

1 Cinema and national imaginary

The musical representation of Andalusia in films at the beginning of the 20th century

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Introduction

At the end of the 19th century, cinema and musical theatre became complementary and rival forms of entertainment as they shared artistic, economic, and technical strategies and resources¹. All the same, relationships between the two media were viewed with a certain scepticism and even disinterest by the Generation of '98 intelligentsia² since, despite reinforcing symbols from popular culture, in the beginning cinema was considered a mere “mutation of the dramatic art, a product of technological innovation, the industrial revolution and mass society”³. The reality, meanwhile, was that from the start, cinema and lyrical theatre had constructed a space for creating and working collaboratively managed by private companies with obviously commercial criteria, whose idiosyncrasies have been studied by different specialists⁴. Thus, following the Lumière brothers' presentation of their apparatus in Barcelona, Madrid, and Seville at the end of the 19th century, the first moving images captured in Spain were recorded. These were a series of bullfights, military parades, processions, and Spanish dances – notably the El Vito, *jotas*, *seguidillas*, and *boleros*⁵. In parallel, recordings were made of a fragment of *zarzuela* performed by the well-known singer Loreto Prado, as well as “the first flamenco films, sung by the popular Antonio Pozo ‘El Mochuelo’”⁶. All this footage coincided with the release of the first lyrical pieces mentioning and dramatizing spaces for film projection. Some of the best examples are *Los adelantos del siglo* [*Advancements of the Century*] (1897) and *¡¡Al cine!!* [*To the Cinema!*] (1907). These first films were followed by adaptations of *zarzuelas*, which surpassed 70 titles between 1900 and 1936. They offered the burgeoning cinema a series of advantages and benefits, which the Spanish industry quickly latched onto when it came to representing regional culture and, through it, that of the country as a whole⁷.

Andalusia was one of the regions most frequently portrayed in the *zarzuelas* and the films based on Spain's lyrical heritage⁸, although it had first been artistically represented and exploited as far back as the 18th century, becoming the perfect metonymy for Spanish identity during the last third of the 19th century⁹. Consequently, its presence on the screen during the following century guaranteed not only commercial success but also the conservative conception of Spanish culture and identity that film production companies wished to depict¹⁰. This work explores

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the aspects described with a view to investigating how the music and cultural identity of Andalusia were expressed in a series of films produced and released in Spain between 1920 and 1939¹¹.

The relationships between film and musical theatre in Spain

Cinema and musical theatre were two fundamental elements of cultural practice for the lower classes in which national identity, and through this, other identities such as class, ethnicity, gender, and colonial projection were negotiated.

Spanish musical theatre integrated different types of works whose origins date back to the 17th century, the time of the birth of the *zarzuela*, a show of a hybrid nature that soon followed the route established by genres such as “comic opera, opera *buffa*, vaudeville and *singspiel*”¹².

After undergoing different transformations in the 18th century that leaned towards the traditional and popular, in the second half of the 19th century, the *zarzuela* became a national project that, as either a “*grande*” three-act show or a “*chica*” one-act show, attempted to construct Spanish identity during a critical time in the country’s historical journey: the Bourbon Restoration (1874–1931). The repertoire, which developed on the margins of official power and under the auspices of the bourgeoisie and theatre managers, did not hesitate to borrow resources from the theatrical *tonadilla*¹³ and middle-class theatre, which abounded in “*polos, tiranas, seguidillas*, Andalusian songs, *cachuchas*, *fandangos* and *boleros*”¹⁴. These numbers permeated and enlivened Spanish stages throughout the entire 19th century and were repeatedly published in collections of popular songs aimed at the bourgeoisie¹⁵.

Their textual and musical resources and stereotypes, in which the Andalusian component was exploited “as an exotic, southern, quaint element, creating a sense of difference”¹⁶, endured until well into the 20th century. They gathered strength thanks to the appearance of the *género chico*, a one-act *zarzuela* that was a clear product of the theatrical shows devised for entertainment that had huge support among the working and middle classes due to the low ticket price, and which merely sought to provide a form of escapism¹⁷.

At the start of the 20th century, the *género chico* would enter into slow decline, giving way to new entertainment products among which film occupied a progressively pre-eminent position, as it did in neighbouring countries¹⁸, thanks to two circumstances: on the one hand, the overarching need and desire to ensure an audience for the recently launched seventh art, enticed through the use of resources inherent to the crowded musical theatre, and on the other, the hybrid nature of the venues and the profile of the shows they offered, which enabled narrative models and forms of expression to be transferred¹⁹.

Thus appeared the first adaptations of *zarzuelas*, dating from the 1910s, an age in which silent film was still current and which presented significant challenges when it came to synchronizing sound. In the 1920s, adaptations would become a fundamental part of the footage filmed in Spain as they comprised over half the feature films shot on national soil²⁰.

