rural Spain, one which was often idyllic and uncorrupt.[82] Young compares it to the German *Heimat* in that *patria chica* represents "the values of the Spanish people," but this concept also can be taken further into comparison with the German *Volksgeist* and the emulation of folk culture in the arts. In each, we find the ideas that countryside and its inhabitants are virtuous, with the latter living out innocent lives away from the corruptions and discomforts of urban living.[83] *Patria chica*, and *Volkgeist*, are mere proximations of what the middle classes and intellectuals, the audience of these works, believed life was like for the rural poor. These same concepts would, however, have an influence

[82] Young, *Music Theater and Popular Nationalism in Spain*, 113.
[83] *Ibid.*

on the folklorists within regenerationism and make their way into representations of Spain as a nation.

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If we look back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there are many factors that make the creation of a standard Spanish nationalism troublesome. Prime among them is that Spain is a multi-cultural nation with pronounced and unique regional cultures. Although these regional cultures were suppressed at several points during Spanish history through banning of languages outside of Castilian Spanish, strong national sentiments have developed in several regions and, in some cases, have been amplified by conflict and resentment with the central government. Any form of Castilian-centric nationalism could not inspire the people as a whole and would not be accepted in regions like the Basque Country or Catalonia. Regionalism resonates far greater in Spain than any central nationalism no matter what symbols or identity it generates. There were also the disagreements within regenerationism, the major force behind Castilian nationalism, which was a path towards the creation of a Spanish national identity after the loss of Spain's national cause. At that point, the middle classes were divided largely along political lines on whether Spain should adopt a modern European identity through the integration of enlightenment ideals and liberal thought into Spanish society and the importation and use of contemporary cultural products, such as the performance of musical works from the rest of Europe or, whether the people should reclaim the culture of Spain's Golden Age, the Reconquista, and traditional Spanish culture. These groups looked in opposite directions to find a solution to Spain's identity crisis during the nineteenth century. Returning to the ideas of ethno-symbolism, these issues reveal that assembling a set of national symbols that resonated with all of Spain's peoples, as well as across political divides, was nearly impossible. Each of these historical elements make it difficult to solidify a singular national identity within Spain that

contains symbols which resonate with the whole population rather than just a single segment of it. In music, this idea of finding resonant symbols led to struggle with the creation of a national style of composition in Spain. This difficulty will be explored through the works of Tomás Bretón.

CHAPTER 2

NATIONAL STYLE AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN

The manifestation of nationalism in the sphere of music is the use of national styles. These styles embody the character of the nation through the use of unique cultural and compositional markers. Beginning with the nineteenth century, composers experimented several approaches towards the establishment of a national school of composition ranging from the use of programmatic devices or guided depictions of national imagery to the insertion of folk culture into the medium of art music. Individual composers explored numerous approaches to construct national works, and many different styles were created and embraced by the peoples of various nations throughout the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Some of these successful styles, such as the Czech music of Bedrich Smetana (1824-1884) and the Finnish music of Jean Sibelius (1865-1957), have been credited with forging bonds between the state and society in the face of overwhelming adversity as these nations were being established in the nineteenth century. Other styles did not resonate with the people and never obtained the national label that was intended by their composers. These styles have since withered through a lack of popular appeal. In this contrast between successful and unsuccessful national styles, the integrated role of subjectivity and perception presents as an important concept. No matter how "authentic" a work's compositional material, whether it be folk music or historical details, was, if it was not considered national by a national audience, it cannot now be studied as such in a social context. Beyond these issues of perception and compositional material, a national style in music can be

defined simply as the insertion or "absorption" of national characteristics into the universal, cosmopolitan medium that was art music in nineteenth-century Europe.[1]

SOURCES OF NATIONAL REPRESENTATION IN MUSIC

FOLK CULTURE

Several approaches existed for a nineteenth-century composer, who was attempting to compose in a national style. One of the most common and most easily identifiable of these methods was the use of folk culture in a work. The vast nature of folk culture meant there were many resources available to composers, clearly represented by the diversity of styles and compositions that flowed from this source of inspiration. The use of folksong or folk dance in the art music of western Europe predates nineteenth-century nationalism by several centuries with many works imitating the music of the common people. A clear example lies in Antonio Soler's (1729-1783) use of the fandango, a Spanish folk dance, in his keyboard works written during the late Baroque period.[2] This usage of Spanish folk dance occurred long before even the concept of a Spanish national style was conceived, and there was presumably little to no national sentiment backing Soler's decision to use the fandango's general style as compositional material. There are numerous other examples of folk material in art music throughout Europe's history of musical development, such as in the symphonies of Haydn or the dance suites of Bach. In the case of Bach and other Baroque and Classical composers, the folk music included in their works did not even correspond to the composer's own national origin as can be seen in Bach's *English Suites* (1715-1720) or *French Suites* (1722-1725). During the periods prior to the nineteenth century,

[1] Carl Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism*, trans. Mary Whittall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 85.
[2] Antonio Soler, *Fandango, R 146, for Keyboard*, ed. by Aapo Häkkinen (Bologne: Ut Orpheus, 2012). This edition is based on the version of the *Fandango* found in the manuscript known as M 921/6 in the *Biblioteca de Catalunya*.

the use of folk dances in a composition was the result of the popularity of these dances and the composer's own interest in them.[3]

Folk Culture and Stage Works

Beginning with the nineteenth century and the ideas of philosophers, such as Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803), the social context of folk culture changed entirely and in turn so did composers' approaches to folk culture as compositional material.[4] As Carl Dahlhaus asserts in *Between Romanticism and Modernism*, folk music did not become national in character until the inception of nationalism in the European consciousness, and he points primarily to Herder's concept of the *Volkgeist*, or the spirit of people, as the vehicle of this change.[5] The earliest, well-defined example of Herder's and other philosophers' influence on national thought occurred in Germany during the first half of the nineteenth century in which the middle classes began to take an interest in the culture and lives of the lower classes.[6] This preoccupation with folk culture led to the idea of *Das Volk*, or the people, which is, simply put, an idealized vision of the common people. Through the lens of *Das Volk*, the middle classes viewed the common people, typically rural peasants, as a morally pure and pious group that lived simple lives outside the complications of modern life. This view is far more about the values that middle-class Germans sought when establishing a national identity for themselves rather than an actual representation of a rural lower-class way of life.[7] Nevertheless, composers, artists, and writers utilized the concept of *Das Volk* in their works, providing the foundation for German

[3] Carl Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism*, trans. Mary Whittall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 100-101.
[4] Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 123 and 155.
[5] Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism*, 90-95.
[6] We can find most similar ideas to Herder's in the writings of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) but also in the writings of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). Herder, however, holds the most regard in the realm of folk culture with the concepts of *Volkgeist* and *Das Volk*.
[7] Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism*, 93.

Romanticism. The first work to rely heavily on these themes and to win the acclaim of Germans across political and social boundaries was Carl Maria von Weber's *Der Freischütz* (1821).[8]

Der Freischütz exhibits several elements of *Das Volk,* such as the moral purity and simplicity of peasant life. These traits are compounded by the use of folk legend in the libretto and stylized folk music in the score. Further, the connection between such music and *Das Volk* allowed for the cultivation of a German national style that was unique in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Returning to the idea of resonant symbols from the ethno-symbolist model of nationalism, *Der Freischütz* demonstrates clearly that folk culture can provide symbols for a national movement, no matter how constructed or fictionalized these symbols are. In *Der Freischütz*, these symbols come in the form of costumes, numerical associations, and religious symbology, which then synthesize with the folk-like elements of the music to enhance its national qualities. Symbols, such as horn calls and *Männerchors,*[9] in the music can also be related back to narratology and the hunt topic while also being bonded to German folk culture. As shown in this discussion, the use of folk culture in service of a national style allows for the constructing of a vast web of meaning and a degree of intertextuality for an audience. The symbols and the intersections of their meanings in a work are especially potent when viewed by its intended national audience, although some meaning can be gathered by "others."[10]

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[8] Carl Maria von Weber, *Der Freischütz* (Berlin: Schlesinger, 1830); Taruskin, *Music in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 191-205.

[9] *Männerchor* is the name for an all-male German choir rooted in the traditions of the country. They are often associated with "Germanness." For more information, see Karen Alquist, *New Grove Online*, s.v. "Männerchor," accessed June 9th, 2018, http:////www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-1002088074.

[10] Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music,* trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 39-40; An "Other" typically refers to those who are excluded from a specific group, whether it be national, intellectual, or cultural, in discussions of exoticism to describe its influences.

Folk Culture and Instrumental Works

Der Freischütz provides an illustrative example of how folk culture could be used in a stage work that contains narrative and visual elements in addition to music, but many folk works were purely instrumental and did not have the aid of these more concrete elements to carry and enhance the meaning of its symbols. These compositions most often include the use of rhythms, harmonies, or other possible musical links to their nation's folk music. The English national style of the late nineteenth century is one of the best representatives of this type of national work. Among the works of Ralph Vaughn Williams (1872-1952) there are numerous examples, such as his *English Folk Song Suite* (1923), of folk music being inserted into the medium of orchestra or brass band. The *English Folk Song Suite* in particular references several folk songs and uses them as melodic material. These references, along with Vaughn Williams's use of 6/8 meter and melodies based in English folksong – which had its own seemingly unique sound along with other unique style elements – help to convey the national characteristics of this work, and similar connections lie in his works and those from other English composers working in the same style.[11]

The example of the *English Folk Song Suite* provides us with a work that uses specific references to pre-existing folk songs as its melodic material. However, there are national instrumental works that do not. The composers of these works, similar to Weber, produced stylized versions of folk music using melodic or rhythmic patterns of folk song or dance. The songs or dances contained within a work can often be deduced by an audience either through their familiarity with the tradition influencing the composer, or through programmatic elements, such as movement titles. An example from the music of Spain provides a clear demonstration of

[11] For more information, see Raymond Monelle, *The Musical Topic* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 268-271; Ralph Vaughn Williams, *National Music and Other Essays*, ed. by M. Kennedy (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); and Frank Howes, *The English Musical Renaissance* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1966).

this use of rhythmical patterns and imitation of folk song. Joaquín Turina (1882-1949), a composer from the generation after Bretón, frequently composed in this manner. For example, his *Danzas fantásticas* (1919) consists of three movements with each based in the rhythmic patterns of three individual folk dances. These rhythmic patterns as well as meter act as the foundation on which the composition is built, with Turina's melodies and modal harmonies adding color. This work would have provided a Spanish audience a sense of familiarity with the music despite the lack of any direct borrowings from folk music.

Although both the imitation of folk music and direct borrowings displayed in these instrumental works conveyed a national character, composers' reliance on pre-existing sources for their compositional matter also led to criticism from critics and intellectuals in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Over the course of the nineteenth century, audiences and composers began to value originality and novelty, reshaping how people consumed and reacted to music.[12] This emphasis placed on originality especially produced negative reactions among a musical elite to a style that at its very core, relied on imitation or direct borrowings for its symbolic and compositional material. As the century progressed, this style based in folk music and folk dance was reduced to the status of trite popular music, in some cases, as it was considered as derivative, rather than novel, music. If a nation had a national style entirely based in this practice of imitation and borrowing of folk music, then that nation's art music was not considered as equal to the already established traditions in Europe. This aspect of cultural identity would be important to nations, such as Spain, that were in the process of constructing a national style because an inability to be compared to these older traditions showed signs of cultural

[12] Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism*, 95-102.

backwardness or inferiority in the eyes of a western European musical elite, who controlled the taste and intellectual trends of nineteenth-century music.

Another issue with the instrumental compositions of a national style based in folk culture is found in the tendency of critics and audiences to compare this music to contemporary examples of exotic works. The line that divides national folk works and exoticism is technically very thin. Both types of compositions make use of cultural products outside of art music for their subject matter, and each relies on different "colors" to convey meaning to their audiences.[13] The true difference between the two is a composer's intent behind the works themselves rather than their construction or compositional traits. Although exoticism was highly popular during the nineteenth century, it was also looked down upon by intellectual elites who often set musical tastes, thereby compounding issues with the prestige of this style of national music. The areas of Spain and eastern Europe and their cultures were the subjects of exoticism, so there was an inevitable overlap between these nations' composers and exoticist composers from outside the nation. These connections fostered a sense of cultural and artistic inferiority by critics towards national composers, one which was not easily reversed in the realm of music after it had been established. Spain was a frequent subject of exotic works with composers across Europe, such as Georges Bizet (1838-1875), Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov (1844-1908), and many others, who imitated Spanish music, especially that of Spain's southern regions. The Spain represented in the majority of these works was, however, not a fully accurate depiction of the country as a whole. These Spanish exotic works were drenched in orientalism and supported a nineteenth-century viewpoint that attached Spain and its culture, in some circles of thought, to the Middle East or

[13] "Color," in regard to exotic music, typically refers to the use of harmonies or melodic patterns outside the realm of western Art music. We can relate this to the fact that most of the exotic characteristics in the exotic works of the nineteenth century rest upon a framework of art music, much as paint rests upon a surface cloaking its foundations and sometimes altering our perception of it.

North Africa rather than western Europe.[14] These exotic works also caused further concerns when Spanish composers began to create a national style. Any of their national works based in Spanish folk culture would forever be tinged in the light of exoticism.

Folk culture, however, was an effective foundation for a national style of Spain and many other nations, despite its associations with exoticism and its standing with intellectual circles. For folk culture, a national audience needed only to be able to ascertain the connection between the music and their nation and, by extension, themselves. In most cases, the people would have been well-acquainted with their own folk music, and the insertion of this folk music into the medium of art music was well-received and accessible by the majority of a nation's citizens. Through the concept of *Das Volk* with its idealization of the lower classes, it is also clear how folk culture could be connected to the values and interests of the middle classes, and therefore music could then become emblematic symbols of these values.[15] Nevertheless, without context or programmatic elements, folk music could be misconstrued or misinterpreted by its audience, particularly if diverse groups shared similar musical characteristics.[16]

HISTORY AND MYTH

A nation's past is highly important to its national identity, and for that reason, the moments of importance that can be found in its history are often represented within the arts. Shared history and myths provide additional sources of inspiration for a national style. Any moment in a nation's past, whether imagined or in recent memory, could become the basis of a composition as long as it resonated with the people and their national identity. Such moments

[14] See Ralph Locke, "Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers, Muezzins and Timeless Sands: Musical Images of the Middle East," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 22, no. 1 (Summer 1998): 20-53 and "Doing the Impossible: On the Musically Exotic," *Journal of Musicological Research* 27, no. 2 (October 2008): 334-358.
[15] Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism*, 90-95.
[16] *Ibid.*, 95.

were often those that purported to espouse the values of the nation through the actions of its government or people often in the face of great adversity. From the history of the United States, we commonly draw from the events of the Revolutionary and Civil Wars when attempting to muster national sentiment, as these conflicts are both dark points in the nation's history over which it triumphed. It must be noted also that events such as these are frequently embellished, or in more extreme cases fictionalized, especially when they appear within an artistic medium, such as an orchestral suite or opera. Musically, these associations with historical or mythological events can be found both in instrumental and vocal genres; but unlike a painting or work of literature, programmatic elements must assist musical works to establish these connections. Instrumental music especially has need of programmatic elements to reveal its meaning. For although an audience may be able to determine that a piece pertains to a battle or other common event through musical gestures alone, music is unable to convey a specific moment or occurrence without some form of program or title to direct the interpretation of its audience. Despite music's inability to portray specificity, these depictions of historical and mythological happenings appeared in the music of numerous nations and their national styles throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

A National Past through Opera

Opera as a genre, going back to even its earliest origins, is a common vehicle for the retelling of past events, whether historical or mythical in nature. During the Baroque period where we find the beginning of the genre, operatic librettos had their plots derived from Greek myth or the historical events of the ancient world, as these were the topics that enamored the audience of that era. Opera did not lose this quality of adjusting its narratives to suit the interests of its audience as the genre aged. By the nineteenth century, most operatic compositions had

shifted away from the ancient world to areas of intellectual pursuit more consistent with Romantic era thought, including the pursuit of a national identity and the events that would serve to define that identity.[17] National identity, in many ways, shaped the history and mythology chosen to be represented in these works and therefore, influenced the creation of national types of opera. Unlike *Der Freischütz* which had a number of folk legends and elements woven into a contemporary libretto, these operas were based in or fabricated from a nation's established past narratives usually with embellishments made to add drama for the stage or to further a certain national agenda.[18]

One such work is Giacomo Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots* (1836). *Les Huguenots* is often touted as an expression of French nationalism. The plot of this *grand opéra* centers around the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572, in which French Protestants were slaughtered by the thousands by the Catholic monarchy, and focuses upon two lovers, the Catholic Valentine and the Protestant Raoul.[19] The love plot makes up the majority of the opera's narrative action with the massacre featuring only briefly in the final act. But, as a result of the massacre, both Valentine, who had converted, and Raoul are murdered during their wedding ceremony by a mob of Catholic soldiers. These soldiers make up the choir for the finale which begins and ends with the following text:

Par le fer et par l'incendie,	By Iron and by Fire,
Exterminons la race impie!	Exterminate the ungodly race!
Point de pitié! Point d'innocent!	No mercy! No innocence!
Soldats de la foi catholique,	Soldiers of the Catholic faith,
Frappons, poursuivons l'hélétique	Let us hunt, let us pursue the heretics;
Dieu le veut,	God wills it,
Oui, Dieu veut leur sang.	Yes, God wants their blood.[20]

[17] Taruskin, *Music in the Nineteenth Century*, 187-250.
[18] *Ibid.*, 205-250.
[19] *Ibid.*, 218.
[20] Giacomo Meyerbeer, *Les Huguenots, Opéra en cinq actes* (Paris: Schlesinger, 1836), 887-890.

