



Fung Ying Loo
Mohd Nasir Hashim
Fung Chiat Loo

Changing Approaches to Musical Practice and Education

University of Malaya Book Series on Research in
Musicology 2

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Sergio Camacho is the Associate Course Leader at the International College of Music, ICOM, in Kuala Lumpur. He holds degrees in Music Education from the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid and in Musicology from the Universidad de la Rioja, both in Spain, and a master's degree in music composition from the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, UK. He earned a PhD at the same university for his thesis *Beyond the Milestone: Beating Paths towards a Contemporary Zarzuela*, an extensive exploration of the possibilities of Spanish archetypal music genre as a living one. This paper is the continuation of his proposal for a regeneration of Spanish music theatre through new composition. He started his music career as a folk musician, and soon turned to composition as an expressive tool. Two operas: *Three-Word Poem about Loss* and the zarzuela *Beyond the Milestone*, in which he acted both as composer and librettist, were his first contributions to Spanish lyrical theatre. His published compositions include the films *The Equivocal Mirror* and *Grandpa's Magical Greenhouse*, and the orchestral work *Four Names for the One Moon*. His music has been performed by some top class artists, including the Northern Sinfonia, McFalls Chamber Orchestra and Tim Garland. He shares his work as a lecturer, composer and a conductor with his performances with the band *Luna Nueva*. His research interests include Contemporary World Music, Identity and Musical Nationalism, and Multidisciplinary Performance Practices in Stage Music

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Chan Cheong Jan received his Doctor of Literature in Musicology (Ethnomusicology and Music Education) at Osaka University in 2002. He has

interest in both cultural and educational aspects in music. A jazz pianist, but trained as a functional harmony composer and school music teacher from Kyoto University of Education, he went on to document Indung and Tarian Saba in Ulu Tembeling, and completed his doctoral thesis under Osamu Yamaguti in Osaka University. In his home institution, the Music Department of Universiti Putra Malaysia, he strives to provide substantial education to the jazz piano students while helping with the development of the department.

Ahmad Faudzi Hj. Musib (Malaysia)

Ahmad Faudzi Hj. Musib is a senior lecturer at Music Department, Faculty of Human Ecology, Universiti Putra Malaysia. He studied music synthesis at Berklee College of Music, Boston Massachusetts, USA and completed his Master of Music (Electronic/Computer Music Emphasis) at University of Miami, Coral Gables Florida USA. He was teaching at the Ocean Institute of Audio Technology, Universiti Teknologi MARA, and also has comprehensive experience as a musician (guitarist) and sound designer.

Mohd Nasir Hashim (Malaysia)

Self-taught in his early years, he unashamedly pestered trained musicians that he came in contact with. Today, Mohd Nasir Hashim specializes in Musicology, Music Composition, Music Technology, and Music Orchestration. At present he is the principle investigator of several research projects which encompasses Malay Traditional Music and the "music" of Malay literature as found in the syair, gurindam and children folk songs. His years at the University of Southampton, UK (MMus in music composition, MPhil in music technology and PhD in Musicology) in 1995 – 2001 enabled him to learn and work with world renowned musicians and composers. He toured with Dave Brubeck, the accomplished jazz composer and his Big Band orchestra in UK and USA (1995). Nasir also studied under the tutelage of Andrew Lyod Webber in writing scores for musical broadways. As visiting conductor with the Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra, Edinburgh Orchestra and the BBC Symphony Orchestra (1996 – 1997), Nasir

introduced Malay traditional songs and compositions of P. Ramlee in the form of arrangement for Western symphony orchestra, to the English audiences. At the University of Malaya, Associate Professor Dr Mohd Nasir Hashim teaches at the Cultural Centre. He has been the force behind the UM Symphony Orchestra: conducting, composing, arranging, in addition to producing over 180 orchestral scores. Mohd Nasir Hashim is also the editor of *Traditions, Change and Applied Study in Music* published in 2010 and *Syair Melayu: Analisis Dari Sudut Kata dan Prosodi* (2007).

Loo Fung Ying (Malaysia)

A recipient of several awards – including the first prize in the Jacobson Piano Competition and the Carola Grindea Award for Best Pianist – Loo Fung Ying is a senior music lecturer at Universiti Malaya. She studied at Universiti Putra Malaysia, the Royal Welsh College of Music & Drama and the University of Sheffield, where her doctoral research was on applying the philosophy and movement of taijiquan to the physicality of piano playing. Her research interests lie in ethnomusicology and piano performance; she had presented her research papers at international music conferences and has also given many solo piano recitals at prestigious concert halls such as St. Martin-in-the-Field and St. John Smith's Square in the United Kingdom. In addition, she is also an active composer and music arranger with Dama Orchestra, and has recorded four albums with two sold-out musicals: *Butterfly Lovers – The Musical* and *I Have a Date with Spring*. Fung Ying is also the editor of *Traditions, Change and Applied Study in Music* published in 2010.

Loo Fung Chiat (Malaysia)

Fung Chiat was awarded PhD in Performance Practice from the University of Sheffield, England. She received her Master in Music (MMus) from the Royal Welsh College of Music and Drama, University of Wales; her Bachelors in Music from University Putra Malaysia and her FTCL from Trinity College of Music, all in piano performance. While in the UK, she did a UK Piano Recital Tour and

performed in The Millenium Concert at Cardiff. With over 15 years of piano teaching experience, she also has a very keen interest in the clarinet as well. Fung Chiat takes a very active interest in music research, composition, arrangement and performances. She is also the resident composer, arranger and pianist with Dama Orchestra and their sold-out production included *September Tale*, *Butterfly Lovers- The Musical* and *I Have A Date with Spring*. Fung Chiat who is currently the Head of the Music Department, University Putra Malaysia is also involved in research on the study of Oliver Messiaen and compositions for Musical Theatre. Fung Chiat is also the editor of *Traditions, Change and Applied Study in Music* published in 2010.