Adaptations of *zarzuelas* at the start of the century

The adaptations of *zarzuelas* in silent films were a special case in terms of the accompanying soundtrack in the recently conceived cinema as, from a musical perspective, this usually consisted of a summary or variation of the score of the original work and was generally put together by the composer themselves. As for the *zarzuelas* from which they came, the audience went to see and hear these films in search of “simple relaxation, a mere pastime embellished with musical pages [...] that sought [their] direct participation [...] in the famous passages, called out when on screen appeared the lyrics of the most popular songs, backed by the musical accompaniment of the house orchestra”²¹.

Segundo de Chomón was the first to cultivate the genre, having directed three *zarzuelas* for the big screen by 1910²². The high point in the process of adapting works from the *género chico* and *zarzuela* to the big screen nevertheless occurred during the first half of the 1920s, when they were established as the genre most suited to making a difference with respect to the powerful American cinema, with minimal cost²³.

Rival production companies Atlántida SACE and Film Española considered them the only genre identifiable with Spanishness and nationhood because of the ideology of the business community that promoted these studios, whose statements in this respect were plagued with patriotic declarations and the programmatic principles they elicited²⁴. They, therefore, rushed to exploit them, while at the same time mass demand was ensured following the release and stunning reception of *La verbena de la Paloma* [*The fair of the Virgin of la Paloma*] (1921). This film was the definitive shift “towards popular, *costumbrista* and folkloric cinema derived from translating the *sainete* and rural melodrama from the world of the *género chico* to film” and the consequent recreation of the immediately identifiable popular archetypes originating in *zarzuela*²⁵. This in turn “served to map out an early Spanish star system” as well as a very attractive parade of supporting characters, without a doubt “one of the best future traditions of cinema” in Spain²⁶.

Hence, *Verbena*, directed by José Buchs, would be followed by his subsequent works: *Carceleras* [*Prison Songs*] (1922), shot in Cordoba during the summertime; *La reina mora* [*The Moorish Queen*] (1922), filmed in Seville; and *La Doloretas* (1923), in Valencia. Having left Atlántida SACE together with Oscar Hornemann, Buchs would go on to direct *Rosario la Cortijera* [*Rosario the Farm Maid*] (1923), *El pobre Valbuena* [*Poor Valbuena*] (1923), and *Curro Vargas* (1923) for Film Española. The favourable announcement and magnificent reception these films had in the press soon confirmed the health of the genre²⁷.

In the 1930s, the trend for filmed musical theatre was confirmed with the creation of the first sound and dubbing studios on national soil, this time established by Cifesa (Compañía Industrial de Film Español, SA) and CEA (Cinematografía Española Americana) [Spanish–American Cinematography], two financially solvent Spanish production and distribution companies with no previous links to filmmaking²⁸. The appreciation of and demand for elements of popular culture in cinema, whose prices the theatre could not rival, together with the all-important search for a

national cinema to compete with the “Hispanic films” from Hollywood²⁹, not only stemmed from films by now definitive assimilation of the *zarzuela* and the *género chico* tending towards remakes of productions from the 1920s but also from the appearance of the *españolada* on screen³⁰. The natural result “of the modern transformations in Spanish society” in its “decisive intersection with technical communications and entertainment media”³¹, the *españolada* quickly and brilliantly showed the tensions between foreign views of Spanish culture and the defenders of genuine and legitimate expression of national folklore and identity³².

Examples of the convergence of lyrical theatre and film during the 1930s include Buch’s *Carceleras* (1932), a remake of his previous production, and *El rey que rabió* [*The Rabid King*] (1939); *El gato montés* [*The Wildcat*] (1936) and *Molinos de viento* [*Windmills*] (1937) by Rosario Pi; and *La verbena de la Paloma* (1935) by Benito Perojo, all of which were well received by critics and audiences³³. These adaptations shared space on the screen with some of the most famous films in the history of Spanish musical film, productions that would redirect the eclectic *españolada* towards the formula it would adopt during Francoism³⁴, examples being *Morena Clara* (1936), *La hija de Juan Simón* (1935), *Suspiros de España* (1938), and *Carmen la de Triana* (1938). In these films, the Andalusian element not only played an important role but was also hybridized with formulas taken from international popular modernity³⁵.

Andalusian musical identity in adaptations of *zarzuelas* at the start of the 20th century

During the first decades of the 20th century, the choice of the regions as the ideal space for showcasing national idiosyncrasy and as the representation of Spain showed cinema’s capacity to enter into dialogue with the nation’s different processes of imagination and to construct a distinctive identity through its own audiovisual language³⁶. For this reason, production was not limited to documentaries exploring the regions for the sake of tourism³⁷; films were also made with regional settings and subject matter, which the main production companies filmed and distributed across the country to huge public success. Andalusia was the region that most often appeared in these types of films³⁸, provoking ambivalent reactions and plunging cinema into the debate surrounding the Andalusian identity that had rumbled on for decades regarding other products of Spanish culture.