If we consider the fate of Valentine and Raoul and the words and actions of these Catholic soldiers, there are numerous layers of meaning that can be extracted relating to French thought after the revolution. The simplest of these interpretations is the demonization of the Catholic faith through the atrocities committed by these bloodthirsty soldiers which one could tie to importance of secularism and, in some cases, the complete rejection of religion after the French Revolution. On a deeper level, the fact that Charles IX of France ordered the massacre in connection with this demonization of the Catholics could be construed as not only anti-Catholic but also anti-monarchist.[21] Although France was under the rule of the July Monarchy at the time of *Les Huguenots*'s premiere, the opera's popularity flows from the audience, the middle classes of France, still holding ideals flowing from the revolution. *Les Huguenots* therefore is a work of French nationalism which highlights the flaws and evils of the *ancien regime* and in turn uplifts the secular and republican values of the French Revolution.[22] Meyerbeer's opera also provides a prime example of how any nation's history can be used to solidify its values and central identity.[23]

Historical events are not the only way to present these ideas however. Myth can also be a potent carrier of national sentiment in music as can be seen in the musical dramas of Richard Wagner (1813-1883). Wagner himself remains a controversial figure due to the clear anti-Semitism conveyed in his writings along with his other political ideas.[24] His musical works are also considered controversial due to his use of harmony and other stylistic factors, but many of

[21] Taruskin, *Music in the Nineteenth Century*, 218.
[22] *Ibid.*, 205-230; Jane Fulcher, *The Nation's Image: French Grand Opera as Politics and Politicized Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
[23] See Fulcher, *The Nation's Image* and Mark Everist, "The Music of Power: Parisian Opera and the Politics of Genre, 1806-1864," *JAMS* 67, no. 3 (Fall 2014): 685-734.
[24] These ideas and sentiments appear in his essays, such as *Das Judenthum in der Musik* (1850). This essay alone generated backlash against Jewish composers in Germany such as Felix Mendelssohn (1809-1847) whose posthumous reputation has never truly recovered with very few performances of his works occurring in the years following this essay despite his popularity during his life.

his musical dramas are highly representational of German nationalism through their use of German mythology. Prime among his compositions, in this regard, are *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (1876), a cycle of four musical dramas, and *Parsifal* (1882). These works draw heavily upon German and Norse mythology through the use of several *eddas*, or epic poems although Wagner completely constructed other plot elements. *The Ring Cycle*, as it is commonly known, creates a complex web of interconnecting plots and characters of mythological origins, offering a Wagnerian vision of an ancient German past. Similarly, *Parsifal* has elements of German myth but further combines them with symbols of Christianity, such as the Holy Grail. Wagner's versions of these mythologies, which spoke to a German national audience, highlighted German piety and heroism, as can be seen by their popularity during his life. This popularity did, however, not end with his death, and several of these operas were eventually embraced and incorporated into the beliefs and national identity cultivated by the Nazi Party during the 1940s, a source of further controversy.[25] Wagner's works reveal how the symbols of a mythological past can also be woven into a national identity or national style.

Programmatic Retellings of History and Myth in Orchestral Works

History and myth in a national context have not been wholly restricted to stage works or national opera. There are several examples of orchestral suites and tone poems that present historical and mythological narratives, but the approach a composer must take to establish meaning is far different than that in a work with text. Instrumental works, such as those that use themes from folk culture, need a degree of specificity to guide an audience in a way that only programmatic titles or a definite program can offer. If specific myths or past events form the inspiration for a composition, the need for programmatic markers is highly pertinent in order to

[25] Anthony J. Steinhoff, "Embracing the Grail: *Parsifal*, Richard Wagner, and the German Nation," *German History* 30, no. 3 (September 2012): 372-94.

convey meaning. Other ways in which these more specific meanings can be reached are through the use of musical symbology and musical topics. Through any established gestures, a composer can suggest to their audience what takes place in the narrative space of a musical work. For example, if a composer wanted to portray a historical battle, they could make use of the military topic which typically centered around the use of horn or trumpet calls and percussion, particularly the snare drum, along with other elements, such as certain rhythms or melodies, to "re-create" the battle.[26] Through the combination of musical symbols and programmatic elements, an instrumental work could be imbued with a national narrative and national symbols whether they are historical or mythological in nature.

The national works of Sibelius demonstrate how instrumental compositions make use of programmatic elements to shape retellings of a nation's past. Sibelius wrote numerous symphonic poems, suites, and other orchestral works which can fit into this category of national art music. Sibelius's *Lemminkäinen Suite* (1896) provides an ideal example because it not only includes Finnish myth but also has a structured narrative progression that is often absent from this type of work. The *Lemminkäinen Suite* is a set of four tone poems which chronicle some of the adventures of Lemminkäinen, a hero from Finnish myth taken from the *Kalevala* (1835), the Finnish national epic.[27] The *Kalevala* is a collection of Finnish folk poetry that was compiled during the early nineteenth century, which ignited feelings of Finnish national pride and played a central role in the creation of Finland as an independent nation.[28] The *Lemminkäinen Suite* makes

[26] Raymond Monelle, *The Musical Topic* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 113-181. Nicholas Cook, "The Other Beethoven: Heroism, the Canon, and the Works of 1813-14," *Nineteenth-century Music* 27, no. 1 (2003): 3-24; Cook's article shows how successfully works that imitate battle, such as those he features from Beethoven, can be highly popular with an audience, and this same technique was applied to various national works.
[27] Elias Lönnrot, *Kalevala* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1835).
[28] Taruskin, *Music in the Nineteenth Century*, 123. Although the *Kalevala* was highly important to the Finnish national identity, it is also problematic. Lönnrot may have invented several passages that were included in the collection as many collectors of folklore did in the nineteenth century, and the stories never existed in a large narrative form before the *Kalevala*'s inception.

use of these stories from the *Kalevala* along with thematic and topical material to allow the narrative to unfold through the orchestra. Specifically, Sibelius imitated the rhythms of the *Kalevala* poetry and the melodies of Finnish runic singers. This combination of the *Kalevala* and Sibelius's musical style which is also often credited with drumming up national support, was sure to speak to a Finnish audience who would have most likely been familiar with the stories of Lemminkäinen as well as the characteristics of Sibelius's music. This work of Sibelius reveals the way in which orchestral music, though considered not to be an ideal narrative medium by some, could represent a narrative with the assistance of extra-musical elements and be a successful national style of music.

History and myth are frequent sources of national symbols, and these symbols can be readily translated into musical forms whether they are stage or orchestral works, although the two function differently in this context. These works often are constructed from overt national sentiments than those of folk origins as they carry more specific narratives and meanings that are unique to a specific nation's past. These historical events can also be used to espouse national values and make social commentary, allowing composers to make statements that are otherwise confined to more literary genres.

POPULAR CULTURE

As the nineteenth century unfolded, western Europe became more urban and cosmopolitan. As a result of this shift, folk culture was gradually replaced by mass popular culture, which appealed throughout the middle classes and contained more universal cosmopolitan values.[29] Although a popular aesthetic may seem incompatible with nationalism due to its more universal nature, there are those nations which began to embrace elements of it

[29] Clinton Young, *Music Theater and Popular Nationalism in Spain* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2016), 8-10.

into their national identities. Nationalist movements in the nineteenth century are almost always presented as inclusive forces, which tend to label those outside its bounds as a foreign "other." [30] Therefore, a popular nationalism seems impossible due to the nature of popular culture because it often serves as a conglomeration of the arts across national boundaries. However, in countries such as Spain, European popular dances could serve as a link between multiple regional groups whose traditional cultures contrasted. The universal element allowed them both to appreciate a national work flowing from popular culture equally. Inclusion and exclusion could still occur, however. In the concept of "two Spains," in which Spain is divided along rural versus urban lines, forms of cosmopolitan nationalism could exclude the rural half of the Spanish population. This exclusion was the result of contrasting viewpoints on Spain as a nation as well as little to no access to the popular trends of the day in the rural regions of Spain. Popular nationalism could, however, serve to bring together urban populations in the nineteenth century as dance halls became popular and cosmopolitan dances made their way into art music compositions.[31]

This type of nationalism is discussed at length in Clinton Young's *Music Theater and Popular Nationalism in Spain*, and the *género chico* genre of *zarzuela*, which included not only urban elements but also popular dances from across Europe, was one of its primary vehicles.[32] The example of Federico Chueca's *La Gran Vía* (1886) again speaks to this point of popular dance making its way into national works as a carrier of a national identity. Chueca's use of dances such as the waltz, the mazurka, and the polka showed the influences of modern urban life upon this work.[33] These dances were included alongside traditional Spanish folk dances such as

[30] Taruskin, *Music in the Nineteenth Century*, 228.
[31] Young, *Music Theater and Popular Nationalism*, 8-10.
[32] See *Ibid.*
[33] *Ibid*., 50.

the *jota*, *seguidilla*, and *fandango*, which retained their popularity as well.[34] If we consider the simultaneous use of both Spanish and popular dances, we can see the coalescence of a genre which blends a Spanish and modern identity together. *Género chico zarzuelas* like *La Gran Vía*, therefore, began to represent a more modern identity that urban Spaniards acquired as a result of industrialization and modernization taking hold in the late nineteenth-century. This music demonstrates the forming of a new type of national style, one that did not rely entirely on an idealized version of rural folk culture but in the culture of the urban landscape.

LANDSCAPES AND NATIONAL LANDMARKS

A final basis for national style comes in the form of more representational compositions. Composers of these works sought to capture a "moving" image of a nation's landmarks or, in some cases, its overall landscape. The majority of these works come in the form of instrumental compositions as picturesque portrayals do not typically lend themselves to most forms of vocal music. These landscape works, as with other national works, must also rely upon programmatic elements to direct their listeners' interpretations. Although music lacks the visual capabilities to present a clear image, a composer can make use of other markers from which meaning can be deciphered. These markers included the use of musical topics, such as the pastoral, folk music, and other symbols, which had national connotations. The pastoral, as a topic in conjunction with a title referring to a specific landscape, could be especially effective.[35] The English composers especially, such as Vaughn Williams, made use of these pastoral connections to portray the English countryside in a national fashion, even going so far as to mimic the rolling meadows and moors in the texture and melodic contour of a work.[36] These works made use of titles relating to

[34] *Ibid*.
[35] Monelle, *The Musical Topic*, 185-271.
[36] *Ibid*., 268-271. See also Eric Saylor, *English Pastoral Music: From Arcadia to Utopia, 1900-1955* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2017).

nature or locales, such as Vaughn Williams's *In County Fen* (1904-07) or *The Lark Ascending* (1920), and most often made use of folksong for their melodic material. The English works, along with other landscape works, reveal what makes a nation's territory unique, which is then instilled into these compositions. For the English, these depictions are most often related to pastoral and therefore, revolve around rustic scenes of idyllic meadows or rolling hills, but works based upon national landmarks or defining territorial features are not always so general.

Smetana's *Má vlast* (1875-1880), or *My Homeland*, was a set of six symphonic poems, which cover a wide array of approaches to national music including folkloric, historic, and mythological works. The most famous of these compositions and the most pertinent to this discussion, however, is the representational work *Vltava*, or more commonly *The Moldau*. As he establishes with his program for this work, Smetana intended to musically trace the river Vltava as it flowed through Bohemia, now the Czech Republic. The most important feature to the portrayal of the river lies in the repeated motive meant to mimic the motion of flowing water. Although this motive persists throughout the work, it changes form several times to illustrate specific points in the river, such as its sections of rapids and the widening or narrowing of its breadth. Although the river Vltava is one of the Czech territories' most prominent natural landmarks and the focus of this work, there are several other references and musical characteristics that mark it as a national work. *The Moldau* also includes allusions to folk music, but these are not direct or specific references, and features several other Czech national landmarks such the city of Prague and the castle Vyšehrad, also the subject of the first tone poem. As the work traces the flow of the river, it incorporates more aspects of the Czech culture and people moving from countryside to Prague. Musically, Smetana clearly denotes the events and locales present in the work and its associated program through his use of developed thematic

material. For example, the use of folk dance occurs as the river passes by a wedding in the countryside referencing the Czech people, and the arrival in Prague and the sight of Vyšehrad are suggested by robust brass chords and trumpet calls, which herald the center of the newly founded Czech nation. *The Moldau* shows how a work can make simple musical depictions of landmarks national through the use of programmatic connections.

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Each of these four approaches to the creation of national style and national compositions were available to the composers of the nineteenth century. The effect of individual symbols, whether they came from history, folk culture, or the nation's landscape, simply depended upon which were more relevant to a composer's own creative process and the social context surrounding their lives and works. Although these sources of inspiration appear to be vastly different when compared to one another, they all served the same common goal of allowing the composer to communicate with their national audience. A multitude of these sources could be included within a single work through a mixing of symbolic resources, such as the combination of folk music with the depiction of a historical landmark. Such a combination would have, in most cases, strengthened its relevancy to a national audience. Despite the approach a composer chose as the basis of a national work, there still were additional forces manipulating the process of the creation and denotation of a national style and the status of these composer's compositions. Chief among these forces was a national audience's perception of a work.

THE POWER OF PERCEPTION IN THE STUDY OF NATIONAL STYLE

When studying the creation of national style, one must consider who determines and defines a national style. Within music, the balance of power lies somewhere between the composer's intent and the audience's perceptions of a work. This relationship between composers, audiences, and nationalism is best developed in the writings of Carl Dahlhaus (1928-

1989), who has influenced much of musicology's thinking in regard to the nineteenth century and its influences on music.[37] Dahlhaus has provided us with several developments within the study of national music in addition to the role of the audience and their reactions and perceptions to a work. An ideal starting point for this discussion are his thoughts regarding the universal and the national in relation to one another. Art music is a universal and cosmopolitan medium that was shared by the middle classes across Europe during the nineteenth century, and earlier. National schools of composition are, therefore, "a compromise" between art music's "cosmopolitan ideas" and the composer's "own sense of national identity."[38] These national styles also served a cosmopolitan purpose with the art music, "a universal art," serving as a medium for national characteristics, which could be looked upon as novel compositional material.[39] For this reason, national music can still be included within the larger European art music tradition rather than being viewed as segregated styles that were merely contemporary with one another.