Juan Montoya (Colombia)

Montoya started early music studies with his father, Carlos Montoya a guitar professor. Later, he was discovered by one of his friend's father, German Aristizabal, a piano teacher in Medellin, who started teaching him piano lessons; he studied with him until the age of 16. In 2000 he received a full scholarship to study Piano, Conducting and Composition at the EAFIT University in Medellin. There, he was a student of Blanca Uribe (piano), Cecilia Espinosa (Conducting) and Andres Posada (Composition). In 2003 he won a scholarship to study piano at Chautauqua Institution in New York, where he received lessons with Rebecca Penneys, John Milbauer and Paulina Zamora among others. In 2004 he started to be the conductor of the Percussion Ensemble and Contemporary Music of EAFIT University, he was a leader of this group for more than a year. He performed with the Percussion Ensemble and Contemporary Music of EAFIT University in several concerts including a series of concerts at the "International Festival of Percussion" in the conservatory of music at San Juan, Puerto Rico. He has been giving recitals in Chautauqua Institution (New York), Mammoth Lakes (California), Escuela Moderna de Musica (Chile), Conservatory of Music of San Juan (Puerto Rico), as a soloist with the EAFIT Symphony Orchestra and the University of Toledo Ssymphony Orchestra, and some other recitals in different places of his city, Medellin, as a pianist and also as a conductor. He has

also been an associate conductor with the University of Toledo Symphony Orchestra and The University of Toledo Symphonic Band.

As a composer we can mention his most representative pieces, Amanecer (2001) for Piano and Cello, performed several times in different recitals and composition seminars; Mamut Song (2004) for Piano and Cello, piece dedicated to Marie-Michelle Beuparlant and her family. The Chase of the Scorpion (2005) for percussion ensemble, performed and conducted by himself with the EAFIT percussion ensemble in several recitals; Elegie to the Mountains (2006) for Piano and Flute, this piece was honor mention in the Craig's piano composition contest at the University of Toledo. His last successful composition is Baba, for string orchestra, which has been recently selected to be performed in August 31 2010 by the National Symphony of Colombia, under the baton of the Maestro Baldur Bronnimann. Montoya graduated his master's degree in music performance with emphasis in Piano and Orchestral Conducting at the University of Toledo in 2009, with the teachers Michael Boyd and Jason Stumbo respectively. Currently, he is appointed as music lecturer at Universiti Teknologi MARA (UiTM), in charge of the conducting courses and piano studio. His goal in the near future is to pursue a doctorate degree in Orchestral Conducting, and keep composing his own music.

Sahar Sa'di Hashim (Malaysia)

An ethnomusicologist and practitioner of Malay traditional music, Sahar is currently the Director of Centre of Arts and Heritage, and a senior Lecturer in Fakulti Pengajian Kontemporari Islam in Universiti Sultan Zainal Abidin (UniSZA). His present research includes *Lagu-lagu Rakyat Terengganu* and *Komunikasi Ritma dalam pukulan Kertuk dan beduk kepada masyarakat Melayu di Terengganu*. Sahar's publication includes *Antologi Puisi: Lagu Tanda Kasih Pengemudi Lepa Sakti* (2005), *Buku Panduan Akademik: Program Seni Muzik* (2005) and *Music: The Journey of A Thousand Miles* (2010).

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19-20th October 2010 marked an important day at the University of Malaya where scholars from around the globe and local institutions gathered at the first *University of Malaya International Music Conference* to share and discuss their research on ethnomusicology, performance practice, music technology, composition and music education.

We wish to express our special gratitude to our keynote speaker Prof. Dr. Gisa Jähnichen from Germany who delivered an engaging and intellectually challenging topic: *Constructions of the Musical "West" in Asian Cultures*. We are also particularly thankful to all the authors: Sergio Camacho, Chan Cheong Jan, Ahmad Faudzi Musib, Mohd Nasir Hashim, Loo Fung Ying, Sahar Sa'di Hashim and Juan Montoya for their contribution in *University of Malaya Book Series on Research in Musicology 2*.

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PREFACE

University of Malaya Book Series on Research in Musicology is a collection of peer-reviewed papers by local and international scholars. This book aims to disseminate current research to both academicians and tertiary music students. Articles ranging from historical musicology, music technology, performance practice, music education, composition, ethnomusicology, music psychology and so forth grace the pages of our book series.