The collection of films of the period based on *zarzuelas* continued the course set by Segundo de Chomón in his Catalan phase through the repetition of titles, librettists, the reiteration of places, and characteristic stereotypes, and which would persist until the Civil War as a legacy of the regenerationist vision of Spanish identity.

Thus, the names of the key composers of the repertoire of works with an original libretto set in Andalusia came up time and again. They included Ruperto Chapí, Tomás Bretón, and José Serrano, who excelled for their scores’ careful treatment of popular music. Storylines were generally rural dramas. For this, Andalusia was a distinctive setting, since once located in the region the plot conflict was never familial or internal but usually pitted the rural and the urban against each other in

such a way that “social inequalities and exploitation are replaced by the personal and sexual exploitation” of the habitual female protagonist of the *zarzuela* and the film³⁹. The value of the Andalusian space in the transfers of the *zarzuelas* of the time is therefore transcendent, as the action “acquires a series of differential features that would not occur if the setting were other”⁴⁰. Therefore, the storylines of these films, while more conformist and *costumbrista* than critical and social, “provides a kind of microcosm in which a frequently stereotyped or idealized society could sort out its problems”⁴¹, both with respect to ethnicity and to social class and gender⁴².

In this dramatic context, two sound elements were constructed in a distinctive way. The first was speech, which was used as a key resource to elicit hilarity on screen. Its use as an identity marker was based on the features of the rich Andalusian dialect, although at times trivialized by the press⁴³. To give an example, in *La reina mora* (1937) this distinction enables the viewer to distinguish Don Nuez, the only character in the *zarzuela* and the film who speaks using “*ceceo*” pronunciation⁴⁴, his use of this socio-linguistic formula marking him out as the comic figure *par excellence* in the film⁴⁵. The second is the fact that the musical numbers are led by the female protagonists of the film, who were usually Roma actresses, these numbers being a foremost medium of expression for reflecting and negotiating the aspects of gender, class, and ethnicity of Andalusia on the screen. The performance of these female roles by actresses with *white faces* from the star system of the time enabled the industry to deny racial othering on the one hand, which then became one more myth of Andalusian regional/national identity, delving into the relationships of territorial ordering and subordination in the context of the country; and on the other, this digression allowed the audience to identify with the characters by positively mediating acceptance of their actions and also enabling them to observe the events taking place in the sphere of “otherness” from a familiar standpoint⁴⁶.

From the purely musical point of view, most of the films respect the numbers from the original score, which were usually by the composer themselves, although in silent films the presence of song numbers was determined by the diegesis, and different adaptations had to be made to adjust the music to the visual narration. In them, the popular Andalusian repertoire serves to ratify the characters’ identity, social background, and ethnicity, as well as to characterize the environment, which favours certain spaces and celebrations particular to the culture of the region. One of the preferred celebrations in this sense was Holy Week, usually signified through the popular *saeta*, such as the one sung by Elisa Ruiz Romero, “La Romerito”, to the figure of Jesús del Gran Poder as it passes through Trajano street in the centre of Seville in *Rosario la cortijera*. It also appears in *El gato montés*, directed by Rosario Pi (1936), when from his prison cell, Juan hears Soleá singing as the Virgen de la Esperanza de Triana passes by during the celebrations of Maundy Thursday⁴⁷. In these scenes, the musical soundtrack, which presents the usual and spontaneous Andalusian *saeta*, accompanies the images showing spaces and devotions easily associated with the Andalusian religious imaginary⁴⁸, in this case situated in Seville, which along with Cordoba was a favourite setting for the films studied.

In the same way, the ubiquitous *seguidillas* fill the festival atmosphere at regular and often crowded popular celebrations, such as the Feast of the Exaltation of the

Cross, festival days, and family get-togethers. Their comfortable ternary rhythm and accessible instrumental accompaniment is suggested in the Exaltation of the Cross during the month of May and the bustling atmosphere during preparations for the wedding of Rafael and Lola that Buchs filmed for *Carceleras* (1922). Nevertheless, an original and deft exercise by the Quintero brothers and maestro Serrano extends their significance to humorous questioning in markedly tragic scenes, such as those sung by the prisoners accompanying Esteban in the *La reina mora* (1937) prison scene. In the last instance, the *seguidillas* socially and morally demarcate these prisoners, who clearly stand out from the male protagonist in the film not only because of the musical formulas with which Serrano characterizes them⁴⁹, but because of the metre of the literary text itself, in which the flamenco *seguidilla* of heptasyllabic and pentasyllabic verses opposes the octosyllabic *cuarteta*, a quatrain, a four-line stanza, sung by Esteban⁵⁰.