In relation to this train of thought, we must also evaluate Dahlhaus's view of these styles. As discussed in the previous chapter, national styles have existed in music since the Renaissance, although they do not share the same context with those of the nineteenth century.[40] During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these national styles, such as the French, German, and Italian, were featured heavily in the music of the Baroque and Classical periods, but a composer's thinking and approach regarding them contrasted heavily with that of nineteenth-century composers. As Dahlhaus states, the styles of the early period were merely "manners"

[37] See Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism*; Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*.
[38] Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism*, 83.
[39] *Ibid.*, 83-84.
[40] *Ibid.*, 85.

which a composer could "arbitrarily adopt and exchange" at will.[41] To put this concept more explicitly, a composer did not need to be restricted to a style, which corresponded to their own national origin: a composer could simply compose in the manner that suited the character of his intended work or in the one that was typically associated with the genre of a work. But, in the nineteenth century, this use of national styles as "manners" was forever altered by the forces and concepts of nationalism.[42] For nineteenth-century composers according to Dahlhaus, "national character was something to be produced 'from within' and not introduced 'from without.'"[43] This statement can be interpreted in numerous ways, but the most logical is that these styles and their national leanings were viewed as an intimate part of a composer's inner self, just as national identity was important to a nation and its citizens.

Viewing national style as something closely tied to a composer's identity also lends to a discussion of "authenticity."[44] So, we must ask the question: is a work that does not reference actual folk music "inauthentic," and by extension, does the "inauthenticity' that we perceive keep this work from being considered as indicative of national character? We must from this question resolve that a work that has been perceived by a scholar as being "inauthentic" because its compositional material lacks identifiable national traits cannot be discarded and severed from a national style based on this analysis alone.[45] This notion of inauthenticity as perceived by scholars can also be extended to stylized versions of folk music that occur across all forms of art music. Music of this variety does not need to be based in, or even directly upon, a certain type of

[41] *Ibid.*, 100-101.
[42] *Ibid.*
[43] *Ibid.*, 101.
[44] In music currently, but especially in relation to national music, authenticity can have many different meanings. The term could be used to refer to a sense of originality, relating to one's own authentic self, to performance practice, or perhaps to a work that makes use of exotic or folk-styled music. On the most basic level, authenticity is concerned with a perceived "realness" or accuracy of work whether it is in relation to a national identity, historical performance, or a composer's sense of self and creativity.
[45] Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism*, 87.

folksong or dance to be considered authentically national.[46] Therefore, defining what is national or authentic does not lie fully in the hands of scholars but must instead come from the thoughts and reactions of contemporary national audiences, which can be garnered from their writings and repeated performances among other factors.[47]

To further illustrate the importance placed on the audience by Dahlhaus, their relation to nationalism and models of nationalism must be considered. During the nineteenth century, most audiences were made up primarily of the middle classes, especially in terms of the public opera houses, concert societies, and orchestras that were formed throughout the century. Middle-class tastes and preferences, therefore, drove a large amount of the musical development in the Romantic period through this group's patronage at these venues. The middle classes also served as the primary vehicle for most nineteenth-century nationalist movements. With the middle classes' newly acquired influence and wealth, national ideals began to be explored in the arts as well as in political and social institutions. For this reason, a national audience receiving a specific work as emblematic of their national sentiments in turn makes it a national work. This train of thought goes hand in hand with Anthony Smith's model of ethno-symbolism in which the people must agree upon national symbols and values. In the case of music, the majority of national audiences must conclude that a work represents them for it to be representative of a national group or style through trends established by composers and the popularity of these works among this audience. Therefore, we must establish the nature of the audiences that existed in Spain during the time surrounding and leading up to the life of Bretón.

[46] *Ibid.*, 90-94.
[47] *Ibid.*, 87-89.

THE CONTEXT AND CONSTRUCTION OF A SPANISH NATIONAL STYLE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN AUDIENCE

Bretón and many other composers were active in numerous different genres and styles throughout this period, and their music would have been widely accessible in the principal cities of Spain. Bretón's music, along with others, was largely available through the various concert societies, such as the *Sociedad de Conciertos* (1866) and the *Unión Artístico Musical* (1878), or the numerous *zarzuela* theatres that arose in Madrid as the genre gained popularity. Societies and theatres could be found across Spain, including Barcelona's *Sociedad Filarmónica Barcelonesa* (1844) and *Gran Teatro del Liceu* (1847), Seville's *Sociedad Filarmónica* (1871), or Bilbao's *Orquesta Filarmónica* (1845). These establishments merely represent a small part of the wide breadth of musical activity that was taking place across Spain's urban landscape. Unsurprisingly, this surge of concert societies, theatres, and musical productivity occurred as many among the Spanish middle classes had begun to adopt elements of liberalism and cosmopolitan culture. It is quite plausible to relate these intellectual developments to the improved state of Spanish music during the second half of the eighteenth century as the Enlightenment is so often credited with the musical developments elsewhere in Europe.[48]

As previously discussed, the middle-class patrons were the primary actors in regard to nationalism and the vast majority of musical endeavors during the Romantic period. Although the processes of industrialization and the adoption of cosmopolitan culture had occurred later in some parts of Spain than in most of Europe, the establishment of the middle classes was no less influential upon the face of Spanish music. The most obvious example lies in the cultivation of *zarzuela*, Spain's native genre of stage works, during the nineteenth century. Initially during this

[48] Philip Downs, *Classical Music* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992), 3-16.

period, Spain was an "operatic colony of Italy" with the operas of Giacomo Rossini, Vincenzo Bellini, Gaetano Donizetti, and later, Giacomo Puccini being rather commonplace across the country.[49] This Italian dominance also led to a decline in terms of native Spanish composers who were largely neglected in favor of Italians along with the production of *zarzuelas*.[50] But, as the middle classes became more acquainted with Romantic thought, especially nationalist thought through its dissemination in the latter half of the nineteenth century, a shift began to occur among vocal genres. *Zarzuela*, although in some ways derivative of Italian opera, increasingly became an outpouring of national sentiment in music, one which spoke to the middle classes. Through this re-adoption of *zarzuela*, we also see a splintering between the Spanish audience with the middle classes embracing *zarzuela* and the aristocracy favoring Italian opera.[51] *Zarzuela* began to transcend Italian dominance due to its use of the Spanish language as well as the abbreviated length of later *zarzuela*, along with more relatable plots as *genero chico* took hold in the 1880s provided far more common ground with the middle classes of Spain.[52] These developments did not entirely displace Italian opera, but they did lead to *zarzuela* becoming the dominant genre as it acquired national meaning. Its return to prominence shows the effect that the middle class could have upon the arts when they had been educated and mobilized. This example provides only an overview of larger-scale change in a single genre, and the influence the middle classes as a whole could have through their consumption of music. As discussed in the previous chapter, there were numerous divisions in Spanish society, especially post-1898, and with these divisions came endless possibilities for the inspiration of compositions and the creation of a national style.

[49] Young, *Music Theater and Popular Nationalism*, 4-6.
[50] *Ibid.*, 4.
[51] *Ibid.*, 8.
[52] See *Ibid*.

CREATING A SPANISH NATIONAL STYLE

As per the discussion of Spanish history and society in chapter one, there were many obstacles in the way of a Spanish nationalism, and these difficulties extend fully into the realm of music. Regionalism remains one of the most pronounced as each region had its own forms of folk music as well as their own histories upon which plots could be based. These elements of culture also spoke to regional audiences in a way that a centralized history or universal folksongs could not. The Catalan *sardana* is a clear example of this development as it appeared frequently in compositions and was emblematic of Catalan culture. These associations only grew as the *Renaixença*, and its successor movements, strengthened over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A more universal yet still Spanish dance, such as the *seguidilla*, could be considered national, as further discussion will reveal, but these universal cultural elements could never hope to supersede more symbolic regional dances. The divisions within regenerationism also provided composers various sources of material for their works, whether they be historical, modernist, or folk-culture derived. The multi-faceted nature of this regenerationist movement, however, meant that in some cases, a work's appeal could be restricted to one of its subgroupings. Creating a national style that was recognized and accepted across these regional boundaries would present Spanish composers of the nineteenth century such as Bretón with a difficult task, but for many in Spain, this style would have been a single but major part of Spain's emergence as a modern European nation.

Regenerationism and National Style

Bretón's works, along with those of composers with whom he is often linked, were primarily performed in Madrid, and the city existed as a center of Castilian regenerationist developments in the final years of the nineteenth century. As stated previously, regenerationism

is most often associated with the aftermath of the Spanish-American War and the identity crisis it ignited. The main goal of all forms of regenerationism was to restore Spain as a nation, but this point of restoration is where the similarities between these groups within the movement end. These groups can, on a large scale, be divided into the categories of modernists, historicists, and folklorists. In the context of the earlier discussion of national style, Spanish composers, as propagators of regenerationism, had varied sources from which they could draw for their compositions. Many of these subdivisions also corresponded directly to approaches for the composition of national works.

Historicists

The historicists within regenerationism are perhaps the easiest group to understand in terms of nineteenth-century compositions. Historicists typically drew on the ideas of restoring Spain's Golden Age through the emulation of that period through literature or glorification of the events of the *Reconquista*. Although it may seem likely for contemporary composers to re-create elements of Spanish music from the period in their own compositions, historicism took shape primarily in the stage works of the period, both opera and *zarzuela*. Emilio Arrieta (1823-1894), who was Bretón's composition teacher, wrote several works that could be attributed to this category such as his opera *La conquista di Granata* (1850).[53] This opera in three acts chronicles a dramatized version of events surround Isabella I of Castile (1451-1504) during the conquest of Granada focusing on the capture of the *Alhambra* and including scenes with Christopher Columbus. *La conquista di Granata* cannot, however, be designated as a Spanish national work as the style of the music and its text are Italian; and further, the middle classes later railed against the dominance of Italian opera. The work does offer an example of continuing trends for those

[53] Emilio Arrieta, *La conquista di Granata: drama lirico in tre atti*, ed. María Encina Cortizo and Ramón Sobrino (Madrid: ICCMU, 2007).

who would later embrace elements of historicism in their compositions, such as Bretón in his Spanish operas.

Another trend that can be tied back to Arrieta's opera and a more general sense of historicism is the *alhambrista* style.[54] *Alhambrista* works rely on pictorialism to present their audiences with an image of the *Alhambra*, which had become a symbolic Spanish landmark through the developments of romanticism in Spain and its connection to the *Reconquista* through its conquest by Isabella and Ferdinand.[55] This importance placed upon the *Alhambra* as a landmark and symbol can be related back to Washington Irving's *Tales of the Alhambra* (1832), who inspired trends in European, and eventually specifically Spanish, literature, which drew on its perceived exotic nature and picturesque representations.[56] This trend is reflected musically in the orchestral works of Bretón, Chapí, and Jesús de Monasterio (1836-1903).[57] In terms of style, these compositions represent a blending of nationalism and exoticism. For though they are national in their use of the *Alhambra*, these composers also pull upon its exotic origins in fashion that could be linked back to Félicien David's *Le désert* (1844).[58] These Spanish works rely upon similar elements in *Le désert* such as "exotic" rhythmic patterns and melodies played by the English horn and oboe.[59] Stylistic markers of exoticism could also be related to the *Alhambra*'s location in southern Spain and to the music of the Andalusian region, but in this type of music, the distinction is rather blurred through the use of programmatic elements. An evaluation of Bretón's orchestral serenade *En la Alhambra* (1881) in the next chapter will make this style's relation to exoticism as well as a Spanish nationalism clearer.

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[54] Ramón Sobrino, ed., *Música Sinfónica Alhambrista* (Madrid: ICCMU, 2004), xv.
[55] *Ibid*.
[56] *Ibid.*
[57] *Ibid.*, xv-xvii.
[58] *Ibid.*, xv; Félicien David, *Le désert: Ode-symphonie en 3 parties* (Paris: A. Meissonnier, Hegel, c1800s).
[59] *Ibid.*, xvii; See also Locke, "Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers, Muezzins and Timeless Sands," 20-53 and "Doing the Impossible," 334-358.

Folklorists

Alhambrista style is also tied to another development called the *andalucismo* style.[60] This style relies on connections to popular Spanish folk dances rather than the imagery of the *Alhambra*. As the nineteenth and twentieth centuries unfolded, these compositions became the most common national works in Spain, in terms of instrumental music. If we look to Bretón's contemporaries, *andalucismo* was their primary style for orchestral works, of which they composed few. Chapí's *Fantasía Morisca* (1873, 1875), for example, makes references to the conventions of Andalusian folk music without quoting its rhythms or melodies directly.[61] By contrast, Bretón's own *Escenas andaluzas* (1924) makes direct references to several rhythmic patterns as the basis of its compositional material.[62] This style also influenced the next generation of Spanish composers such as de Falla and Turina who are primarily known for their orchestral works, which were often inspired by the music of southern Spain. In many ways, these compositions can be linked back to the same sentiments that inspired the German *Volksgeist* but with elements of what would normally be described as exoticism. Although outside Spain, these markers of exoticism would have alluded to exotic locales in music. For a Spanish audience, these stylistic traits would have likely been signs of cultural uniqueness and individuality contributing to nationalist thought and Spanish exceptionalism, which had not fully developed before 1898.

[60] Ramón Sobrino, "Andalucismo y Alhambrismo Sinfónico en el Siglo XIX," in *El Patrimonio Musical de Andalucía*, ed. Francisco J. Giménez Rodríguez, Joaquín López González, and Consuelo Pérez Colodero (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2008), 16-17.
[61] This work came in two forms as it was initially composed for brass band in 1873 then arranged for orchestra in 1875. Ruperto Chapí, *Fantasía Morisca per a banda*, ed. by Ramón Sobrino (Valencia: Institut Valencià de la Música Piles, 2010) and *Fantasía Morisca*, in *Obras Orquestales*, ed. by Ramón Sobrino (Madrid: ICCMU, 2008).
[62] Ramón Sobrino, ed., *Zapateado: bailable español; Escenas andaluzas; Polo Gitano* (Madrid: ICCMU, 1998).

Modernists

The last of these regenerationist groups were the modernizers, who attempted to regenerate Spain through modernization in terms of infrastructure, education, and culture. The adoption of modern musical practices toward the creation of national style, similar to that of France or Germany, could be directly related to this effort. Translated to the efforts of individual composers, this modernization represented the development of a more well-rounded tradition including both operatic and orchestral mediums, as composers in more developed national traditions had done. This modernization in the field of music can also be interpreted through the cultivation of Spanish opera, as will be discussed in the final chapter, which was one of Bretón's main goals throughout his career. Spanish composers also had begun working with orchestral music, which had been rather uncommon in the earlier half of the nineteenth century. Symphonies especially were rare until the generation of Bretón during which Spanish composers returned to the genre. Bretón himself composed three, to be discussed later, but another of his contemporaries Miguel Marqués (1843-1918) composed five.[63] While Bretón choose Beethoven as his model, Marqués used Hector Berlioz, with whom he had studied briefly in Paris.[64] Marqués makes use of Berlioz's approach to instrumentation as well as adding programmatic elements to his symphonies, such as in his Symphony no. 1 in Bb, "Historía de una día" (1869).[65] Bretón and Marqués represent contrasting sides of symphonic development, but both can be

[63] Tomás Bretón, *Sinfonía no.1 en fa mayor; Sinfonía no. 3 en sol mayor*, ed. by Ramón Sobrino (Madrid: ICCMU, 2012) and *Sinfonía no. 2 en mi bemol Mayor*, ed. by Ramón Sobrino (Madrid: ICCMU, 1992); Miguel Marqués, *Sinfonía no. 1 en si bemol*, ed. by Ramón Sobrino (Madrid: ICCMU, 1993), *Sinfonía no. 2 en mi bemol mayor*, ed. by Ramón Sobrino (Madrid: ICCMU, 1995), *Sinfonía no. 3 en si menor*, ed. by Ramón Sobrino (Madrid: ICCMU, 1995), *Sinfonía no. 4 en mi mayor*, ed. by Ramón Sobrino (Madrid: ICCMU, 2002), and *Sinfonía no. 5 en do menor*, ed. by Ramón Sobrino (Madrid: ICCMU, 2002).
[64] See Antonio Iglesias and Antoni Pizà, *New Grove Online*, s.v. "Marqués y Gracía, Pedro Miguel," accessed June 9th, 2018, http:////www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000017851.
[65] *Ibid.*

folded into modernism and in some ways their symphonic output can be treated as national works.[66]

In *zarzuela*, we can also find aspects of modernism blending with nationalism if we again return to the *género chico* genre and Federico Chueca. The genre relates to urban life with plots typically contemporary with the time that they were written. Chueca's *La Gran Vía* takes this development further through its use of popular dance hall tunes alongside traditional Spanish dances. These works serve to create a linkage between a modern Spain and a national Spain conflating nationalism with the adoption of modern culture.