In this series, our contributors are Sergio Camacho, Chan Cheong Jan, Ahmad Faudzi Musib, Mohd Nasir Hashim, Loo Fung Ying, Sahar Sa'di Hashim and Juan Montoya who are local and international researchers. Five articles featured in this book are in the field of music technology and education:

- I. A Daughter Who Went Astray: Re-Contextualising Romantic Zarzuela as a Global Local Scene
- II. The Changes of Timbre of Sapé and the use of Sound Reinforcement Devices
- III. The Transformation of Studio Recording Technology: Strength and Weaknesses of "Backing Up" Digital Audio Files
- IV. Crisis of Academic Music in Modern Society: the 'Funnel Theory'
- V. Malay Traditional Music Ensemble Gamelan Terengganu: History and Background

Loo Fung Ying
Mohd Nasir Hashim
Loo Fung Chiat
January 2011

CHANGING APPROACHES TO MUSICAL PRACTICES AND EDUCATION

***A Daughter Who Went Astray:
Re-Contextualising Romantic Zarzuela
as a Global Local Genre***

Sergio Camacho

Abstract

The development of romantic zarzuela as the idiomatic form of Spanish light opera in the 19th century was directly influenced by the coeval lyric genres of *tonadilla* in Spain, Italian opera, *Bouffes-Parisiens* and *opéra-comique* in France, and Viennese operetta. Similarly, zarzuela, in its different sub-genres, was the origin of a number of indigenous varieties in several Spanish regions, in Latin America and the Philippines, which developed into analogous vernacular traditions, transferring or adapting the model to the local contexts. The aim of this research is to contextualise the development of romantic zarzuela in Spain,

relating it to its contemporary genres, and to analyse the implantation of zarzuela models outside Madrid, evaluating to what extent such re-contextualisation reshaped the genre.

The development, success and posterior downfall of Spanish zarzuela ran parallel to the definition, confrontation, imposition and eventual contestation of Spanish identity throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. As this research will argue, the different levels of implantation of Spanish zarzuela models outside Madrid were equally consistent to the development of the respective national and regional identities. Concurrently to its evolution in Spain, zarzuela became a driving force to promote nationalism in the countries where the genre was imported. Along to the zarzuela genre, the new markets adopted the social roles attached to it. Local zarzuelas favoured the expansion of the *teatro por horas* format, theatres 'by hours', and the establishment of local companies and stages. Phenomena such as the *bouffes* styles, the *generochiquismo* and the exaltation of express sexuality or *sicalipsis* similarly emerged in the different countries. The social and political changes of these new nations ultimately caused an effect in their idiomatic zarzuelas in similar ways as to in Spain, and, during the course of the 20th century, the validity of these autochthonous genres also waned.

The analysis of zarzuela in its generic context, the contextualisation of the development of indigenous forms of zarzuela outside Madrid, and the study of their respective social roles will help to define the dynamics that led to the downfall of Spanish zarzuela, and to substantiate the potential viability of zarzuela as a global living genre.

Zarzuela: Local and Global

Zarzuela is regarded as the quintessential Spanish genre, with a repertoire that encompasses more than 10,000 titles, over three centuries.¹ It dominated the late 19th and early 20th century box office, making an impact across the Spanish-speaking world, with indigenous zarzuelas documented in more than fifteen countries throughout Latin America and the Philippines.² However, Spanish zarzuela is largely unknown outside the Hispanic context³, with scanty publications in English on the topic.⁴

Studies on Spanish zarzuela have traditionally approached it as an isolated genre within a country isolated from European currents, relating its development solely to its frictions with the Spanish Opera⁵. Nevertheless, as I will argue in this research, zarzuela was a genre with clear connections to Europe's coeval leading movements. In addition, the issues attending zarzuela were close to the vicissitudes of other analogous genres, such as operetta and opera. These genres have been thoroughly researched

¹ For an English-friendly approach to Zarzuela history and main works, see Christopher Webber, *Zarzuela Companion* (London: Lanham-Scarecrow Press, 2002).

² For the implantation of Spanish zarzuela models abroad Spain see Emilio Casares Rodicio (ed.), *Actas del Congreso Internacional "La Zarzuela en España e Hispanoamérica. Centro y periferia, 1800-1950"*, Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana, Vols. 2-3 (Madrid: Fundación Autor - ICCMU, 1996-97).

³ [Webber 2002: 7]. Arguably, Spanish Cultural Studies is a discipline that has evolved slowly, due to the traditional fragmentary approach towards Spanish culture both in Spanish institutions and abroad. This has inhibited the development of a body of interdisciplinary research and limited the study of popular and mass cultural forms (Graham and Labanyi 1995: 1). However, recent years have seen a widespread systematisation and deepening of these studies, leading to a better knowledge of the social, historical, political and cultural peculiarities of the country. One of the classic works is Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi (eds.), *Spanish Cultural Studies, An Introduction. The Struggle for Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

⁴ Some international research include the extensive analysis of zarzuela in the United States, and its role articulating Hispanic identity by Janet L. Sturman, *Zarzuela: Spanish operetta, American stage* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 2000), the analysis of Zarzuela and Nationalism by Clinton D. Young, *Zarzuela or lyric theatre as consumer nationalism in Spain, 1874-1930*, Thesis (Ph. D.) (San Diego: University of California, 2006) and the classic work on baroque zarzuela by Louise K. Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

⁵ Zarzuela in Spain was not studied systematically until the 1990s, when the Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, ICCMU, was established by the Universidad Complutense de Madrid in collaboration with the Spanish Authors Society, SGAE. However, the academic research in relation to the genre is fragmentary. There are studies about zarzuela history, about zarzuela composers and works, about zarzuela in Spanish regions. Arguably the most comprehensive publication on the genre, including its history, social context, styles, works, composers, performers, sub-genres, historical context and local varieties was presented in the non-analytical format of a dictionary, the ICCMU's encyclopaedic *Zarzuela Dictionary*, Emilio Casares Rodicio (ed.), *Diccionario de la zarzuela: España e Hispanoamérica* (Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2006).

internationally. However, even though the similarities with zarzuela are patent, there are no published comparative studies.⁶