A similar resource, but with greater visual and musical significance, is found in the *alegrías*, which also define times of celebration. Based on the general framework provided by the *jota* in Spanish popular music but integrating the feel of the *jaleo*, the *alegrías* are indeed an ideal marker for scenes of revelry and particular jubilation. They appear with this characterization, as suggested by the titles and intertitles, in *Rosario la cortijera* during the birthday party for Prudencia, the owner of the farm. The attendees' request – “Carmela, you have to dance to liven up the party/Alegrías” – is danced by the immensely popular ballerina and flamenco *bailaora* Encarnación López, “La Argentinita” in her star appearance in the film.

The popular songs of an improvised nature, such as the lengthy bird seller's cry at the start of *La reina mora* (1937), ultimately serve to identify the Andalusian spirit. The young singer admits his cages are empty and that he earns a living from singing alone. In this case, Don Nuez pays him to perform one of these spontaneous numbers for the *reina mora*⁵¹.

In cases such as *El gato montés* we find a contrast to the adaptations of *zarzuelas* for both silent and sound films, in which the original music was modified. In this instance, the film contains only three musical numbers, strictly speaking. Despite leaving the audience wanting “more, because of their irresistible beauty”⁵², and not being part of the original score on which the film rests, they enact a central function in the plot, and in contrast to the usual turn of events, are led by the main character of Juanillo, Soleá's sweetheart. Just like the dialogue and script, these numbers were supervised by maestro Penella, whose work caused many problems during the film's development⁵³. They accompany the plot and original libretto adaptation and, “on top of the orchestral commentary of varied colour”, evoke a clear and simple popular flavour which the composer's original work had already engendered in 1917⁵⁴. Particularly notable is the comic duet between Lolilla (Mapy Cortés) and Caireles (Joaquín Valle), which recreates the popular *cuplé* “*La peliculera*” [The Daydreamer]⁵⁵, since the plot, echoing contemporary musical and social practices, recounts the maid's desire to go to Hollywood to make a film. This female character, who is not in the original *zarzuela*, suggests Pi's desire to dismantle the female identity usually found in the cinema of the time, in its different formats and orientations⁵⁶. These musical numbers are joined in the film by three allusions to

Andalusian popular music, which again appears to add to the setting and to underline the *costumbrismo* and the southern geography. A wedding party scene features female flamenco dancers, the *saeta* sung by Soleá at the foot of the bars imprisoning Juanillo, and the *copla* performed by the shepherd boy, a character unconnected to the main storyline who appears in the original opera and who not only portrays “the solitude of the rural worker” but who also evokes men’s hold over women in the rural environment and in the film’s plot development⁵⁷.

In terms of inserting new musical elements, the case *par excellence* is *Rosario la cortijera*, in the version directed by León Artola (1935), thanks to Manolo Braña⁵⁸, whose work intends to include three big names in the film – the *cantaor* Juan Mendoza Rodríguez, “Niño de Utrera” (Rafael); guitarist Agustín Castellón Campos, “Niño Sabicas”; and singer and actress Estrellita Castro (Rosario) – as well as to stamp the plot with a new sound and to appeal to a mass audience fond of his work. Consequently, the film features several Andalusian songs sung by Castro: “*Es el cariño lo mismo*” [The Affection is the Same], “*Son las cosas del querer*” [The Things of Love], and the “gypsy” *zambra* “*Carita de emperadora*” [The Face of an Empress]. These act as the backbone of the story and were used to entice the audience. In addition, Niño de Utrera performed a series of *palos*, or varieties of flamenco – *fandangos*, *soleares*, *granainas*, *tarantas*, *alegrías*, *colombianas*, and *sevillanas* – in order to set the mood in certain scenes or to give them a deeply allegorical air through their texts. The formula chosen for depicting the Andalusian atmosphere, which according to the flyer for the film had to “vibrate [...] with enthusiasm in all the regions of Spain” as it was not a “regional film” but “a film for all Spaniards”, is a clear case of the Spanish stereotyping the Andalusian, whose trivialization through this type of procedure has been interpreted as a resource used by the dominant political classes to exploit it within the state context⁵⁹.

Conclusions

The cultural identity of Andalusia expressed through the music in the adaptations of *zarzuelas* produced between 1920 and 1939 entails a series of clear continuations, with the original quality of the lyrical works marked by the conception of and the tensions between nation and region during the period of the Bourbon Restoration (1874–1931).