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A Spanish composer could therefore follow any of these lines of development to cultivate a national style. These categories could also be combined to create various webs of meaning and the enhancement of individual symbols through their association with one another such as with the *Alhambrismo* works, which blend folk culture and national imagery, or the *zarzuelas* of Chueca, which place traditional and modern dances in the same context. The success of these works laid in the hands of the Spanish audiences of that day, and any specific work was, in most cases, unable to speak directly to each regional or political audience specifically. The creation of a Spanish national style was fraught with obstacles, but in Bretón, we can see a composer who sought to embrace many different aspects of Spain in his works. Through the evaluation and analysis of his works in the final chapter, we can begin to grasp how a composer could attempt to create a national style that was as multi-faceted as regenerationism.

[66] This issue will be explored further in the third chapter as a symphony's nationalist possibilities are discussed further in regard to narratology. Symphonies are typically placed in the realm of absolute music, or "music for music's sake," which cannot, in traditional thinking, hold any meaning, much less nationalist sentiments. But, through the use of narratology, this interpretation of the genre is revealed to not be as polarized as previously thought.

CHAPTER 3

THE CREATION OF A SPANISH STYLE AND THE WORKS OF TOMÁS BRETÓN

The compositions of Tomás Bretón (1850-1923) afford an examination of the historical context for Spanish art music in the nineteenth century and the possibilities for the establishment of a Spanish national style within the developments of regenerationism and modernization. This historical context and these possibilities can be fully explored in the compositional output of Tomás Bretón. Bretón's writings reveal that the composer was attempting to aid in the construction of a Spanish national style and a general improvement of the state of art music in Spain.[1] Bretón was quite possibly one of the most prolific composers in Madrid during the second half of the nineteenth century, and his compositions represent a wide range of national ideals ranging from the historic to the modern. Through the evaluation of Bretón and his works, the orchestral music of Romantic era Spain will be subjected to narratological and national models. In the past, these types of contextual and historical analyses of Spanish music were generally restricted to vocal genres with an emphasis mostly placed on *zarzuela*, such as in Young's *Music Theater and Popular Nationalism*.[2]

Although *zarzuela* and opera are highly important to the creation of a Spanish national style and will be considered briefly in this chapter, the primary focus is the importance of Bretón's orchestral works in relation to national style and the constructs of the period. Only vocal and instrumental music together can fully make a national art music tradition such as the one Bretón advocated for during his life. Bretón's compositional output clearly show his ideas on

[1] See Tomás Bretón, *Diario (1881-1888)* (Madrid: Caja de Madrid, 1995); Tomás Bretón, *Más en favor de la ópera nacional* (Madrid: Pizzaro, 15, Bajo, 1885).
[2] Clinton Young, *Music Theater and Popular Nationalism in Spain* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2016).

the subject as it features far more orchestral music than the majority of his contemporaries or predecessors in the early nineteenth century, thus, Bretón serves as a more tangible example. For the purpose of considering this music, the focal point of this chapter is an analysis and comparison of Bretón's *Sínfonia no. 2 en mi bemol mayor*, or Symphony no. 2 in E-flat Major, (1884) and *Escenas andaluzas* (1894), both of which can be linked to concepts of national style and the conventions of art music during the Romantic period. These two works, and their similarities, reveal connections that occur across all genres of Spanish music during the period fostering a greater understanding of music within the cultural and intellectual developments of nineteenth-century Spain. Before analyzing these two works, or giving a general overview of Bretón's compositional output, a general analytical framework, one which draws upon the previous two chapters, needs to be established and explained.

AN ETHNO-SYMBOLIC AND NARRATOLOGICAL APPROACH TO NATIONAL MUSIC

This framework will be built upon Anthony D. Smith's model of ethno-symbolic nationalism, Carl Dahlhaus's ideas on national style, and the theory of musical narratology with an emphasis on the concepts of Robert Hatten and Raymond Monelle.[3] As these approaches to culture and music are measured against one another, it will become clear how these different theories and concepts fit together to form a methodology for the symbolic analysis of national music. To coalesce a foundation for this method, we must reconsider how some of Smith's tenents of ethno-symbolism reflect onto music and are related to the ideas of Dahlhaus.

[3] See Anthony D. Smith, *Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism* (New York: Routledge, 2009); Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism*, trans. Mary Whittall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); Robert S. Hatten, *Musical Meaning in Beethoven* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004) and *Interpreting Musical Gestures, Topics, and Tropes* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004); Raymond Monelle, *The Musical Topic* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006).

ETHNO-SYMBOLISM AND THE WRITINGS OF DAHLHAUS

The most important of these features is Smith's concept of resonant symbols as the basis of national culture and, by extension, nationalist movements. These symbols, according to Smith, have meaning to the majority of those that belong within a nation or movement and therefore speak to these specific populations and inspire national pride or invoke cultural memory, such as for Spain the Constitution of 1812 or the *Reconquista*. Simply put, the construction of a national identity must be built upon symbols that have meaning for all those included within a national movement in order to be successful. Similar ideas are found in the writings of Dahlhaus in which he determines that for a style to be national, it must be perceived as such by a national audience. Although Dahlhaus makes no such references, this idea can be extended to the concept that a majority of a polity's audiences must label a style as national for it to be considered so. A deeper look is needed to fully understand why these works were accepted as national, however, and the answer perhaps lies in the musical language and symbols used by a composer, which can be placed within the model of ethno-symbolism. At the core of both the concepts of Dahlhaus and Smith, we find for the music or symbols to be national they need to be accepted by a population or, by extension, an audience as so.[4]

NARRATOLOGY AND THE STUDY OF NATIONALISM

On a smaller scale than national movements, audiences, and reception, there are the musical works themselves, and the symbols included within them by composers. Narratological analysis provides the best means to gain a working knowledge of these symbols' usage within a composition. Musical narratology is the study of narrative in music and, by extension, the symbols and context that shape musical meaning and musical topics, which are on a basic level a

[4] This acceptance can come in a number of forms, but the most common are in the contemporary writings of critics and audiences and repeat performances of a work.

collection of connected compositional gestures. In the writings of Monelle, Hatten, and others, there are various subjects, such as general characteristics of musical topics and the relation of "marked" and "unmarked" music, which establish this type of analysis and how it affects our understanding of music.[5] On its deepest level, narratology is the study of European art music as a language, a rather controversial idea in the field, which helps us to create new interpretations and facilitate a more well-defined conception of musical works.[6] Musical narratology, in a way, puts into words the manner in which composers codified their compositions with meaning through the use of compositional gestures and the conventions of musical topics. These topics had not – until recently – been taken up by scholars but had been understood by contemporary composers and audiences. For example, if we look to Beethoven's Third Symphony in E-flat Major the "Eroica," we can find a number of markers, such as the key of the work and the use of horns, trumpets, and percussion, that led us to the hunt or military topic.[7] A person does not need to be immersed in the study of narratology to grasp these connections, but musical narratology does give us some standard language to define and present these previously abstract ideas. This type of study has also not yet been applied to national style, which can be rife with symbolic meaning.

Nationalism and narratology can go hand in hand with one another through the common thread that lies in national symbols. So far, narratology has been restricted to general conceptions of music that lies with the mainstream of cosmopolitan Europe. The compositional gestures and musical topics, although viewed as "marked" by an audience, have yet to be considered in a national context, and we must ask ourselves if contemporary national audiences interpreted them

[5] Hatten, *Musical Meaning*, 34-50.
[6] For information on the development and theories of musical narratology, see Kofi Agawu, *Playing with Signs: A Semiotic Interpretation of Classic Music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Eero Tarasti, *A Theory of Musical Semiotics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); Hatten, *Musical Meaning in Beethoven* and *Interpreting Musical Gestures, Topics, and Tropes*; and Monelle, *The Musical Topic*.
[7] Monelle, *The Musical Topic*, 113-181.

differently, whether generally or in the presence of programmatic suggestions. For although a musical topic can refer to specificities, perhaps it may be interpreted differently by audiences in different nations. For example, a generalized military topic typically makes use of horn, trumpets, and percussion along with themes that mimic horn calls and other sounds of battle, and in most cases, a generalized audience can audibly perceive these features. These topics and compositional techniques could possibly develop a more specific national meaning, derived from the connotations formed around them when they are placed in the compositions of a nationalist composer, such as Bretón. Therefore, if the workings of cultural memory and its effect on the interpretation of a work are considered, it is possible to construct a Spanish context for these topics, which can be gleaned from and built around the works of Bretón.

These ideas found musical narratology can be further combined with those of Dahlhaus and Smith. Because Dahlhaus stresses the role of contemporary audiences and their perceptions of a work, it is imperative to construct a historical context that can be associated with these audiences. This context will serve to inform a narratological analysis and the meaning of national works and the symbols used by national composers. From this context, meaningful connections can also be made between different compositions and composers through their use of symbols and other narratological features. These connections, in turn, can provide us with deeper more specific meaning that can be related to national features. The linkage of Smith's ethno-symbolism to narratology is far clearer. Narratology provides a means to identify symbols in national works allowing us to determine their degree of resonance within a nation through its audiences and their perceptions of works in their own national context. This combination of theories will also allow for the building of deeper meaning through the reoccurrence of successful symbolic gestures across a composer's output or a national school of composers.

Webs of meaning, as well as intertextuality between works, can be constructed, and symbols can be defined and given more specific meaning through this combination of Dahlhaus, ethno-symbolism, and narratology. This approach will bring together for the first time narratology and the study of nationalism and national music and demonstrate how a narratological approach can add to this type of study. These concepts and theories will, from this point forward, inform the discussion of Bretón's works and the analysis of his *Sínfonia no. 2 en mi bemol major* and *Escenas andaluzas*.

THE WORKS OF TOMÁS BRETÓN IN A NATIONAL CONTEXT

With a framework established, an examination of Bretón's compositional output serves to reveal trends and connections that occur between the works themselves as well as to those of other composers. His compositions will also be evaluated based upon where they fit into the aforementioned constructs of national style and to the various outlooks of the regenerationist movement. Bretón's total output is highly diverse, especially in relation to other Spanish composers of the period such as Chapí and Arrieta, with a variety of genres represented ranging from symphonies to string quartets to *zarzuela* and art songs. Bretón's output becomes even more varied when compositional inspiration and the use of musical symbols relating back to regenerationism are taken into account. For the sake of brevity, only Bretón's stage works, chamber music, and orchestral compositions are analyzed as they are the most instilled with national sentiments; further, there are interesting divisions in terms of inspiration and subject matter for these works. Through the relations and the context established through an overview of his compositions, it will become possible to glean greater meaning from both *Sínfonia no. 2 en mi bel major* and *Escenas andaluzas*.

THE OPERAS AND ZARZUELAS OF BRETÓN

Vocal stage genres such as *zarzuela* and opera were fairly dominant in the music of nineteenth-century Spain. Unsurprisingly, they were also one of Bretón's most productive areas, having composed numerous *zarzuelas* and Spanish operas. These works were also among his most successful with many still being performed today. Within these genres, there are also several points of influence and inspiration, which can be traced back to regenerationism and the modernizing trend of the late nineteenth century in Spain. Vocal stage works were also a prime place for the beginnings of a national style as conceived from Bretón's own writings.[8] His contemporaries saw the construction of national style through this genre in much the same light, but as his writings would reveal, Bretón had a different take on the development of stage works as a part of a Spanish national style. Whereas his contemporaries advocated for *zarzuela* as a native genre, Bretón instead worked on behalf of the creation of Spanish opera. The differences on the surface of *zarzuela* and Spanish opera are miniscule, but when the structure and plot of these works is taken into consideration, the differences are clear: their varying length and inspiration show a diverse engagement with the conflicting cultural forces of the time.

Zarzuela

Zarzuela makes up the largest part of Bretón's vocal stage works, but as discussed by Young, many of Bretón's and his contemporaries' works became lighter in style and plot during the Bourbon Restoration (1874-1923) due to an emphasis on "political quietism" in the genre.[9] The plots and music therefore do not often have the depth of the *zarzuelas* that came before and

[8] See Bretón, *Más en favor de la ópera nacional*; *La Ópera Nacional y El Teatro Real Madrid* (Madrid: Casa Dotesio, 1904); *La ópera nacional* (Madrid: Imp. Bernardo Rodriquez, 1906); *Orentación de nuestro Teatro Lírico* (Madrid, Imp. Ciudad Lineal, 1911); et al.
[9] Young, *Music Theater and Popular Nationalism*, 28-29.

would come after them, and as can be seen in Table 1, Bretón's nationalist works during the early years of the Bourbon Restoration were operas rather than *zarzuelas*. This trend also extends

Title	***Date***	***Genre***	***Type of Nationalism***
Gúzman el bueno	1876	Spanish Opera	Historicist
Los Amantes de Teruel	1889	Spanish Opera	Historicist
Garín o L'eremito di Montserrat	1892	Lyrical Drama	Catalan/Modernist
La Verbena de la Paloma	1894	Zarzuela	Modernist
Covadonga	1901	Zarzuela	Historicist

Table 1. Selected Stage Works of Tomás Bretón

to his compositions in general with very few of his numerous *zarzuelas* composed during the period of the 1860s through the 1880s that Young puts forth as a period of "political quietism."[10] This time period also saw single act works becoming highly popular through *teatro por horas*, which favored the performance of multiple single act works in an evening rather than a single large work.[11] This style would eventually lead to *género chico zarzuela* such as Bretón's *La Verbana de los Paloma*. Early in the twentieth century, there would also be a return to the large genre *zarzuela grande*, or *zarzuela sería*, such as Bretón's three act *zarzuela Covadonga*. These larger, more serious works can be related in form and plot elements to Spanish opera far more than they can be to *género chico* or other smaller *zarzuelas*.

[10] *Ibid.*, 29.
[11] *Ibid.*, 23.

La Verbena de la Paloma

La Verbena remains one of Bretón's most popular works and has been counted among Young's core *zarzuelas*.[12] It makes use of numerous popular dances, both imported and Spanish, being set in nineteenth-century Madrid during the Festival of the Dove, or *La Verbena de la Paloma*. The text of *La Verbena* provides several examples of realistic dialogue and everyday concerns, such as ordering of pastries or the conversations of old men, that are representative of *género chico*.[13] There are also interactions between characters of various social classes, such as Don Hilarion, an older well-established apothecary; Julían, a young typesetter, and Rita, a taverner's wife; along with a cast of other lower and middle-class groups represented in the chorus. As with other *género chico* works, such as *La Gran Vía* by Chueca, in a national context, *La Verbena* fits well with the modernist aspects of regenerationism.

Musically, this work has a number of influences, and much like with *La Gran Vía*, there is a mixing of Spanish and mainstream dance genres throughout the composition. Bretón makes use of the *seguidilla*, habanera, mazurka, and *soleá*, a type of flamenco dance showing a wide-ranging pastiche of cultural borrowings that represent the blending of regional and cosmopolitan cultures in the cities of Spain during the period. From a narratological standpoint, these dances, which are stylized rather than direct borrowings, can be related to Leonard Ratner's ideas about dance topics.[14] Ratner's writings pertain to common dances in the central traditions of western Europe and the stylized patterns that are associated with them in art music compositions. Although this identification of dance patterns has not been completed for Spanish dances, such designations and patterns could be useful in codifying this aspect of Spanish national music in

[12] *Ibid.*, 181-188.
[13] *Ibid.*, 15-16.
[14] See Leonard Ratner, *Classical Music: Expression, Form, and Style* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1980).

the future. In terms of nationalism, the work contains modernist, folklorist, and popular national elements that are emblematic of Spain during the period which combined in a way not possible in other nations.