The parallels with other genres can be traced back to the structural similarities between *tonadilla* and Italian *intermezzo*, *opéra-comique* and *zarzuela grande*, the *bufos madrileños* and the *Bouffes-Parisiens*, the *sainete lírico* and French *saynète*, the *gênero chico* and French operetta, and the Spanish *opereta* and the Viennese operetta.⁷ The interdependence of zarzuela and these genres has been asserted from the onset. Capital figure of Spanish zarzuela Francisco Asenjo Barbieri affirmed:

the so-called zarzuelas are essentially the same thing as the French *opéra-comique*, with no other difference than the language and the musical dress, cut out in the Spanish style.⁸

In a yet clearer statement, researcher Serge Salaün argues that Bizet's *opéra-comique Carmen* is probably a stylistic prototype for romantic zarzuela, highlighting the influences of Berlioz, Gounod, Franck and Massenet upon Spanish composers.⁹

Many of the libretti of the *zarzuela grande* were direct translations or adaptations from French originals.¹⁰ European operettas were known in Spain through translated performances, such as that of the *H.M.S. Pinafore* in

Madrid in 1885, and *The Merry Widow*.¹¹ These and other foreign works did not fail to influence the thinking of zarzuela composers and librettists.

Opera and zarzuela ran a parallel way in Spain in the 19th century. The tensions between the supporters of zarzuela as the national opera¹² and those supporting the idea of an opera in Spanish as the national genre have been argued as one of the reasons for the lack of projection of zarzuela abroad the Spanish-speaking world.¹³ However, the international development of opera as a genre shares a number of connections with Spanish zarzuela. Nineteenth-century opera underwent a process of elitisation in several countries similar to that of the *zarzuela grande* fifty years later.¹⁴ In the 1850s in England, opera was similarly enjoyed as an entertainment form across the social divide. The process of transition from commercial entertainment to cultural product was progressive, coinciding with the ascent to power of the bourgeoisie, who needed to reinforce their social status by means of cultural consumption and the growth of aesthetics movements. As researcher John Storey illustrates, operas were progressively considered not spectacles but works of art, weakening their function as entertainment and as social events, and transforming opera into an aesthetic experience.¹⁵ *Zarzuela grande* experienced a similar process of elitisation in the context of the

⁶ (Young 2006: 259).

⁷ For Spanish opera see Emilio Casares Rodicio and Álvaro Torrente, eds, *La ópera en España e Hispanoamérica*, (Madrid: Ediciones del ICCMU, 2001).

⁸ The controversy had implications for the development of both genres. The first and fundamental one is the division that it caused between popular and elite culture in Spain. The second derived from the above; the perception of zarzuela established within the elites. They despised and undervalued zarzuela for its commercialism. See Luis G. Iberri, 'Controversias entre ópera y zarzuela en la España de la Restauración', *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana*, 2-3 (1996-7), 157-164. The controversy between zarzuela and Spanish opera follows thwarted the operatic aspirations and international diffusion of the former, and the popular support of the latter, eroding both any attempt of creating an operatic Spanish repertoire and the aspirations of zarzuela grande to become that national genre. The effects are evident. Spanish operas never received audience support, and the zarzuela outside Spain and the Hispanic world was virtually unknown.

⁹ For a complete analysis on the transition of opera from entertainment to art, focusing on the English case, see John Storey, 'Inventing opera as art in nineteenth-century Manchester', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 9/4 (2006), London, 435-45.

¹⁰ Hence, the transition of opera towards art was a process of exclusion. The composers progressively abandoned the custom of including in their works arias by other composers, reinforcing the status of the composer as *auteur*. Similarly, the operas started to be presented without any other show in the same program, in purpose-built venues. The habit of translating the works was abandoned, and even that of providing a synopsis; it was assumed that the audience was acquainted with the foreign language. All potential distractions that could debilitate the aesthetic act were progressively eliminated; the noises, the conversations; the audience was expected to know when to applaud, and the dimming of the house lights transferred the centre of attention from them to the stage (Storey 2006: 440). However, as late as 1876 Richard Wagner's decision to lower the house lights during performances at his theatre in Bayreuth, and therefore diminish the possibility of social interaction during the performance, was very polemic (Young: 2006, 71).

⁶ Unfortunately, if zarzuela has hardly been studied comparatively to other genres, the inverse case is furthermore rare, due to the discussed oblivion to zarzuela beyond the Hispanic world. As an example, in the revised edition of Traubner's classic work on the operetta phenomenon worldwide, he scarcely dedicates two pages out of 450 to zarzuela, even though he defines zarzuela as 'the most developed of all the foreign varieties of operetta', whereas he devotes an entire chapter to the 14 joint works of Gilbert and Sullivan. This is certainly an improvement on the first edition, where zarzuela was barely mentioned. See Richard Traubner, *Operetta, a Theatrical History, Revised Edition* (New York - London: Routledge, 2003), (430).

⁷ For an accessible overview on the Zarzuela form, see Christopher Webber's website www.zarzuela.net [1-2011].
⁸ In Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, 'La Zarzuela. Consideraciones sobre este género de espectáculos', *La Zarzuela. Periódico de música, teatros, literatura dramática y nobles artes* 1/1-2 (Madrid, 4 (2/1856), 9-11. (Own translation). This identification of renovated zarzuela with *opéra-comique* in the 1850s led to a controversy on the actual denomination of the new genre. Composer Rafael Hernando and music critic Peña y Gofí favoured the denominations of *opéra cómica* and *opereta*. Barbieri, in the aforementioned zarzuela manifesto, and critic Cotarelo y Mori, in the introduction of his classic zarzuela study, defended the denomination 'zarzuela' for its connections to the baroque style. See Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Historia de la zarzuela, o sea el drama lírico en España, desde su origen a fines del siglo XIX* (Madrid: Tip. de Archivos, 1934).