In a context in which evoking a common sound image for Spain was a real challenge, the musical representation of Andalusia in these films not only enabled enquiry into the way the nation was conceived but also into how the constant process of modelling and remodelling of “the Andalusian” as an aesthetic subject, which came about at the start of the 20th century, was produced. The presence of the Andalusian popular repertoire in the films examined is therefore the legacy of the practices that came to be used in the songbooks published throughout the 19th century but which were above all present in lyrical theatre at the turn from the 19th to the 20th century. In an exercise to update these *topoi*, cinema gradually incorporated the new repertoires associated with Andalusian culture, such as flamenco and Andalusian folk song, which crystallized further in the years after the Civil War.

In the last instance, this set of formulas and procedures was constructed as the ideal resource for representing both the global and the regional identity of the country according to the conservative vision that Spanish production companies wished to disseminate on aspects related to gender, ethnicity, and social class. Thus, the musical and narrative stereotypes instilled in the audience over decades enabled the public to immediately recognize and identify with the plot and its protagonists, a fact that caused retaliation in the press at a critical time during which national cinema was to be created and the country was negotiating its modern identity⁶⁰.

Table 1.1 The relationship of film adaptations of zarzuelas with plots set in Andalusia (1896–1939)⁶¹

| <i>Year</i> | <i>Title</i> | <i>Director</i> | <i>Composer</i> | <i>Libretist</i> |
|-------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|--|
| 1910 | La tempranica | Segundo de Chomón | Gerónimo Giménez | Julián Romea Castro |
| | Las carceleras | Segundo de Chomón | Vicente Peydró | Ricardo Rodríguez Flores |
| | El puñado de rosas | Segundo de Chomón | Ruperto Chapí | Carlos Arniches & Ramón Asensio Más |
| | Los guapos | Segundo de Chomón | Gerónimo Giménez | Carlos Arniches & José Jackson Veyán |
| 1913 | Amor andaluz (Carceleras) | Ricardo de Baños, Albert Marro | Vicente Peydró | Ricardo R. Flores |
| 1922 | Carceleras | José Buchs | Vicente Peydró | Ricardo R. Flores |
| | La reina mora | José Buchs | José Serrano | Serafín & Joaquín Álvarez Quintero |
| 1923 | El puñao de rosas | Rafael Salvador | Ruperto Chapí | Carlos Arniches & Ramón Asensio Más |
| | Curro Vargas | José Buchs | Ruperto Chapí | Joaquín Dicenta & Manuel Paso y Cano |
| | Rosario, la cortijera | José Buchs | Ruperto Chapí | Manuel Paso, Joaquín Dicenta |
| 1925 | Los guapos o Gente brava | Manuel Noriega | Gerónimo Giménez | Carlos Arniches & José Jackson Veyán |
| 1927 | Rejas y votos | Rafael Salvador | Vicente Peydró | Ricardo R. Flores |
| 1932 | Carceleras | José Buchs | Vicente Peydró | Ricardo R. Flores |
| 1935 | Rosario, la cortijera | León Artola | Ruperto Chapí | Manuel Paso, Joaquín Dicenta |
| 1936 | El gato montés | Rosario Pi | Manuel Penella | Manuel Penella |
| | Alhambra/El suspiro del moro | Antonio Graciani | Fernando Díaz Giles | Luis Fernández de Sevilla, Francisco Prada |
| 1937 | La reina mora | Eusebio Fernández de Ardevín | José Serrano | Serafín & Joaquín Álvarez Quintero |