Covadonga

In contrast with *La Verbena*, Bretón's *Covadonga,* titled after the village in Asturias in northern Spain, embodies the trends of historicism that formed another group within regenerationism. Covadonga was the site of what many credit as the first Christian victory of the *Reconquista,* and the plot of the *zarzuela* is meant to retell the story of this battle, a catalyst for the re-taking of the Iberian Peninsula from Muslim forces and a sign of national pride. Of course, Bretón's *zarzuela* did not give us a historically accurate account of these events, but it does demonstrate a translation of the historicist fascination with the Spanish golden age and the *Reconquista* into a musical form. This use of this imagery and narrative is yet a single example of music participating in some of the general sentiments of the period in a way that has yet to be considered. In terms of the music, it is reminiscent of Bretón's operas, to be discussed in the proceeding section, which are similar to the Italian operas of his mentor Emilio Arrieta. Although there are examples of Spanish-influenced melodies and harmonies, *Covadonga* largely sounds as any other Italian or Spanish opera of the time would have despite being labelled as a *zarzuela*. The element most important in this work is Bretón's use of the conventions of the military topic, which clearly corresponds to the subject of the work. The score is riddled with horn and trumpet calls, as well as typical battlefield percussion, such as the snare and timpani drums.[15] This combination of the *Reconquista* and the conventions of the cosmopolitan European military topic, both of which were deeply entrenched in both art music and the more popular

[15] Monelle, *The Musical Topic*, 113-181. Further analysis of this work could perhaps reveal that the different types of percussion and trumpet calls could be used to represent the opposing sides of the battle.

stylings of *zarzuela*, will perhaps have further relevance as other works are contextualized within a national context.

Opera

Opera was the genre with which Bretón hoped to initially build a Spanish national style, one compared to that of other European nations, as is made evident in his writings on the subject as can be taken from the following quote from *Más en favor de la ópera nacional*, "Blessed am I if I contribute, even in a small part, to establishing in Spain: 'National Opera!'"[16] Bretón believed that these works would uplift the state of Spanish music from what he saw as a period of decline and self-doubt and bring the country to prominence for its artistic endeavors as per the following statement, "This [improvement] can only be achieved by elevating ourselves more and more and more; feeding noble artistic ambitions; destroying the routine and worries that drown us, and erecting once and for all, through the procedures that I have suggested, the new, gallant, patriotic, and sublime edifice of national opera."[17] These works are, however, not as numerous as his *zarzuelas*, and from what can be gathered, were never as acclaimed as *La Verbena de los Palomas* with several being performed only once. This lack of popularity can possibly be due to the stigma that opera had during the latter half of the nineteenth century in Spain, as Young discusses it, with the genre being seen as elitist and the realm of the corrupt nobility in contrast with *zarzuela*, which had become the national genre in the eyes of the middle classes.[18] Nevertheless, Bretón endeavored to foster a flowering of Spanish opera, a plan detailed in his *Màs en favor de la ópera nacional* (1885), which even includes concerns for infrastructure,

[16] Bretón, *Màs en favor de la ópera nacional*, 5 and 32*;* In this document, Bretón laid out his argument as follows, "These works demonstrate: 1. The convenience and need to raise national opera in Spain; 2. The unsuccessful and negative of the proposed means for la Academia [de San Fernando]; and 3. Where this will lead us in my opinion for the long term, with brief considerations on what is and must be Spanish National Opera and what the bountiful results its realization will bring to the homeland, both from an artistic and material point of view."
[17] *Ibid.*, 30.
[18] Young, *Music Theater and Popular Nationalism*, 7-9.

including changes to the Madrid Conservatory in terms of teaching and faculty as well as to Madrid's theaters and the *Academia de San Fernando* as a body of artists towards the progression of artistic endeavors by its members, that led to further growth for music and the arts in general.[19] His works in the genre are, however, largely an outgrowth of Italian opera especially those of Arrieta, such as that composer's *La conquista di Granada* (1850), which was composed in Italian but has obvious connections to the *Reconquista* at its resolution.[20] For Bretón, an examination of his works suggests that these national ambitions appear to have been dropped in regard to opera as evidenced by the shift in subject matter from serious historical plots based on the *Reconquista* and medieval legend to less national pursuits, such as one on the life of the famous castrato Farinelli (1705-1782).[21] In Bretón's output as a whole, there is a trend towards *zarzuela* with these works, such as *Covadonga,* taking up the torch of these early Spanish operas in later years. There are obvious connections between *Covadonga,* a late serious *zarzuela grande,* and *Gúzman el bueno* and *Los Amantes de Teruel,* his earliest operas, showing perhaps a softening towards *zarzuela* as a national genre by Bretón illustrated in the similarities of *Covadonga* to these operas.

Gúzman el bueno and *Los Amantes de Teruel*

Both *Gúzman el bueno* (1876) and *Los Amantes de Teruel* (1889) contain elements that link them to the historicists within the regenerationist movement through their respective plots. *Gúzman* has a direct connection to the history of the *Reconquista* because the libretto is based

[19] See Bretón, *Màs en favor de la ópera nacional.*
[20] Young, *Music Theater and Popular Nationalism,* 1-9 and 130; as Young puts forth, the prominent critic Antonio Peña y Goñi (1846-1896) often attacked Arrieta for "his 'Italian' style." We also know that he was highly critical of Bretón's opera, which detracted from their popularity as he was the most influential critic of his time.
[21] *Ibid.*, 29. The previously discussed period of quietism in *zarzuela* asserted by Young seems to also be reflected in the operas of Bretón, who does not return to nationalist statements in stage works until *Covadonga* in 1890. Other examples to be discussed, although they may have nationalist features, are not as overt, such as *Los Amantes de Teruel,* an opera from the 1880s at the height of this perceived quietism.

upon the life and deeds of Alonso Pérez de Gúzman (1256-1309) who is known as "Gúzman el bueno" for his role in the capture of Gibraltar from Moorish forces under Ferdinand IV of Castile among other heroic deeds.[22] *Los Amantes de Teruel*, on the other hand, is derived from the legend of the Lovers of Teruel from Aragon, which takes place in 1217 in the latter half of the *Reconquista*. The plot roughly aligns with the events of the legend, which is similar to Romeo and Juliet in that there are two star-crossed lovers who perish at the end of the story. As previously mentioned, the music is equivalent to that of more traditional Italian opera following the example of Arrieta's works. The differences lie in that these works are written in Spanish rather than Italian, and there are a few references to Spanish folk music, both rhythmically and harmonically, although nothing on the scale of a typical *zarzuela*, which could contain several traditional dances to be performed on stage. The military topic is again a major focus of both works but considering that *Los Amantes de Teruel* has little to do with war or soldiers, an alternate meaning must be considered. The prevalence of horn and trumpet calls along with percussion, similar to that of *Gúzman* and *Covadonga*, and the inclusion of a "Moorish" march in *Los Amantes* calls for the connection between these three works to be re-considered.

The most obvious connection between these three works exists in their relation to several different parts of the *Reconquista,* and it can be assumed that a more specific musical topic had grown out of the more general military topic: a *Reconquista* topic. In Spain's past and the views of Castilian regenerationists, there is a glorification of the *Reconquista* and any materials relating to it in the literature and art of the period; it is, therefore, not a stretch to consider that music could be included into this group as well. The idea of a *Reconquista* topic would also explain the inclusion of topical subject matter in a work such as *Los Amantes*, where it does not necessarily

[22] Tomás Bretón, *Gúzman el bueno*, score, 1877, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

fit when considered only as a general military topic due to the plot's lack of military action; thus, the use of the military topic may point to representations of the *Reconquista*, which has its own connections to military action. These connections do not only occur within the works of Bretón but also in the historicist *Reconquista* based works of Arrieta and Ruperto Chapí. This possible morphing of a musical topic also has ramifications in terms of nationalism as the *Reconquista* was during this period a source of national pride for historicists, and the *Reconquista* is clearly tied to Spanish military conquests, which is typically portrayed in music through the conventions of the military topic. This *Reconquista* topic will also play a role in the analysis of Bretón's instrumental works, which also make use of military conventions.

Garín o L'eremito di Montserrat

Garín (1892), another of Bretón's Spanish operas, is a rather unique case in terms of the Spanish composers active in Madrid during the period as it was written for the *Gran Teatre del Liceu* in Barcelona. Although the text of this piece is not in Catalan, the symbolism and Bretón's approach to its composition are clearly meant to appeal to a Catalan audience. The plot revolves around a hermit-monk who has been living on Montserrat, a mountain that already had religious significance since the Middle Ages and importance to Catalan nationalism since the *Renaixença*, which often dealt with the reclamation of Catalan literature from the medieval period as well as others, in the 1830s. In the prelude of the work, Bretón also includes a *sardana*, already a staple of Catalan nationalist symbology at the time of its composition in the 1880s, and although it does not include the authentic instruments of the *cobla*, the traditional ensemble associated with the *sardana*, there is a clear effort made in Bretón's orchestration to mimic it with the standard orchestra through the use of the brass section and piccolo.[23] Stylistically, *Garín* is one of very

[23] For more information on the *sardana* and its importance to Catalan identity, see Aureli Capmany, *La dansa a Catalunya* (Barcelona: Barcino, 1930); Lluís Albert i Rivas, *Contra la falsa sardana* (Barcelona: Durán Alsina,

few works in which Bretón attempts to use the music language of Richard Wagner.[24] This invocation of Wagner, through the use of a larger orchestra and extended harmony, and not in his other operas reveals the differences between the Madrileño and Barcelonian audiences of the late nineteenth-century.[25] Whether Bretón sympathized with Catalan nationalists of his time or simply knew this audience and their musical tastes and wrote the work for financial gain remains unclear, but we can see in this work that he understood their symbols and how to reach the Catalan audience as the work was highly successful in Barcelona as demonstrated by its repeated performances. *Garín* is, however, a regionalist work that came from a Castilian composer making it unique in relation to all other Castilian composers of the period. Beyond these stage works, chamber music and instrumental music must also be considered as together these large-scale genres make up the foundation of a national school of composition that can be compared to that of cosmopolitan Europe.

BRETÓN'S CHAMBER MUSIC

Chamber music is a genre that Bretón explored through composition far more extensively than his Spanish contemporaries with the exception of Jesús de Monasterio (1835-1903) who

1953); Stanley Brandes, "The Sardana: Catalan Dance and Catalan National Identity," *The Journal of American Folklore* 103, no. 4 (Winter 1990): 24-41; and Josep Marti i Peréz, "The Sardana as a Socio-Cultural Phenomenon in Contemporary Catalonia," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 26, (1994): 39-46.

[24] Bretón, *Diario (1881-1888),* 194-197 and Ramón Sobrino, ed., *Sinfonía no. 2 en mi bemol Mayor* (Madrid: ICCMU, 1992), xvii; This use of Wagner is significant alone based on the contents of his diaries, in which he does not agree with that composer's approach to harmony and other aspects of composition. These quotes from his diaries on December 12 and 20, 1882, translated in Sobrino's critical edition of his *Sinfonía no. 2*, displays his thoughts quite well. "The Prelude [of *Der Rheingold*] which is nothing more than a chord of E-flat with all imaginable rhythms and several colours; for all of its 100 or so bars of moderate metre [sic] and accidentals of E-flat, it seemed intolerable... yet the grandeur of the unfolding of this work could not help but impress me… What a pity for Wagner, what talent, but what a waste!" On *Die Götterdämmerung*, Bretón wrote, "Good Lord! This is even worse than the flying Dutchman! It is just insufferable… The instrumentation is horrible, infernal, hearing this opera makes one ask if Wagner has any idea of beauty."

[25] This difference is made definitely clear in terms of the reception of Wagner in the two cities and the establishment of Barcelona's *Asociación Wagneriana* in 1901 and a lack of any such group in Madrid, which was atypical of this point in the nineteenth century in a major musical center.

frequented the same social circles as Bretón.[26] Chamber music is also often neglected in discussions of national music in the presence of larger works such as operas or orchestral works despite having similar gestures simply represented on a smaller scale. This neglect typically can be related to a tendency for all chamber music to be labelled as cosmopolitan or absolute music, or in the terms of narratology, "unmarked" music. When one sees a title that is simply "piano trio," an assumption is made that these works could not possibly be nationalist or contain specific meaning. Bretón's chamber works that are represented here, however, are laced with numerous references to national markers. In regard to Spain, cosmopolitan works, such as those designated as chamber music, can also be considered national in the context of modernizers within regenerationism as they were attempting to establish more modern educational and cultural institutions. In music, this modernization called for a revitalization of instrumental music, including chamber music, as it made up a large portion of the mainstream tradition of Romantic era especially from Paris, Vienna, and other nineteenth-century musical centers.[27]

This discussion will be restricted to the three works presented in Table 2 as they represent national style in chamber music. Although Bretón wrote numerous other chamber works, including three other string quartets and a piano quintet, these compositions possess a level of

[26] Both composers served as conductors for the *Sociedad de Conciertos de Madrid*, at different points, and had their works performed by the *Sociedad* and even conducted each other's works. Monasterio, who composed no large-scale dramatic stage works, is one of very few Spanish composers to match Bretón's commitment to instrumental music. For more information on Monasterio, see José López-Calo, *New Grove Online*, s.v. "Monasterio, Jesús," accessed June 9, 2018, http:////www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093 /gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000018934; López-Calo also points out Monasterio's central role in propagating instrumental music, including chamber works, in a time of operatic dominance.

[27] As per the narrative of music in the nineteenth century, instrumental music was held by some intellectuals, such as ETA Hoffman (1776-1822), to be the superior form of music, especially after the symphonies of Beethoven. Instrumental music was, therefore, elevated in status and considered to be the realm of serious composers. Concert societies and music in the home, most of which is chamber music, played an integral role in the progress and dissemination of art music in the nineteenth century. For more information on this narrative from the perspective of the nineteenth century and the transition from the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, see Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005) and Philip Downs, *Classical Music* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992).

Title	Genre	Date	National Influence
Trío en Mi Mayor	Piano Trio	1887	Modernism
Cuarteto en Mi	String Quartet	1909	Modernism
Cuarto piezas españolas[28]	Piano Trio	1913	Folkloricism

Table 2. Selected Chamber Works of Bretón

interrelation that support their inclusion into an attempt at the creation of a Spanish national style coming directly from the cosmopolitan tradition, which Bretón greatly admired as can be gleaned from his diaries.[29] These other works may include nationalistic expressions as well, but this point has yet to be established while these works have clear associations with elements of Spanish national style. On a surface level, the relation between *Trío en Mi Mayor* and *Cuarto piezas españolas* is clear through their shared genre, and they also both have four movements and are composed in similar manner with a large amount of dialogue occurring through melodic exchange and imitation between parts. The difference lies in their compositional material with *Trío en Mi Mayor* being a fairly typical piano trio, whereas *Cuarto piezas españolas* is based on several different dances.

[28] This work can also be found tilted as *Quatre morceaux espagnols* pointing to the fact Bretón in his later years was exporting his music to France where there was an intense hunger for compositions that were considered exotic with Spanish influence works being one of their prime preoccupations.
[29] See Bretón, *Diario (1881-1888).*

	Trío en Mi Mayor	*Cuarto piezas españolas*
Movement I	Allegro comodo	Danza Oriental
Movement II	Andante	Scherzo Andaluz
Movement III	Allegro molto	Bolero
Movement IV	Allegro energico	Polo Gitano

Table 3. Comparison of Movements in *Trío En Mi Mayor* and *Cuarto Piezas Españolas*

As Table 3 presents it, *Trío en Mi Mayor* has standard tempo titled movements while each of *Cuarto piezas españolas* are representative of a different Spanish dance. Also noteworthy, each of these dances comes from southern Spain rather than the more centralized dances, such as the *seguidilla* or *fandango*, that can be found in his earlier works such as his *zarzuelas*.[30] Within these movements, Bretón also exploits the associated rhythmic figures for each of the dances, something that will be apparent in his orchestral music as well. These dances can still be considered as a national expression of folk music despite Madrid's distance from them, both physically and culturally, as these Andalusian dances had begun to be absorbed into art music compositions, such as with Manuel de Falla's (1876-1946) ballet *El amor brujo* (1915). There is, during this period at the end of Bretón's life, a surge of compositions such as these in

[30] Based upon the time period, Andalusian music was becoming more popular through the works of Manuel de Falla and Joaquín Turina who were during Bretón's later years beginning their own careers as composers in Madrid and Seville.

which Castilian composers began to include these southern dances into their music and, by extension, absorbing them into Castilian culture. This inclusion of Andalusian folk dances also meant that new Andalusian dance topics were introduced, and they would have been even more distinct and recognizable than Spain's more centralized dances. Both *Trío en Mi Mayor* and *Cuatro piezas españolas*, which share a genre and a stylistic approach, can be considered national music. They are simply at two ends of a spectrum within regenerationism with *Trío en Mayor* representing a modernizing trend and *Cuatro piezas españolas* serving as an example of the use of folk music to differentiate Spanish compositions fostering a greater sense of cultural difference within a Spanish national style as Andalusian music began to be transformed into "Spanish" music.[31]

Cuarteto en Mi also fits into these interconnections within Bretón's chamber music. *Cuatro piezas españolas* shares movements with this work as well as *Escenas Andaluzas*. The borrowing of the "Polo Gitano," simply re-orchestrated for a different ensemble, from *Escenas Andaluzas* for *Cuatro piezas españolas* is not surprising as they are both pieces based in Spanish folk music, and the movement fits within the themes of both works. The use of *Cuarteto en Mi*'s third movement, titled there as "Scherzo," in *Cuatro piezas españolas* as its second movement "Scherzo Andaluz" raises further questions, however. This movement, just as with the "Polo Gitano," has been lifted directly from *Cuarteto en Mi* and re-orchestrated for a piano trio with no fundamental changes occurring to the music, yet we have the change in title between the two works.