⁹ Serge Salaün, 'La zarzuela, híbrida y castiza', *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana*, 2-3 (1996-97), 241.

¹⁰ Lucy D. Harney, 'Controlling Resistance, Resisting Control: the Género Chico and the Dynamics of Mass Entertainment in Late Nineteenth-Century Spain', *Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies*, 10 (2006), 155.

Regenerationism that followed the loss of the last colonies in 1898.¹⁶ These growing number of works with operatic aspirations failed to appeal to the working classes, uprooting zarzuela from its traditional bases, and therefore limiting the profitability and hence viability of a genre growingly expensive to produce.¹⁷

An even more illustrative parallel is shared by French operetta and *généro chico*. French operetta,¹⁸ which Offenbach and Hervé popularised in 1850s Paris, arose as a response to the inflationary trend¹⁹ of the grand opera and the increasing operatic aspiration of the *opéra-comique*, which had long before stopped being *comique*. It was aimed at popular consumption, with cheaper prices, in an attempt to attract all the social classes and the widest possible segment of the population.

From its inception, operetta had to face several problems that would be virtually identical to those encountered by other forms of musical theatre, including *généro chico*. It was reviled for the same reasons that zarzuela was; low quality of the libretti²⁰, commercial focus, musical levity, and even for its popularity. In Camille Saint-Saëns's words, operetta was 'a daughter of *opéra-comique* who went astray... not that daughters who went astray are always without charm'.²¹

Offenbach's *Bouffes-Parisiens* was the specific model for the *bouffe* trend of *zarzuela grande* in the 1860s, after actor-entrepreneur Francisco

Arderius imported the style to establish his *bufos madrileños*²². With the dawn of the twentieth century, operetta suffered a transformation leading to the gradual abandonment of comical and satirical subject matters, which gave way to exotic and romantic stories.²³ The Second World War (1939-1945) was to operetta what the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) was to zarzuela, with a widespread dispersion of composers, musicians, audiences and the loss of cultural infrastructures. The arrival of a new popular commercial music, designed explicitly for the young market, displaced the musical theatre genres towards an older audience.²⁴

However, in recent years, in a process akin to that of zarzuela, a change of tendency has been obvious in operetta.²⁵ The revival of some companies, such as D'Oyly Carte, paralleled an increased academic interest in operetta and other musical genres hitherto labelled 'minor'.²⁶ The recovery of historical recordings and scores has led to some revivals of the chief works.²⁷ The composers and librettists' foundations established for writers including Kurt Weill, Rodgers and Hammerstein (and Hart), Leonard Bernstein, Cole Porter and Victor Herbert, support the dissemination of the work of their respective founders.²⁸

All of these characteristics are analogous to the vicissitudes attending zarzuela. Arguably, zarzuela and operetta had a parallel development, and shared significant characteristics and a similar status. Both genres seem to identify themselves now with a fixed repertoire.²⁹

¹⁶ For Regenerationism, see Sebastian Balfour works *The End of the Spanish Empire 1898-1923* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) and 'The Loss of Empire, Regenerationism, and the Forging of a Myth of National Identity', in (Graham and Labanyi: 1995), 25-31.

¹⁷ The equivalent transition in zarzuela from a market performer to a work of art has been stated as one of the reasons of the loss of viability of zarzuela in Spain. See Clinton D. Young, 'Theatrical reform and the emergence of mass culture in Spain' in *Sport in Society*, Routledge, 11/6 (11/2008), 630-642.

¹⁸ Related to German *singspiel*, English *ballad opera*, French *vaudeville* and Italian comic *opera buffa*, operetta has been traditionally studied as a capitalist and bourgeois phenomenon. It was not subsidized by the state, in contrast to opera; hence, it had to be oriented, from the libretto to the music, to the maximum economic profitability and to achieving rapid success. The most comprehensive study on operetta internationally (except Spain, as discussed) is Richard Traubner, *Operetta, A Theatrical History. Revised Edition* (New York - London: Routledge, 2003).

¹⁹ The tendency towards bigger and more expensive productions, to attract audiences. See Young 2006: 9

²⁰ This traditional critique to the majority of the musical theatre genres was accentuated in the operetta for the scanty preparation of the librettists, often journalists or *vaudeville*ists, and the haste in which the works were composed. *Généro chico* has been customarily criticised in similar terms (Harney 2006: 152).

²¹ [in Traubner 2003: 2]

²² For further reading on *généro bufo*, see Arderius memories, Antonio de San Martín, *Confidencias de Arderius. Historia de un Bufo* (Madrid: Imprenta Española, 1870); also Emilio Casares, 'Historia del teatro de los Bufos, 1866-1881. Crónica y dramaturgia', *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana*, 2-3 (1996-7), 73-118.

²³ These phenomena were akin to *généro chico* and *zarzuela grande* in late nineteenth century, due to the direct influence of Viennese operetta.

²⁴ Until the 1960s, it was common to have songs from Broadway's musicals leading the selling charts. The following advent of the rock and pop provoked the stratification of the genres by age (Traubner 2003: xxv).