Notes

- 1 Julio Arce Bueno, "Aproximación a las relaciones entre el teatro lírico y el cine mudo", *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana*, no. 2–3 (1997): 273–274.
- 2 Rafael Utrera, *Modernismo y 98 frente al cinematógrafo* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1981), 110–113.
The Generation of '98 was a group of intellectuals attached to cultural and aesthetic modernist ideals. All of them were largely influenced by the national defeat in the Spanish-American war.
- 3 Emeterio Díez Puertas, "Relaciones teatro y cine: estado de la cuestión", *Acotaciones: revista de investigación teatral*, no. 5 (2000): 74.
- 4 See, for example, Joaquín Cánovas Belchí, "Identidad nacional y cine español: el género chico en el cine mudo español: a propósito de la adaptación cinematográfica de *La Verbena de la Paloma* (José Buchs, 1921)"; *Quintana: Revista de estudios do Departamento de Historia da Arte*, no. 10 (2011): 65–87; and Álvaro Ceballos Viro, "El cine en el género chico (1897–1936)", *Hecho teatral*, no. 17 (2017): 37–75.
- 5 Jean-Claude Seguin, "Alexandre Promio y las películas españolas Lumière", *Cuadernos de la Academia*, no. 2 (1988): appendix.
- 6 Cánovas Belchí, "Identidad nacional y cine español", 74.
- 7 Marta García Carrión, "Escribir sobre cine para hablar de España: cultura cinematográfica y nacionalismo español en los años veinte y treinta", in *Estudios sobre nación y nacionalismo en la España contemporánea*, ed. Ismael Saz and Ferrán Archilés Cardona (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2011): 179–201.
- 8 Marta García Carrión, "El pueblo español en el lienzo de plata: nación y región en el cine de la II República", *Hispania* 73, no. 243 (January–April, 2013): 202–213.
- 9 On this issue, see Alberto Egea Fernández-Montesinos, "Introducción", in *Dos siglos de imagen de Andalucía* (Sevilla: Centro de Estudios Andaluces, 2006), 11–24; and Celsa Alonso González, "En el espejo de 'los otros': andalucismo, exotismo e hispanismo", in *Creación musical, cultura popular y construcción nacional en la España contemporánea*, ed. Celsa Alonso González (Madrid: ICCMU, 2011), 83–102.
- 10 Julio Pérez Perucha, "Cine español: 1918–1929", in *Historia general del cine: Europa y Asia (1918–1945)* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1997), 101.
- 11 See Table 1.1 in this chapter.
- 12 Emilio Casares Rodicio, "Zarzuela", in *Diccionario de la Zarzuela: España e Hispanoamérica*, Vol. 2. ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio (Madrid: ICCMU, 2006), 963.
- 13 The *tonadilla* is a Spanish theatrical musical genre from the second half of the 18th century that spread to some countries in America at the start of the 19th century (María Encina Cortizo, "Tonadilla Escénica", in *Diccionario de la Música española e hispanoamericana, 10 vols.*, edited by Emilio Casares Rodicio, vol. 10 (Madrid: SGAE, 2002), 343–352). Originally within the category of short or minor play, the *tonadilla* was initially performed during the intervals of theatrical comedies, mainly in the Cruz and Príncipe theatres. As it gained favour with audiences it began to lengthen, "until over time it became a work of medium duration" (Begoña Lolo, "Itinerarios musicales en la tonadilla escénica", in *Paisajes sonoros en el Madrid del siglo XVIII: La tonadilla escénica*, Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2003, 17). It was usually structured in three sections (the intro or *entable*, *coplas*, and *seguidillas* as the epilogue), the last being the most important and popular, to the point that not only did "the audience linger in the theatre", but even "the blind sang [them] on the corners of urban Madrid" (Lolo, "Itinerarios musicales", 20).
- 14 María Encina Cortizo, "La zarzuela romántica: zarzuelas estrenadas en Madrid entre 1832 y 1847", *Cuadernos de música iberoamericana*, no. 2–3 (1997): 25.
- 15 Celsa Alonso González, "La canción española desde la monarquía fernandina a la restauración borbónica", in *La música española del siglo XIX*, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio and Celsa Alonso González (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1995), 254.