We must decipher how a "Scherzo Andaluz" differs from the typical scherzo, yet there does not seem to be much in terms of musically differentiation. It appears although the context of

[31] This adoption only began during the life of Bretón and would be far more apparent in the nationalist works of the twentieth century.

the works themselves called for the different titles in this case; the scherzo is a neutral title while "Scherzo Andaluz" is a marked one meant to fit the themes of the work. This interrelation does perhaps show that Bretón had based the original "Scherzo" from *Cuarteto en Mi* in the conventions of Andalusian music. The music could support this assertion as the movement is written in a fast triple meter while also relying heavily on repeated syncopated rhythmic patterns, which are common when representing flamenco in art music. If considered in this light, *Cuarteto en Mi* lies not simply in the camp of modernists but also in that of folklorists, evident through the use of an Andalusian dance topic. This interrelation places Bretón's chamber music in between these two groups in a way similar to his *zarzuelas*. These connections with *Cuarteto en Mi* also support this idea of an interrelation of modern and folkloric elements in works of art music with the manifestation of the Andalusian dance topic seeming latent in the context of a string quartet, yet obvious in the context of a work, such as *Cuatro piezas españolas.* Discrete connections, which can be revealed through narratological means, can unlock our understanding of this music and how it fits within a national framework. These ideas will also assist in the discussion of Bretón's orchestral works, although other connectors are not as direct as borrowed movements lifted and used in several different compositions. This conception of his works creates a new context when compared to one another, along with the works of other composers, and will serve to place them in a Spanish national context in a way that has not been attempted before.

THE ORCHESTRAL MUSIC OF TOMÁS BRETÓN

Bretón was one of the most productive composers of orchestral music in Spain during this period. He composed a multitude of works across various genres and styles, ranging from symphonies to orchestral suites, that reflect the multiplicity of influences and inspirations that existed in Madrid during the late nineteenth century. Within this genre, all of regenerationism's

facets – the modernists, historicists, and folklorists – are represented, and many of the connections from the discussion of stage works and chamber music are present as well. Many of these works contain a number of references, which link together different types of national music as well as various ideologies. As Table 4 shows, Bretón worked within several different mediums and had many sources of inspiration for his orchestral works, which can be analyzed and used to create a historical context for his music.

Title	Genre	Date	National Influence
Sinfonía en Fa Mayor	Symphony	1874	Modernism
Amadís de Gaula, fantasía sinfónica	Symphonic Fantasy	1881	Historicism
Sinfonía no. 2 en Mi bemol Mayor	Symphony	1883	Modernism
En la Alhambra	Orchestral Serenade	1888	Folkloricism
Escenas Andaluzas	Orchestral Suite	1894	Folkloricism
Sinfonía no. 3 en Sol Mayor	Symphony	1905	Modernism
Salamanca	Symphonic Poem	1916	Folkloricism

Table 4. Selected Orchestral Works of Bretón[32]

[32] These works have been selected based on their representation of a variety of regenerationist ideals as well as to present a variety of genres within orchestral music.

The Symphonies

Bretón's symphonies fit well with efforts to modernize Spain as the genre during this period thought of as the backbone of a developed musical tradition, such as with the German tradition and the symphonies of Beethoven. It should also come as no surprise that Bretón attempted through these works to link himself to Beethoven – or as he calls him the "great master," as composers across Europe had done throughout the Romantic period.[33] Through the contents of Bretón's diaries, we know that he held Beethoven in high regard and attended various concerts including Beethoven's music during his European travels from 1881 to 1884.[34] Stylistically, these works show his regard of Beethoven's compositional prowess as Bretón attempts to replicate it in a direct manner giving Bretón's three symphonies a "Beethovenian" sound.[35] This emulation of Beethoven also led his more conservative style even for symphonies, especially compared to Bretón's contemporaries such as Gustav Mahler (1860-1911) or Richard Strauss (1864-1949) and the rest of Europe. This link to Beethoven also opens up these symphonies to narratological readings as Beethoven's works have already been submitted to such as can be seen in the writings of Hatten.[36] Even on the surface of these works, musical topics present themselves with his first and third symphonies being representative of the pastoral topic with connections to Beethoven's "Pastoral" symphony made clear through the relation of

[33] See Bretón, *Diario (1881-1888)*.
[34] *Ibid.* These concerts were mentioned frequently during his time in Vienna, in which he was introduced to contemporary composers as well as witnessing many performances of Beethoven, which he praises highly.
[35] From Bretón's diaries, we know that he was well-acquainted with a variety of Beethoven's works through various references to these works, and if we look at Sobrino's discussion of the topic, he asserts that Bretón was studying Beethoven's works from an early age; Sobrino, *Sinfonía no. 2 en mi bemol Mayor*, xv. For the purposes of this discussion, there are frequent references Beethoven's "Eroica" and "Pastoral" Symphonies made during the composition of *Sinfonía no. 2*.
[36] Hatten, *Musical Meaning in Beethoven* and *Interpreting Musical Gestures, Topics, and Tropes*.

their keys and the vast majority of their thematic and melodic material.[37] His second symphony is modeled on Beethoven's Symphony no. 3 in E-flat, the "Eroica," and is deeply embedded with the same military and hunt topics as the "Eroica" but presented in a different context. I will save this consideration for the analysis of this work in the next section of this chapter. On the whole, these symphonies represent the fostering of a modern school of Spanish composition, one which Bretón wanted to link back to Beethoven and the cosmopolitan style as its foundation. These compositions are not overtly national but taken in the context of the modernists within regenerationism, they should be considered as such.

Amadís de Gaula

Amadís de Gaula, a work which Bretón subtitles as a "Symphonic Fantasy," is his only orchestral work that contains overt reference to historicist influences. The basis of this composition is a piece of sixteenth-century Spanish literature of the same title compiled by Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo (1450-1504).[38] The plot of this story has little to do with Spain and follows the life of the knight Amadís, but the clear connection to regenerationism is its creation during the Spanish golden age. Bretón, therefore, translated this hero from Spanish golden age literature into a music form, much akin to the symphonic poems of Richard Strauss. There are clear references to the narrative, such as a rhythmical pattern that can be heard as mimicking galloping and can be related to Amadís's role as a knight.[39] There are also markers of the military and hunt topics linking *Amadís* back to Bretón's other works that are composed in this style.

[37] There may also be Spanish dance topics in these works as well, but deeper analysis, which was not included in the scale of this document, is required before that fully assertion can be made. A brief version will take place with analysis of *Escenas Andaluzas* in which the dances in that work are taken into consideration.
[38] Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís de Gaula* (Zaragoza: 1508).
[39] Victor Sánchez, *Tomás Bretón: Un músico de la Restauración* (Madrid: ICCMU, 2002), 484.

The Influence of Spanish Folk Music in Selected Orchestral Works by Bretón

In the rest of Bretón's orchestral works, there is an influence of Spanish folk music and, more specifically, Spanish dances. These references come in a number of forms, but they are typically restricted to the use of rhythmic patterns that are either associated with the dances themselves or are meant to mimic them. For Bretón, these compositions can be sorted into one of two categories: *alhambrismo* or *andalucismo*.[40] These two styles have been set forth by Ramón Sobrino in his essay "Andalucismo y Alhambrismo Sinfónico en el Siglo XIX," in which the author discusses several works by Spanish composers of the nineteenth century using these distinctions. The only exception to this division in Bretón's output is *Salamanca* which he subtitles as "*Poema Sinfónico para Gran Orquesta*."[41] Because Bretón composed using melodies and rhythms from Salamancan folk music collected in Dámaso Ledesma's *Cancionero Salmatino* (1907), this work may be thought of as a personal homage to Bretón's birthplace but may also contain elements of a national work, given the city's history, as it makes use of the same conventions and compositional approach.[42] These folkloric compositions are the most well-known of Bretón's orchestral works, and as further discussion will show, they influenced the next generation of composers whose instrumental music is almost exclusively an extension of *andalucismo*.

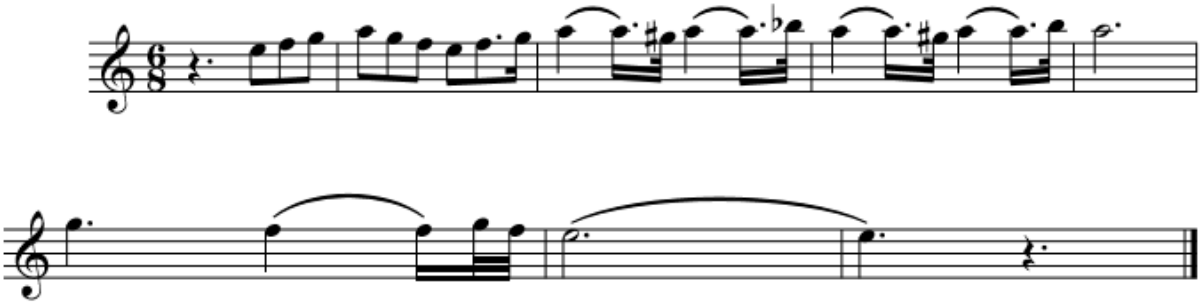
[40] Ramón Sobrino, "Andalucismo y Alhambrismo Sinfónico en el Siglo XIX," in *El Patrimonio Musical de Andalucía*, ed. Francisco J. Giménez Rodríguez, Joaquín López González, and Consuelo Pérez Colodero (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2008), 16-54.
[41] Damáso Gracía Fraile, *Salamanca y Bretón. Edición de «Salamanca», Poema Sinfónico para Gran Orquesta* (Salamanca, Spain: Caja Duero, 1997).

[42] Bretón also composed an unperformed *zarzuela* by the same name, which is also a biographical work. Bretón included a number of personal details into the *zarzuela* that are not present in the tone poem.

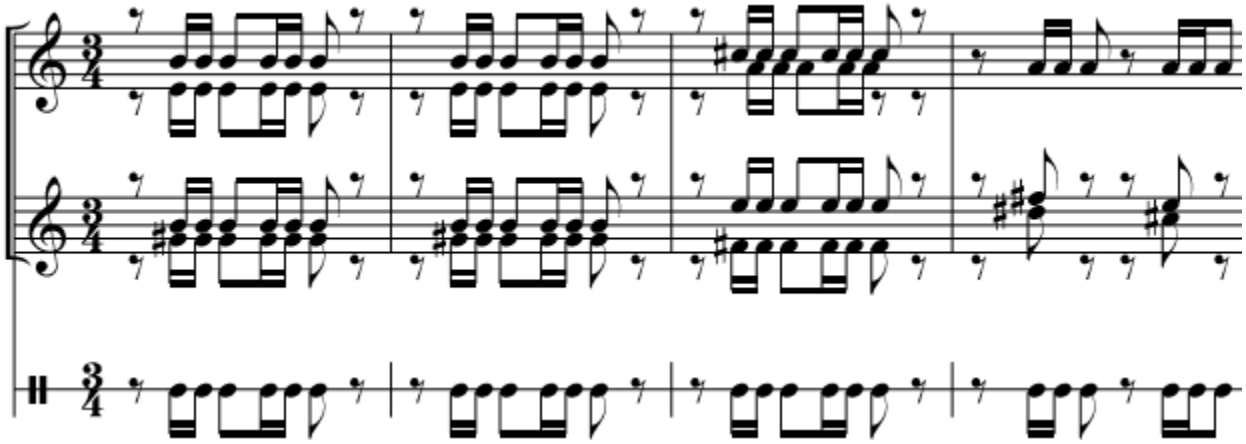
En la Alhambra

Unsurprisingly, *En la Alhambra* is Bretón only *alhambrista* composition, which fuses together national landmark and folk influences.[43] In a national context, this composition is clearly a landscape work meant to elevate and show reverence towards one of Spain's most iconic locales. There are also connections to Spain's past and especially the *Reconquista* during which the Alhambra was taken by Isabel I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon with the conquest of Granada in 1492 and eventually turned into a royal palace.[44] The uniqueness of the structure and its relation to Isabel and Ferdinand make it a powerful national symbol, one which could be used in all the arts in Spain. To represent this identity musically, Bretón used rhythmic patterns and an orchestration that in the rest of Europe would be seen as markers of exoticism, such as heavily syncopated repeated rhythms and an emphasis on modal woodwind melodies especially from the oboe as can be seen in Figure 1.a and 1.b. The rhythmic patterns generally alternate with sections of melodic material, such as the oboe melody in Figure 1.a. These characteristics are used by Sobrino to compare this work and others to Félicien David's *Le desert* (1844), which has a similar sound and construction.[45] This work does not make use of specific dances or folk melodies but instead

[43] Ramón Sobrino, ed., *Música Sinfónica Alhambrista* (Madrid: ICCMU, 2004),67-95.
[44] William D. Phillips and Carla Rahn Phillips, *A Concise History of Spain* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 111-12.
[45] See Ralph Locke, "Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers, Muezzins and Timeless Sands: Musical Images of the Middle East," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 22, no. 1 (Summer 1998): 20-53 and "Doing the Impossible: On the Musically Exotic," *Journal of Musicological Research* 27, no. 2 (October 2008): 334-58.



a. Oboe Melody, mm. 23-30



b. Horn and Castanet Ostinato Pattern, mm. 90-93

Figure 1. Exotic Markers in *En la Alhambra*[46]

material composed in the image of Spanish folk music, but has a tendency to imitate the unique music of Andalusia. In most cases, Andalusian folk music sounds vastly different from other regions in Spain due to the influences of Arabic music in the form of modal harmony and unique rhythmic patterns among other features. In terms of nationalism, Bretón combined one of Spain's most prominent landmarks with the conventions of Spanish folk music to create a composition, which clearly shows the glorification of this landmark within Spanish nationalism in the late

[46] Sobrino, *Música Sinfónica Alhambrista*, 70 and 78.

nineteenth century. *En la Alhambra* is also an ideal representation of *alhambrista* style, and its relation to *andalucismo* will become clear in the next section with analysis of *Escenas Andaluzas*.

SINFONÍA NO. 2 EN MI BEMOL MAYOR AND *ESCENAS ANDALUZAS*

This chapter will conclude with the construction of context around *Sinfonía no. 2 en mi bemol Mayor* and *Escenas Andaluzas*, an analysis of their "marked" features and a consideration of how each fits into the concept of a Spanish national style. These works have been from Bretón's compositional output not only because they ideally represent two different sides of the composer but also because the works themselves have many commonalities, such as their similarities in overall form. These compositions, and especially *Sinfonía no. 2*, have various degrees of intertextuality and through it can be related to various forms of regenerationism. These interpretations of *Sinfonía no. 2* and *Escenas Andaluzas* will serve to create a new context for nineteenth-century Spanish art music that is linked to the cultural concerns of the period showing how social forces influenced these compositions and others.