²⁵ For Zarzuela in the context of contemporary Spain see Sergio Camacho, *Beyond the Milestone: Beating Paths towards a Contemporary Zarzuela*, PhD. Thesis (Newcastle: University of Newcastle, 2010), 64-83.

²⁶ As illustrated by Harney, operettas and musical comedies reached a status, and a treatment, of 'classics', very different from the aspirations of those who created them [Harney 2006: 160].

²⁷ In Spain, this task has been pursued by ICCMU.

²⁸ Akin to Incocencio and Jacinto Guerrero Foundation.

²⁹ In France, the operetta genre is still alive through the efforts of amateur groups, the instruction on operetta in the conservatories, contests, and festivals, such as Lamalou-les-Bains. The labour of the renovated Opéra Comique theatre, or the Opéra Français de New York, help to keep French musical theatre alive, producing some new titles and rescuing successes of the past. In American musical cinema remakes of musical comedies, operas and operettas have arisen in the last few years with a new post-modern language, close to the musical video clips. Works such as *Moulin Rouge* (2000) or the Broadway version of Puccini's *La Bohème* (2002), both by Baz

Zarzuela beyond the *Villa*³⁰: an identity struggle

Similarly to the influence of pan-European operatic models in zarzuela, the Spanish genre had an impact across the Spanish-speaking world. However, unlike the discussed process in Spain, zarzuela formats not only influenced but were also transferred to the new markets, leading to the implantation of indigenous forms of zarzuela in several Latin American countries and the then-Spanish Phillipine Islands.

The first offspring of the zarzuela genre can be found in the Iberian Peninsula, together with a number of regional varieties contemporaries to the style then prominent in the capital.³¹ New works by established composers were customarily premièred in Madrid, being many of these libretti adapted to the reality of the capital.³² The successful works used to reach the Spanish provinces soon after, by means of touring and local companies.³³ The zarzuela scene outside Madrid was active, with 37 theatres performing zarzuela across Spain as soon as 1856.³⁴ Zarzuela, as a market-oriented genre, favoured libretti, topics, language, and music style adapted to the respective local realities, to maximise audience response.³⁵ These adaptations led to a process of indigenisation of the genre, and to the progressive establishment of a number of distinct regional zarzuela styles.

One of the most documented cases of regional varieties is the Catalan *sarsuela*.³⁶ Zarzuela was already established in Barcelona when the Catalan

Renaixença took place, in the late 1850s. In this renaissance, the Catalan people recovered and championed its indigenous language and culture.³⁷ The first zarzuela written in Catalan, *Setze jutges*, by Josep Pujadas and Joan Soriols, was premièred at the Liceo theatre in 1858.³⁸ The most popular work in the Catalan lyric tradition³⁹ was composed by the Valencian Rafael Martínez Valls, with a libretto by Capdevila y Mora, and was entitled *Cançó d'amor i de Guerra* (1926).⁴⁰ After the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), Catalan production of zarzuelas ground to a halt and no more *sarsuelas* in Catalan language were presented until the fifties, when productions were almost wholly limited to infrequent revivals.⁴¹

It is not surprising that the two strongest zarzuela traditions outside Spain held fast in Cuba⁴² and the Philippines,⁴³ both Spanish colonies until 1898, when Spain was at the height of the storm of *género chico*. Cuban zarzuela and Filipino *sarswela* reached their peak after their respective

Cataluña' in Ramón Barce (ed.), *Actualidad y Futuro de la Zarzuela. Actas de las Jornadas celebradas en Madrid del 7 al 9 de noviembre de 1991* (Madrid: Alpuerto, 1994), 331-344 and Francesc Cortés, 'La zarzuela en Cataluña y la zarzuela en catalán', *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana*, 2-3 (1996-97), 289-318.

³¹ For Catalan *Reinaixença*, and language, see David D. Laitin, 'Linguistic Revival: Politics and Culture in Catalonia', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31/2 (April, 1989), 297-317.

³² *Tanodillas* and *sainetes* had been previously composed in Catalan (Casares 1996-97: 983). The following year Josep Anselm Clavé, presented at the Liceo *L'aplec del Remel*. In the early twentieth century, Eric Morera founded the Teatre Líric CATALÀ in the theatre Tivoli, introducing Catalan operas and *sarsuelas*. After several economic failures, some of the pieces composed by Morera met with success, such as *El comte Arnau*, by Josep Carner, or *La Santa Espina*, written by Angel Guimerà, from which the famous *sardana* was taken.

³³ The Catalan *sarsuela* produced, in its turn, its own subgenres, such as the comic *gataotas*. Similarly to the development of the zarzuela in Madrid, the transmutation of the genre into the *bouffe* variety, the naturalistic *sainetes* or the operetta influences occurred in *sarsuela*.

³⁴ This piece was recorded in the 1970s with Moteser Caballé; see Rafael Martínez Valls, *Cançó d'amor I de Guerra*, conducted by Ros Marbà, performed by Caballé, Carreras, Decamp, Sardinero (Alhambra, WD71466, 1974).