- 16 Celsa Alonso González, “Música y construcción nacional en España: teatro musical cine y música popular (1900–1936)”, *MusiMid* 1, no. 2 (2020): 54.
- 17 Alberto Romero Ferrer, *El género chico: introducción al estudio del teatro corto de fin de siglo (de su incidencia gaditana)* (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1993), 47–49.
- 18 Christophe Gauthier, “Le cinéma des nations: invention des écoles nationales et patriotisme cinématographique (années 1910–années 1930)”, *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine* no. 51, vol. 4 (2004): 58–77.
- 19 Joaquín Cánovas Belchí, “La música y las películas en el cine mudo español: Las adaptaciones de zarzuelas en la producción cinematográfica de los años veinte”, in *El paso del mudo al sonoro en el cine español*, Vol. 2, ed. Joan Minguet and Julio Pérez Perucha (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1994), 17.
- 20 Joaquín Cánovas Belchí, “Cultura popular e identidad nacional en el cine español mudo de los años veinte”, in *Cine, nación y nacionalidades en España*, ed. Nancy Berthier and Jean-Claude Seguin (Madrid: Casa Velázquez, 2007), 26.
- 21 Joaquín Cánovas Belchí, “La música y las películas en el cine mudo español”, 23.
- 22 They were *Los guapos*, *La del puñao de rosas*, and *Las tentaciones de San Antonio*, all produced for Pathé Frères in 1910.
- 23 Nuria Tiana Toribio, *Spanish National Cinema* (London, UK: Routledge, 2003), 18–20.
- 24 Joaquín Cánovas Belchí, “Consideraciones generales sobre la industria cinematográfica madrileña de los años veinte”, *Archivos de la Filmoteca*, no. 6 (1990): 17.
- 25 Cánovas Belchí, “Identidad nacional”, 27.
- 26 Cánovas Belchí, “Identidad nacional”, 80.
- 27 *Carceleras*, for example, was hailed as a film with “a beautiful score by maestro Peydró, which sincerely affirms the motifs of the plot, and makes it a work with monumental conditions for success”. Following its release at the Real Cinema de Madrid, it was acknowledged that “the orchestra conducted by the faultless maestro Mr Julio Duart, was of an enviable standard” (Cánovas Belchí, “La música y las películas en el cine mudo español”, 26). *La reina mora*, which had been screened over forty times in July 1922, was praised in similar terms. A clipping from the newspaper *La acción* says the following to this effect: “The inauguration of the Sala de la Reina María Cristina cinema was a true event. The bill of films presented was very attractive. The resounding success was the blockbuster by the Spanish label ATLÁNTIDA titled *La Reina Mora*, the popular *sainete* by the Quintero brothers with music by maestro Serrano, which the public admired with growing interest. There was unanimous praise for such a beautiful production, which will doubtless receive further plaudits in the days to come. The orchestra, conducted by maestro Edo, performed the score with finesse. The highly amusing captions by the Quintero brothers were much applauded” (Cinematográfica Española, [“Advertisement”], *Arte y cinematografía*, no. 256 (July, 1922): 24).
- 28 Francisco Elías, *Anatomía de un fantasma: historia clínica del cine español* (Barcelona and Sevilla: Universidad de Barcelona, Universidad de Sevilla, 2018), 74.
- 29 On this issue, see María Elena de las Carreras and Jan-Christopher Horak, *Hollywood Goes Latin: Spanish-Language Cinema in Los Angeles* (Bloomington: Fédération internationale des archives du film, 2019).
- 30 Vicente J. Benet and Vicente Sánchez-Biosca, “La españolada en el cine”, in *Ser españoles. Imaginarios nacionalistas en el siglo XX*, ed. Javier Moreno Luzón and Xosé M. Núñez Seixas (Barcelona: RBA, 2013), 566–568.
- 31 Benet and Sánchez-Biosca, “La españolada en el cine”, 561.
- 32 Marta García Carrión, *Por un cine patrio: Cultura cinematográfica y nacionalismo español (1926–1936)* (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 2013), 292–306.
- 33 For example, *La verbena de la Paloma* (1935) remained “on the bill for fifty weeks during the war”. José Cabeza San Deogracias, *El descanso del guerrero: cine en Madrid durante la Guerra Civil española (1936–1939)*. (Madrid: Rialp, 2005), 77, achieving a film “that did not lose itself in purist excesses, and that did not deny superfluous popular customs [but rather lauded] the path of stylization and good taste” (Félix Fanés, “La

- verbena de la Paloma (1935)", in *Antología crítica del cine español (1906–1995)*, ed. Javier Pérez Perucha. (Madrid: Cátedra, 1998), 99). It was, in other words, "an example of how Cinema should be produced in Spain" (A. Del Amo Algarra, "La verbena de la Paloma", *Cinema Sparta* 29 (15 January 1936): 5), which is currently praised as "the best adaptation of a zarzuela in the entire history of Spanish cinema" (Pablo Mérida de San Román, *El cine español: historia, actores y directores, géneros, principales películas*. Barcelona: Larousse, 2002), 156.
- 34 Benet and Sánchez-Biosca, "La española en el cine", 569.
- 35 These films are addressed in depth in the chapter by Enrique Encabo.
- 36 It should be noted that the films were not intended to be shown abroad, as they focused on Spanish audience's preferences that prevented films from being exported.
- 37 Antonia del Rey Reguillo, "Celuloide hecho folleto turístico en el primer cine español", in *Cine, imaginario y turismo: estrategias de seducción*, ed. Antonia del Rey Reguillo (Valencia: Tirant lo Blanc, 2007), 65–100.
- 38 José María Claver Esteban, *Luces y rejas. Estereotipos andaluces en el cine costumbrista español (1896–1939)* (Sevilla: Centro de Estudios Andaluces, 2012), 140–144.
- 39 Claver Esteban, *Luces y rejas*, 175.
- 40 María Jesús Ruiz Muñoz and Inmaculada Sánchez Alarcón, *La imagen de la mujer andaluza en el cine español* (Sevilla: Centro de Estudios Andaluces, 2008), 47. Compared with other regions in Spain, Andalusia reproduces the situation of contempt associated with that which is feminine. During the Romantic era, as a non-industrialised region, European visitors erected Andalusia as the main hub for Spanish cultural identity. Its centrality while defining Spanish uniqueness – partially derived from its rural underdevelopment and, consequently, its economic and social inferiority when compared to other national regions, might be evaluated in parallel to the subordinate position of women regarding men, particularly during the Bourbon Restoration (1874–1931), though this idea endured during the Francoism (1939–1978).
- 41 Bernard P. E. Bentley, *A companion to Spanish Cinema* (Woodbridge, Rochester, NY: Tamesis, 2008), 66.
- 42 This occurs, for example, in *El gato montés* (1936), whose script brings in the subjects mentioned (Alejandro Melero, "Apropiación y reapropiación de la voz femenina en la 'españolada': el caso de *El gato montés*", *Arenal* 17, no. 1, 2010, 173), resulting in the death of the entire universe of male characters belonging to the imaginary of the traditional Andalusian rural drama: the "gypsy", the bandit, and the wealthy bullfighter (Susan Martin-Márquez, *Feminist Discourse in Spanish Cinema*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999), 65–82).
- 43 For example, the critic "Plumilla" wrote in *El Diluvio* (3 March 1936) that *El gato montés* (1936) showed "the entire Andalusian soul, showing through everything how many stereotypes encircle that Spanish region, its songs, its dances, its bullfights and *that wit when speaking which makes them likeable and gives the women that flavour that turns them into paragons of grace and kindness*" ("El gran éxito de *El gato montés* en Barcelona: juicios de la prensa", *Noticiero Cifesa* 14 (March 1936), [14]. The emphasis is my own).
- 44 The Andalusian dialect includes two types of pronunciation: *seseo* and *ceceo*, which use the /s/ sound and the /θ/ – similar to the English "th" – respectively in words containing s, soft c, and z. *Seseo* speakers will pronounce words such as "caza" – "casa" – and "cierra" – "sierra" – with the /s/ sound and *ceceo* speakers with the /θ/ sound. A third type of pronunciation common throughout Spain, *distinción*, differentiates between the two sounds. Since the *seseo* and *ceceo* first appeared, the former has been related to the urban speech of Seville, giving it linguistic prestige. *Ceceo* meanwhile, has been related to the rural environment and considered an incorrect or coarse way of speaking inferior to the *seseo* (José M. Saussol, "El seseo-ceceo hispánico y su enfoque en lingüística aplicada", in *Studi in ricordo di Carmen Sánchez Montero, 2 vols.*, ed. Graziano Benelli and Giampaolo Tonini (Trieste: Università di Trieste, 2006), 499).