SINFONÍA NO. 2 EN MI BEMOL MAYOR

Sinfonía no. 2 is a standard Romantic era symphony comprising four movements with the typical forms and tempos. As discussed previously, this symphony, and his others, are composed in a conservative style as Bretón did not experiment with harmony or orchestration in the manner as his contemporaries, including Miguel Marqués (1843-1918). Bretón relies more directly on Beethoven as a model causing his symphonies to sound far more conservative than others composed during this period. This approach is not surprising, however, as demonstrated by Bretón's reverence to Beethoven in his diaries which contain frequent references to the

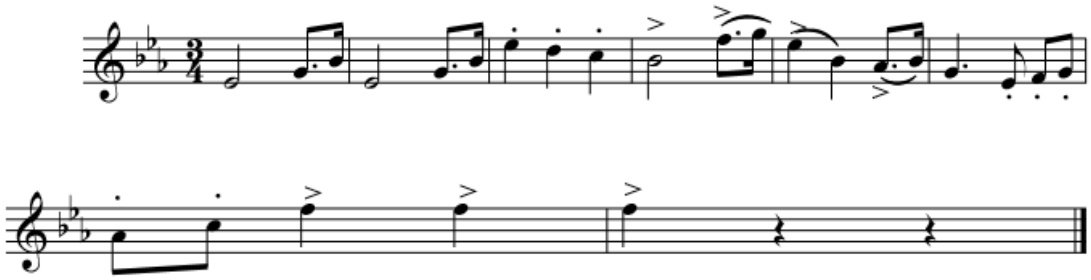
composer.[47] These mentions of Beethoven are especially prominent during the time period in which Bretón was composing *Sinfonía no. 2*. Many of these diary entries, such as the one to follow, writes of his hopes that his symphony will measure up to those from Beethoven.[48] Bretón writes on January 3, 1883 about *Sinfonía no. 2*, the same year it would be completed and premiered,

> I cannot in the case try so much. Nothing favors it; Neither the time that I have, nor the means, nor the pressure of the Academy, nor the education that we receive in Spain to be able to undertake such a work, in that company, without the risk of becoming lost. So, I have considered it and acted accordingly; I hope that my symphony is such a symphony that its ideas are original, and it follows the classic procedures used by one master or another.[49]

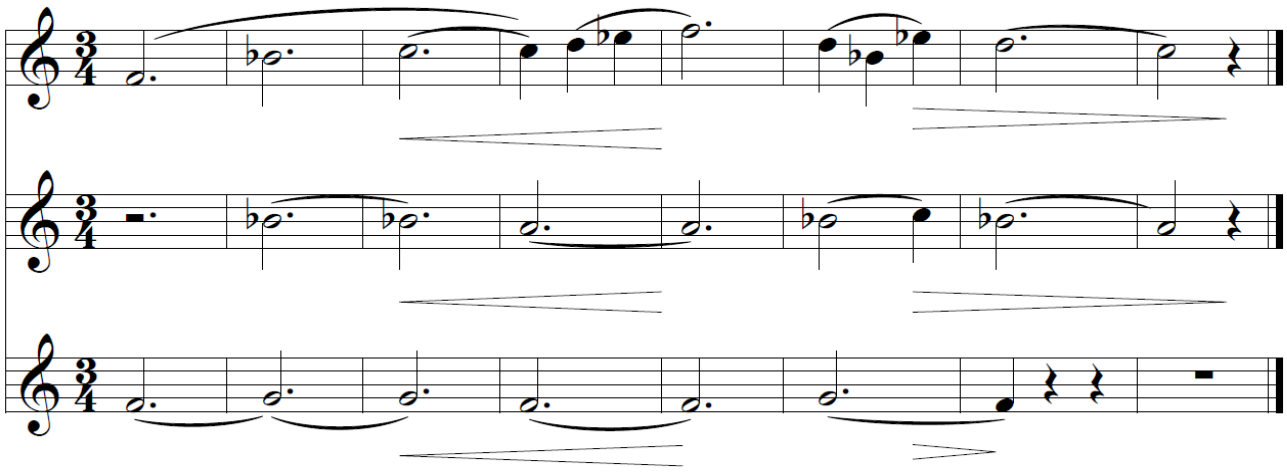
It is, therefore, unsurprising that he used Beethoven as a model for his symphonies, to the creation of a Spanish tradition of art music more similar to the rest of Europe.[50] These Beethoven-derived symphonies, especially *Sinfonía no. 2*, can be interpreted as Bretón creating a foundation for the next generation of Spanish composers to build upon much as German composers, such as his contemporaries Brahms and Mahler, had built upon Beethoven. This train of thought is easily traced back to Bretón's attempt to cultivate Spanish opera over *zarzuela* with neither being highly successful.[51]

With regard to the relation of *Sinfonía no. 2* to the "Eroica," there are many direct connections that can be made in terms of musical features on the surface of these works, such as the shared key of E-flat and the melodies represented in Figure 2. There is a clear relationship

[47] See Bretón, *Diario (1881-1888).*
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] *Ibid.* 205-206; This quote follows a discussion of Felix Mendelssohn's Symphony no. 3 "Scottish" (1842), in which Bretón considers him as transcending "the tutelage of Beethoven," and Bretón seems to resolve that he cannot. He does hope for originality and novelty, which were a major part of being a successful nineteenth-century composer, in his work.
[50] See *Ibid.*
[51] See Bretón, *Más en favor de la ópera nacional.*



a. First Theme from Movement I in its Initial Form, mm. 1-8 [52]

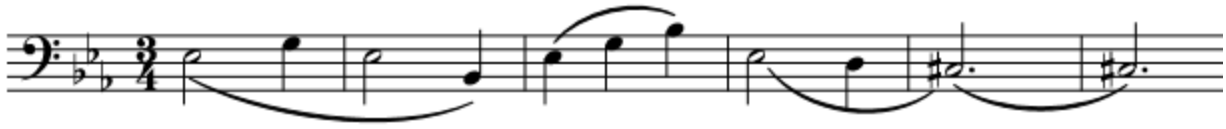


b. The Horns at the Beginning of the Third Movement Trio, mm. 129-136[53]

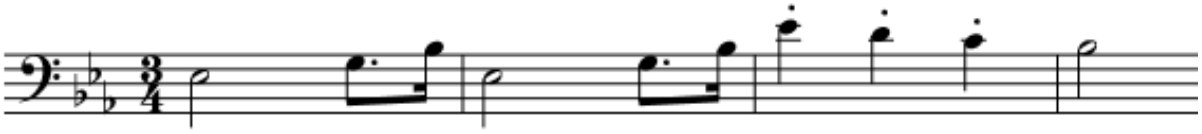
Figure 2. Selected Themes from *Sinfonía no. 2* drawn from Beethoven's "Eroica"

between Beethoven's first theme in the "Eroica" and Bretón's first theme in *Sinfonía no. 2*, which appears to be an embellished version of Beethoven as can be seen in Figure 3. The "horn call" melody is a simple part of a horn choir-like moment in the work similar to one that also occurs in the "Eroica." Both Beethoven and Bretón also place these sections at the beginning of the Trios of their third movements. Therefore, Bretón must have been intimate enough with the

[52] Sobrino, *Sinfonía no. 2 en mi bemol Mayor*, 1.
[53] *Ibid.*, 140-41.



a. First Theme from the "Eroica," mm. 3-8



b. First Theme from *Sinfonía no. 2*, mm. 18-20[54]

Figure 3. Comparison of Beethoven's and Bretón's First Themes

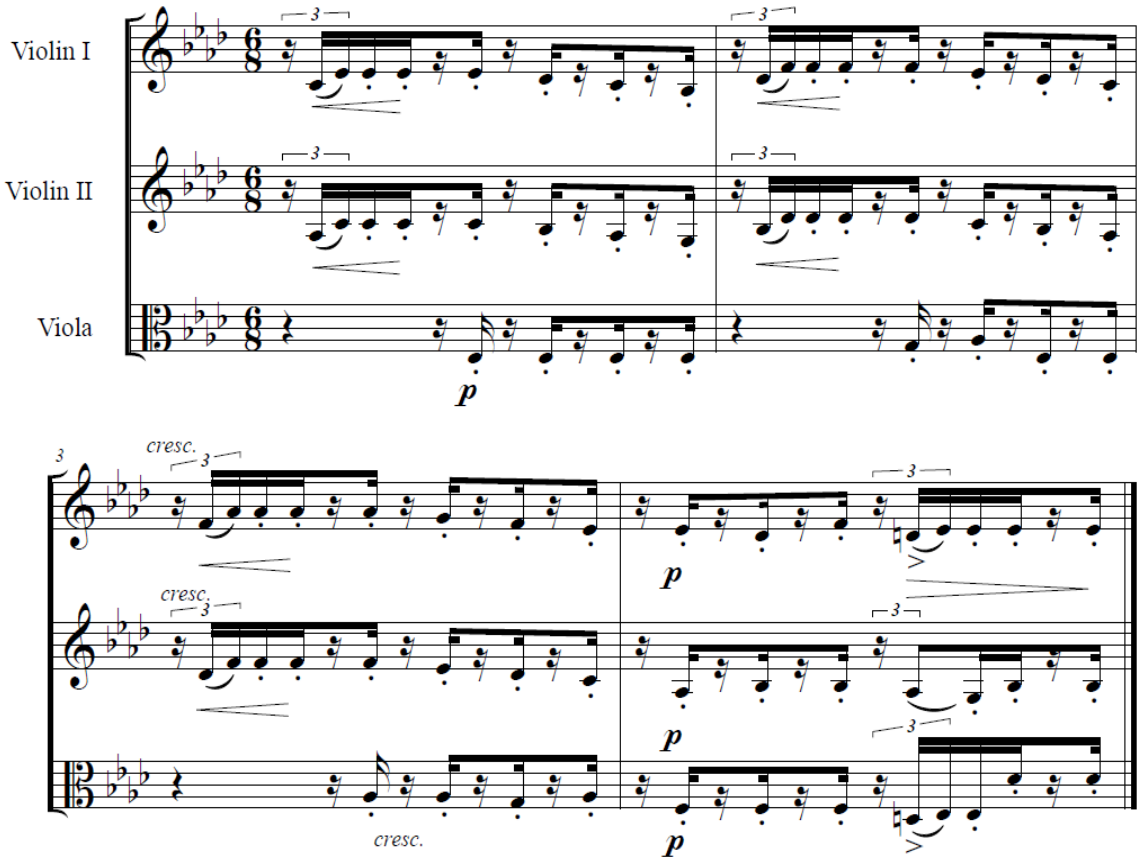


Figure 4. Dance-like Accompaniment Patterns in the second movement of *Sinfonía no. 2*, mm. 1-4[55]

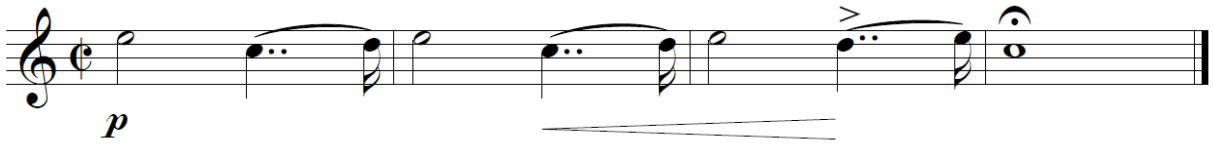
[54] *Ibid.*, 3.
[55] *Ibid.*, 83-84.

"Eroica" that he could locate and exploit specific references in his own *Sinfonía no. 2*. The work as a whole is not entirely based in the conventions of the "Eroica." For example, the distinctive Funeral March second movement of the "Eroica" is not represented in *Sinfonía no. 2.* The second movement of Bretón's symphony is instead more dance-like with a faster tempo, as shown in Figure 4, although it does use a binary form similar to that found in the "Eroica."[56] The respective fourth movements of these symphonies display the greatest contrast between them. On the simplest level, there is a difference of form with Bretón using a sonata form and Beethoven using a theme and variation. Bretón also makes use of contrapuntal techniques throughout this movement, which differentiates it from the far more simplistic conventions of a theme and variation. These musical connections do show, however, despite certain deviances, that Bretón's use of Beethoven's "Eroica" as a model has irrevocably linked the two works, and this connection between them can also be extended to their symbolic meaning.[57]

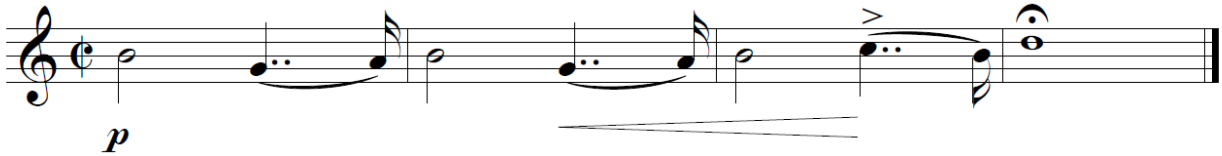
As is well-known, the "Eroica" is surrounded by the context of the Napoleonic Wars with speculation that Beethoven was initially composing the work for Napoleon before he declared himself emperor.[58] This symphony is also generally credited with the beginning of a "heroic style," and in terms of music topics and narratology, the "Eroica" is a representation of both the military and hunt topics presented by Monelle and others.[59] The first theme, shown in Figure 2, corresponds especially to a horn call through the intervals and melodic contour used. On a larger scale, the work is in the key of E-flat, which in the German tradition is typically associated with both hunting and war horns. Their counterparts – the horns and trumpets of the orchestra, which

[56] Sobrino, *Sinfonía no. 2 en mi bemol Mayor*.
[57] This connection of both music and musical meaning are solidified by Bretón's writings in diaries in which he often references Beethoven and the "Eroica" when discussing his own *Sinfonía no. 2*.
[58] See Denis Arnold, "Ludwig von Beethoven," in *The New Oxford Companion for Music*, vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).
[59] Monelle, *The Music Topic*, 35-181 and Downs, *Classical Music*, 597-600.

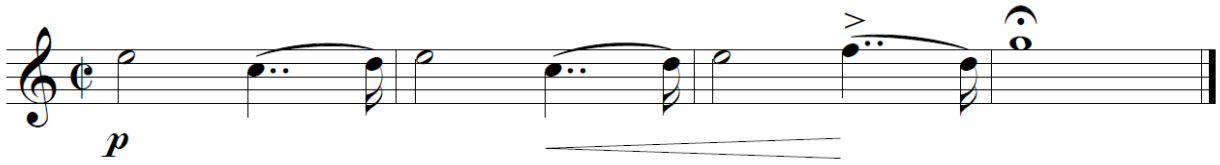
are almost always a representation of this topic in art music – are also featured frequently throughout this symphony with horns often playing more melodic versions of horn calls. These exact compositional gestures are also found in Bretón's *Sinfonía no. 2* and establish another connection between these symphonies through intertextuality. Nevertheless, this topic is also found in other of Bretón's works, which share a historical and national context with *Sifonía no. 2*. Bretón's operas and serious *zarzuelas*, which have plots based in Spanish history, are the bearers of the military topic in his stage works. These works, too, feature a number of horn call



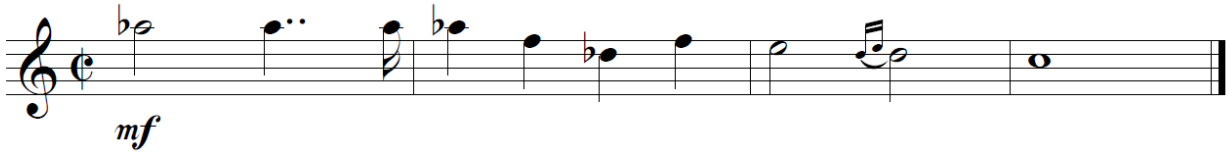
a. mm. 5-8



b. mm. 13-16



c. mm. 21-24



d. mm. 29-32

Figure 5. First Horn Solos from the "Preludio" to *Gúzman el bueno*

and military band-like melodies, such as the "horn calls" from *Gúzman el bueno* in Figure 5. For the most direct comparison to *Sinfonía no. 2*, there are the *preludios*, or overtures, of these operas and *zarzuelas*. Stylistically, these *preludios* are similar to Bretón's symphonies and feature the same instruments melodically, such as the horn and oboe, and conservative harmonies.[60] Differences arise in their instrumentations, such as a reduction in the number of players or in the *preludios* the addition of percussion outside that used by a symphony orchestra. Beyond the music, the plots of these works, such as *Gúzman* and *Covadonga*, can add to our understanding of *Sinfonía no. 2* and the use of musical topics in nineteenth-century Spain. These stage works could have led to the more generalized military topic being associated closely to the *Reconquista* as a type of *Reconquista* imagery in music. Musical connections between these compositions and *Sinfonía no. 2* could therefore expand the symbolic meaning of this symphony beyond a simple relation to the "Eroica." In this light, *Sinfonía no. 2* might be viewed as a "*Reconquista* symphony" through the intertextuality that has been established between it and these stage works, which also make use of similar musical gestures and the military topic.