³⁵ The new institutions that sprung from the political redistribution of 1978 Constitution fuelled the *tabula rasa* to the close past and Spanish nationalism, and affected the fate of zarzuela and its offspring. Authority over economic, education, and cultural issues was transferred to the Autonomous Communities. They openly promoted particularism as a way of reinforcing their regional identities, even when the delimitation of some of those regions was political rather than social or historical. In the process, new flags, anthems and festivities were born; history and traditions were reinvented, and languages were transformed into political tools. The practice of an enhancement of the regional identities as opposed to the other national and regional identities (the development of an 'us' versus 'them') led to a disdain of the symbols of Spanish nationalism. Zarzuela, as a Spanish nationalist genre, was caught in the middle of that confrontation. It became a foreign genre even in regions where the establishment of the genre had been deep, like Catalonia and Valencia, and even the zarzuelas composed in the region, in the very own languages they were promoting, were overlooked. (See 'Zarzuela and Democracy', in Camacho 2010: 61-64). As an illustrative example, since the reconstruction in 1999 of the influential Liceu Theatre in Barcelona, no Catalan *sarsuela* has been performed in it.

³⁶ Cuban zarzuela has received a special research focus from the United States. See Henry W. MacCarthy, *Cuban zarzuela and the (neo)colonial imagination a subaltern historiography of music theater in the Caribbean* (Columbus: Ohio University, 2007).

³⁷ Filipino *sarswela* has been extensively researched in the archipelago. One of the main voices of this study was Doreen Fernández. For an approach to her work see Doreen G. Fernández, 'Zarzuela to Sarswela: Indigenisation and Transformation', *Philippine studies*, 41/3 (1993), 320-343.

Luhrmann, together with the cinema version of the musical *Chicago* (2002), by Rob Marshall, exemplify this new trend (Traubner 2003: xxvii/xx).

³⁰ The city of Madrid has been traditionally refer to as *Villa de Madrid*.

³¹ Other centres for zarzuela in Spain include Valencia, in vernacular language, Valladolid and Seville.

³² Numerous exceptions of this rule include masterpieces as *El niño Judío*, *Bohemios*, *La del Soto del Parral*, *Molinos de Viento* and *Los de Aragón*. Many of these works relate to the quest for exoticism, under the influence of Viennese operetta, and the regionalist reconfiguration under Primo de Rivera dictatorship (Young 2006: 335).

³³ Madrid theatres' companies customarily toured the Peninsula over the summer, disseminating the genre across Spain and Latin America.

³⁴ (Barbieri 1856: 11).

³⁵ (Harney 2006: 153-155)

³⁶ *Sarsuela* had to face the intense competition embodied by the Spanish zarzuela, and the Wagnerian and *verista* taste of the public, with the ensuing contempt for the Catalan genre. Some restrictions were imposed by the government to the expansion of a zarzuela in Catalan, such as the law enforced in 1867, which made every play in Catalan to include at least one character in Spanish (Roger Allier, *La zarzuela* (Barcelona: Colección Ma non tropano - Ediciones Robinbook, 2002), 69). However, not every production of zarzuela in the region was written in Catalan, as the works carried out by Gabriel Balart, Nicolau Manent, Urbá Fando, or the Valencians Salvador Ginés and Vicente Díez Peydró prove. A large number of authors also chose to work almost exclusively in Spanish, including Catalan Amadeo Vives, Balear Marqués and Valencians Ruperto Chapí, José Serrano and Vicente León, amongst others. For further reading in Catalan *sarsuela*, see Xosé Avifoza, 'Zarzuela catalana o zarzuela en

independences. They developed distinctive zarzuela genres, with an extensive corpus of works, having a key role in the reinforcement of their respective national identities. The presence of zarzuela in Puerto Rico constitutes a particular case. The island was also part of Spain until 1898, being directly seized by the United States and hence maintaining its neo-colonial status until the present time. Arguably, zarzuela in Puerto Rico did not consolidate as an indigenous genre, due to the lack of the nationalistic substrate⁴⁴.

Zarzuela also made an impact in the rest of America.⁴⁵ By the 1850s, the decade that marked the consolidation of romantic zarzuela, most Latin American colonies had already declared their independences.⁴⁶ In these societies, the introduction of zarzuela was therefore not part of a cultural identity-building strategy by the Spanish state, but rather was a response to consumer demand.⁴⁷ Latin American countries such as Argentina,⁴⁸ Venezuela,⁴⁹ Colombia,⁵⁰ Chile⁵¹ and Mexico,⁵² became the main international market for the Spanish genre, soon adopting and adapting the genre to their respective societies.

⁴⁴ Many of the Puerto Rican zarzuelas extolled local identity, in their cultural struggle against United States neo-colonialism. For a perspective on zarzuela in Puerto Rico, see Antonio J. Molina, *150 años de zarzuela en Puerto Rico y Cuba*. A.J. Molina, San Juan, P.R. 1998.

⁴⁵ The first documented zarzuelas composed in the American continent are baroque *calderonian* works as *La púrpura de la rosa*, by Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, premiered in Pirou in 1701. This type of zarzuela, an elitist genre in a highly stratified society like the colonial one, had very little repercussion into the native musical genres. However, the baroque zarzuelas first, and particularly the *tonadillas* later, had a progressive implantation on the majority of Latin American countries. Towards the last third of the eighteenth century, the cities of Mexico and Lima had presented opera seasons, and some of the plays were written by local composers or Spanish authors settled in the Americas, such as Fray Esteban Ponce de León.

⁴⁶ For Nationalism in Latin American Music, see Thomas Turino, 'Nationalism and Latin American Music: Selected Case Studies and Theoretical Considerations', *Latin American Music Review*, 24/2 (2003), 169-209.

⁴⁷ Spanish zarzuela was demanded by the Creole elites and the growing community of Spanish emigrants in the continent. (Thomas notes that in the first thirty years of the twentieth century more emigrants arrived to Cuba from Spain than in the previous four hundred years of colonisation (in MacCarthy 2007: 100)). This demand brought along a great number of Spanish companies that would often hire local performers; a circumstance that eventually brought about the creation of native companies. They would usually prepare as well the so-called *adaptaciones al criollo*, 'adaptations to the Creole' of the librettos to help their success, which consequently had an effect on the local genres, and facilitated the birth of national lyric traditions in several countries, such as autochthonous zarzuelas, *sainetes líricos*, and national operas.

⁴⁸ See Alberto Giménez, 'Presencia y arraigo de la zarzuela en Argentina', *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana*, 2, 3 (1996-97), 475-486.

⁴⁹ See José Peñín, 'La vida de la zarzuela en la prensa venezolana' (Ibid. 487-514).

⁵⁰ Benjamín Yépez, 'Noticias y zarzuelas en Colombia. 1850-1880' (Ibid. 515-530).

⁵¹ Agustín Ruiz Zamora, 'Antecedentes del cuplet en la música rural de Chile' (Ibid. 531-542).

⁵² Ricardo Miranda, 'La zarzuela en México: "Jardín de senderos que se bifurcan..."' (Ibid. 451-474).

These communities imported not only the generic models of zarzuela, but also the social function attached to them. Along with the genre, the *teatro por horas*⁵³ formats and the *sicalipsis* appeared, local companies were established and new stages were built. The social and political changes in these new nations affected their zarzuelas in an analogous way as in Spain, and at different points in time during the course of the twentieth century, the validity of these autochthonous genres also waned.

The interchange between Spanish zarzuela and Latin American countries had also its influence on the Spanish works. Latin American folklore and imagery was soon adopted by Spanish composers.⁵⁴ However, only a few non-Spanish zarzuelas have entered the repertoire in Spain, almost limited to the chief works of Cubans Ernesto Lecuona⁵⁵ and Gonzalo Roig, such as *Maria la O* (1930) and *Cecilia Valdés* (1932), respectively.⁵⁶

Arguably, the level of such implantation of zarzuela models in the different countries relates directly to the role of zarzuela as a driving force for their national identities. In a highly stratified cultural context where opera was the entertainment of the elites, zarzuela catered the need of a consumer-linked nationalism for the growing middle classes, in their respective struggles for cultural reappraisal (such was the case of *sarsuela* in Catalonia), for political action against neo-colonialism (in the Philippines and, mildly, in Puerto Rico), for nation-building (in Cuba) and against social unrest in pre-revolutionary Mexico. Similarly, in those countries where zarzuela was the entertainment for the Creole elites in their identification with their peninsular roots, zarzuela failed to establish a solid indigenous tradition. Local works

⁵³ Numerous American theatres adopted the system of *tandas*, an equivalent to the Spanish *teatro por horas* (Riut 1996-7, 535). For *teatro por horas* see María P. Espín Templado, *El teatro por horas en Madrid, 1870-1910* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Madrileños - Fundación Jacinto e Inocencio Guerrero, 1995), Nancy J. Membrez, *Teatro por horas: history, dynamics and comprehensive bibliography of a Madrid industry, 1867-1922 (genero chico, genero infimo and early cinema)*, Ph.D. Thesis (Santa Barbara: University of California, 1990) and Benito Pérez Galdós, *Nuestro Teatro* (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1923), 213-216.

⁵⁴ Numerous zarzuelas, both *grandes* and *chicas*, were set in the colonies, using native characters and autochthonous rhythms to depict the scene. Works like *Marina*, by Arrieta, quote Cuba by means of tangos or *habaneras*; others, as Barbieri's *El retámpago*, are directly set in Cuba, Matanzas, and uses Cuban rhythms to portray the island. This way, Spanish zarzuelas soon adopted *guajiras*, *rumbos*, *tanguillos*, *guarachas*, *tangos* and *habaneras*. See Amimee Guerrero, 'Géneros cubanos en la zarzuela española (1850-1866)', *Clave*, Instituto Cubano de la Música, Segunda época, 7/3 (2005), 24-37.

⁵⁵ For Lecuona, see Aurelio de la Vega, 'Lecuona, a Century Later', *Latin American Music Review*, 19/1 (Spring - Summer, 1998), 106-108.

⁵⁶ Both *Maria la O* and *Cecilia Valdés* are intimately related to the anti-slavery novel *Cecilia Valdés o La loma del ángel*, by Cirilo Valverde in 1839, one of the main works of the nineteenth century Latin American literature.

were reduced to the light entertainment for the working classes (*géneros infimos*), losing their validity when lower-cost mass genres, such as cinema, radio and sporting events, displaced and uprooted zarzuela from its social bases. Nevertheless, zarzuela, as a repertoire genre, found in Latin America a solid market since the 1940s, supported by a new generation of Spanish immigrants, being nowadays a cultural asset to the pan-Hispanic community, with a growing importance for the construction of a shared identity, relating to their real or imagined peninsular roots.⁵⁷

Zarzuela has been frequently approached as an isolated genre, centred in the Spanish capital. However, as this research argues, the implantation of zarzuela models outside Madrid and the interconnections of zarzuela with its contemporary genres suggest an analysis of zarzuela as a wider movement, coherent with the pan-European operatic schools of the 19th and 20th centuries, which helped to shape the national identities across the Spanish-speaking countries, becoming a potential cultural asset to weigh in an extended context.

⁵⁷ For the construction of this identity in the United States, see the aforementioned Janet L. Sturman, *Zarzuela: Spanish operetta, American stage* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 2000).

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