Shaped by historic and cultural context, *Sinfonía no. 2* is linked on different levels to separate opposing groups within regenerationism. On the surface, *Sinfonía no. 2* is a product of modernism and creates a modern Spanish style that drew upon the traditions of cosmopolitan Europe. Symphonies were highly revered by middle-class audiences and intellects during the nineteenth century, and composers were expected to work within this medium by the musical establishment, and as the century unfolded self-imposed expectation, to be considered serious composers. Symphonies are also a large part of the orchestral repertoire and could be perceived

[60] There are also connections to Beethoven's style in these stage works, such as the "hammer strokes" used in the "Preludio" to *Gúzman el bueno*.

by the educated middle classes as a central element of the development of an art music tradition hence making their composition important to Bretón who hoped to improve the state of art music in Spain.[61] *Sinfonía no. 2* also acts as a Spanish link to Beethoven for Bretón and, by extension, Spanish music. If the context of stage works and regenerationism is constructed around *Sinfonía no. 2*, another interpretation that is more deep-seeded begins to develop: an interpretation based in latent meaning that can be revealed through this symphony interrelation with other works and the fostering of intertextuality between Spanish works. Through Bretón's use of the conventions of the military in multiple works, this symphony can also be related to cultural reproductions of the *Reconquista* appealing to historicists within the regenerationist movement. Musical meaning, therefore, creates a sense of intertextuality that can connect works through style and topics revealing that even a symphony can be considered a national work.

ESCENAS ANDALUZAS

Escenas Andaluzas is a more overtly national work with its use of Spanish folk music, yet it shares some commonalities with *Sinfonía no. 2*. In the broadest sense in terms of form, *Escenas* is a sort of "symphonic mirror," in that it mirrors a typical symphony. As such, *Escenas* is composed of four movements of differing tempi, but rather than the typical forms, such as sonata or binary forms, of symphony movements, Bretón made use of different Spanish folk dances to differentiate the movements of this work, with the exception of the third movement. The third movement is the most convincing piece of evidence leading to *Escenas Andaluzas* being viewed as a "symphonic" work as Bretón used the typical compound ternary form that can

[61] See Taruskin, *Music in the Nineteenth Century* and Bretón, *Más en favor de la ópera nacional;* The symphony plays an important role in the narrative of the nineteenth century being considered as a pinnacle of musical expression by audiences and scholars alike, especially those who followed the example of Beethoven. Due to Bretón's fervor for restoring the state of music in Spain and his reverence to Beethoven, the importance of his composing these works is made clear.

be found in any standard symphonic third movement minuet or scherzo and trio. Bretón simply replaces the scherzo with a march and the trio with a *saeta,* a flamenco song form related to Catholicism, and as such, the sense of contrast between the two parts is preserved. The tempi of these movements also roughly correspond to symphony movements as well. This point is best illustrated by the dances used as shown in Table 5. Each of these dances is typically danced in the same tempo that is associated with its respective movement. The third movement does not fit exactly within this model, but a processional type of march, as is implied by Bretón's tempo, and the stately minuet are comparable metrically and in terms of their tempi. These ideas reveal *Escenas* to be a type of "dance symphony" rather than a simple orchestral suite.[62]

Beyond this comparison to symphonies and symphonic form, style must also be evaluated. As previously mentioned, *Escenas* is a work within the style of *andalucismo* and has been characterized as such by Sobrino.[63] All of the dances and song forms used in this work, with the exception of the march, come from Andalusia. Also, as is characteristic of this style, Bretón has used rhythmic patterns, shown in Figure 6, to allude to the dance that he used for each movement. In terms of culture, the use of this style, Bretón's work included, shows the assimilation of Andalusian, and the other regional cultures in the south of Spain, into a Castilian center. *Andalucismo,* and *alhmabrismo,* is simply the beginning of this trend in music, but it would persist throughout the twentieth century. The use of this culture and its dances in these works allows for a more distinct sound created by syncopation and modal melodies, one that later composers will extend to the *seguidilla* and *fandango* which do not have as many distinct features.

[62] The focus on dances and dance rhythms can also be related to Baroque Dance Suites which were in some ways the predecessors of symphonies, but the symphony as a form is a more direct linkage during the nineteenth century.
[63] Sobrino, "Andalucismo y Alhambrismo Sinfónico en el Siglo XIX," 47-51.

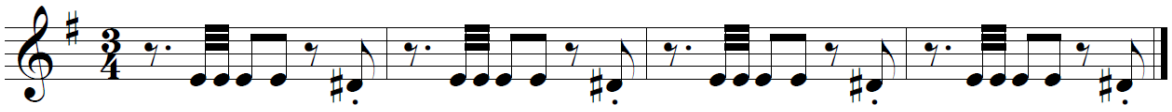
Other musical details that can lead to audible distinctions within art music exist in instrumentation and the use of extended techniques. In *Escenas* as in his other works of *andalucismo* and *alhambrismo*, Bretón added percussion instruments such as the castanet and tambourine, which are typically markers of Andalusian music in this context. He also included the harp, which is often relegated to ostinato patterns rather than the melodies that are normally composed for the instrument in the rest of Europe. The castanets especially are markers of

	Escenas Andaluzas	Standard Symphony
Movement I	*Bolero*	Fast
Movement II	*Polo*	Slow/Andante
Movement III	*Marcha y Saeta*	Stately
Movement IV	*Zapateado*	Fast

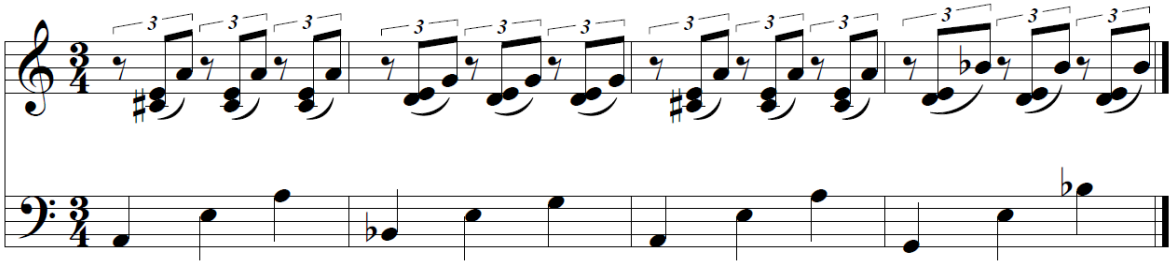
Table 5. The Dances of *Escenas Andaluzas* in Comparison with Symphonic Tempi

Spanish music in the larger tradition of European art music and can be found in a number of exotic works. Bretón does not make use of castanets in this manner. He instead restricts the use of this instrument to the first movement of *Escenas* as it is a *bolero*, the only dance included, which would typically be performed with them. Therefore, there is more sensitivity to the material in this type of composition, such as *Escenas*, at least by Bretón, in comparison with works of exoticism. An instrument that is not included in these works yet is synonymous with Spanish folk music is the guitar. The lack of guitar is meant to be compensated for by the harp,

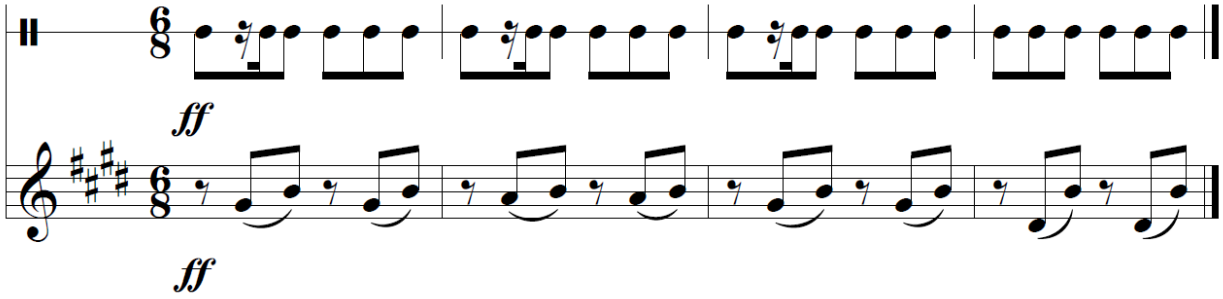
which plays a similar role to that of the guitar in *Escenas*, but the orchestral string section also helps to reconstruct the sound of the guitar through the use of strummed techniques, which are



a. Movement 1 "Bolero," Violin II, mm. 23-26[64]



b. Movement II "Polo," Harp, mm. 133-136[65]



c. Movement IV "Zapateado," Tambourine and Violin II, mm. 75-78[66]

Figure 6. Rhythmic Patterns from *Escenas Andaluzas*

not often used in orchestral playing. The addition of percussion and harp as well as strummed string techniques allowed Bretón to invoke flamenco, the central tradition of all these dances, within a mostly standard orchestral setting.

[64] Ramón Sobrino, ed., *Zapateado: bailable español; Escenas andaluzas; Polo Gitano* (Madrid: ICCMU, 1998), 56.
[65] *Ibid.*, 112.
[66] *Ibid.*, 160.

The use of flamenco and other Andalusian music allows for *andalucismo* to capture a unique and national sound. This folk music has musical features that can be distinguished from all the other forms of folk music in western Europe and is still recognized as having a Spanish sound both within Spain and in the rest of the world. *Escenas andaluzas* is, therefore, a folklorist national work, yet there are elements of modernism latent within it. Bretón's more cosmopolitan style is manifested through a rough equivalent of symphonic form that is largely overshadowed by the marked sections of Andalusian dances and its status as a folk-based composition. *Escenas* and other *andalucismo* compositions, as mentioned previously, are the beginning of a trend, in which Castilian composers and audiences began to adopt Andalusian folk music into Spanish art music.[67] For this reason, these works serve as a direct link to the flamenco-based works of Manuel de Falla, which are often declared by modern scholars as the first Spanish national works, and by extension to the national music of the later twentieth century.[68]

CONCLUSIONS ON *SINFONÍA EN MI BEMOL MAYOR* AND *ESCENAS ANDALUZAS*

On the surface, these two works, *Sinfonía no. 2 en Mi bemol Mayor* and *Escenas Andaluzas,* are representative of two different sides to Tomás Bretón's compositional output as well as Spanish nationalism in the nineteenth century. Within the context of regenerationism, these two works show that within music these national lines can be blurred, and any composition can take on any number of different meanings to its audience. Therefore, music functions much in the same way that Smith has presented national symbols, in which a symbol must have

[67] *Ibid.*, xvii-xxi. This trend is also demonstrated in the works of Turina and de Falla, who have been put forth as nationalist composers in the twentieth century and spent most of their careers as composers in Paris and Madrid.
[68] Glen Watkins, *Soundings: Music in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1988), 422-24 and Burnett James, *Manuel de Falla and the Spanish Musical Renaissance* (London: Gollancz, 1979); The narrative of music history typically neglects Spanish developments past the era of the Renaissance only with Spain re-emerging in the narrative through de Falla. Although de Falla is highly important to the musical developments in the twentieth century and composed national works, this narrative does not take into account the music of the nineteenth century ignoring Bretón and his contemporaries in Marid as well as those in Catalonia and the Basque Country despite their contributions and importance to the state of Spanish music.

meaning to a national group as a whole, yet this meaning does not have to be the same to all participants. Bretón's works, along with those of contemporaries, allow us to construct historical and musical context through the use of narratology and to reinterpret how regenerationism and, by extension Spanish nationalism, function in regard to musical influence. For the works of Bretón, this perspective shows that they contain several layers of meaning, foster intertextuality between Spanish works as a group, and can be regarded differently from opposing viewpoints. His works also serve as a foundation for those of de Falla and his generation for whom there are similar approaches to style, such as the blending of cosmopolitan forms and Spanish folk music. Therefore, Tomás Bretón and his work are the beginnings of a Spanish national style in the nineteenth century, one which manifests many different societal currents and cultural influences through its music.

CONCLUSION

Through the evaluation and analysis of selected Bretón compositions, their place within the context of regenerationism and Spanish nationalism is evident and clear. His orchestral works *Sinfonía no. 2 en Mi bemol Mayor* (1883) and *Escenas Andaluzas* (1894) illustrate the degree to which intertextuality and the use of musical symbols allowed Bretón to appeal and speak to modernists, historicists, and folklorists through his music within a single work. The application of musical narratology and the constructs of an ethno-symbolic model of nationalism can be used in tandem to identify national symbols and their ability to resonate with audiences. The introduction of these ideas to the study of national style in music provides deeper insight into the historical context of these works and allows for use through the complexity of musical topics and gestures to determine more latent meanings. As shown through the interpretation of *Sinfonía no. 2*, we can also take topics beyond their meaning in a universal cosmopolitan tradition and refocus them within a national tradition, such as the military topic transcending into a *Reconquista* topic again through the intertextuality of various works. These assertions will only be strengthened through further analysis and interpretation of Bretón's works along with those of his contemporaries. The application of narratology to national music serves to improve our understanding of not only a Spanish national style but also of national music across Europe as the use of musical topics and more symbolic gestures are interpreted and contextualized within national contexts.

Bretón's music has also, through this analysis, been established as a foundation for what scholars now identify as a Spanish national style associated with the works of Manuel de Falla (1876-1946), Joaquín Turina (1882-1949), and others of their generation. Falla's and Turina's nationalist compositions are typically considered to be those based in flamenco or other types of

Spanish dance. These two composers also introduced these elements of folk culture within the mediums and forms of European art music, such as ballet or orchestral suites. This same approach is apparent in the works of Bretón, in the use of a form similar to that of a symphony in *Escenas Andaluzas* or the adherence to typical forms and instrumentation in his chamber works inclduing *Cuarto piezas españolas* (1913). *Andalucismo* works, such as *Escenas Andaluzas*, along with other works by Bretón and his contemporaries, therefore provide a foundation for the next generation of composers and their national works. This assertion can be taken further, as there is a clear shift between the generation of Bretón and that of Falla and Turina in terms of the genres in which they most commonly worked. Falla and Turina are among some of the Spanish composers to work within instrumental genres of music far more often than vocal music, as *zarzuela* became less common in their output.[1] The influence of Bretón is perhaps felt here as he was one of the only composers to work heavily with orchestral music, and he was present at the *Conservatorio de Madrid* during the time of both Falla and Turina's educations. The music of Tomás Bretón therefore provides us with an interpretation of how music fits within the context of regenerationism and Spanish nationalism, but also, a key piece in the development of our concept of Spanish national style.

[1] For example, if we compare the outputs of Bretón and de Falla as two of the leading composers of their generations, there is a large discrepancy between them in terms of the number of *zarzuelas* being composed with Bretón producing twenty-nine and de Falla producing only six. This shift in genres perhaps shows a trend leading away from vocal genres towards instrumental genres or that of foreign opera.

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APPENDIX A: APPROVAL LETTER

MARSHALL UNIVERSITY.
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Office of Research Integrity

October 3, 2017

Brent Matthew Darnold
1028 8th Street, Apt 12
Huntington, WV 25701

Dear Mr. Darnold:

This letter is in response to the submitted thesis abstract entitled *"Musical Expression and Spanish National Identity in the Orchestral Works of Tomás Bretón"* After assessing the abstract, it has been deemed not to be human subject research and therefore exempt from oversight of the Marshall University Institutional Review Board (IRB). The Code of Federal Regulations (45CFR46) has set forth the criteria utilized in making this determination. Since the information in this study does not involve human subjects as defined in the above referenced instruction, it is not considered human subject research. If there are any changes to the abstract you provided then you would need to resubmit that information to the Office of Research Integrity for review and a determination.

I appreciate your willingness to submit the abstract for determination. Please feel free to contact the Office of Research Integrity if you have any questions regarding future protocols that may require IRB review.

Sincerely,

Bruce F. Day, ThD, CIP
Director