- 45 Thus, in the scene featuring the song by the bird seller, for example, Don Nuez is heard asking him, “¿Pero ezaz cozaz laz zacaz tú de la cabeza, niño?”, his Andalusian *ceceo* turning the “s” into a “z”, which in Spanish is pronounced as /θ/, or a “th” sound. (See the previous note.) This same resource can be found in *Rosario la cortijera* (1923), in which the character Varillas is the only one whose speech includes words incorporating the *ceceo*.
- 46 Eva Woods Peiró, *White Gypsies: Race and Stardom in Spanish Musical Films* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).
- 47 “En la calle de la Amargura / Cristo a su Madre encontró, / no se pudieron hablar / de sentimiento y dolor” [In Amargura street / Christ found his Mother / they could not speak to each other / for feeling and pain].
- 48 Isidoro Moreno Navarro, “La Semana Santa”, in *Conocer Andalucía: gran enciclopedia andaluza del siglo XXI*, ed. Gabriel Cano García, no. 6, 218–55 (Sevilla: Tartessos, 2000).
- 49 Rafael Díaz Gómez, “Reina Mora, La”, in *Diccionario de la Zarzuela: España e Hispanoamérica, 2 vols.*, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio (Madrid: ICCMU, 2006), vol. 2, 539–540.
- 50 Thus, a first prisoner ironically counters Esteban’s *copla stanza*, “A la reja de la carse / ven estreya, ven lusero / a dar gusto a mis ojos / descanso a mi pensamiento [To the prison bars / come star, come bright star / to please my eyes / rest my thoughts] – the words “carcel” and “lucero” evidencing his *seseo* pronunciation (see above) – with a jaunty *seguidilla* (“Me piyaron los guardias / porque soy tonto / y me gusta lo ajeno / más que lo propio” [“The guards caught me / because I’m a fool / and I like the things of others / more than my own”]), to which another prisoner “cheekily” adds by alluding to his family’s dubious achievements (Julián García León, “¡Ay, gitano!”, in *Programa doble: La reina mora/ Alma de Dios (Temporada 2012/2013)*, Madrid: Teatro de la Zarzuela, 16).
- 51 A similar number, also from the mouth of a child but with a premonitory air, is the allegorical song sung by the shepherd boy in *El gato montés* (1936): “A gypsy girl is what I want/and that gypsy girl is mine/anyone who tries to take her away/will get a life sentence”.
- 52 “El gato montés, nuevo éxito de la producción española”, *La época* 30026 (14 March 1936), 5.
- 53 According to testimony from the filmmaker, editor, and director of photography Ramón Biadiu i Cuadrench, the composer, who acted like “the real supervisor of the film”, had “epic arguments” with the director throughout filming, both as a result of his “exalted character” and the “incompetence of the new director” (José María Caparrós Lera, *Arte y política en el cine de la República (1931–1939)*. Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1981, 124). He was a “meticulous and uncomfortable” man (Antonio Fernández-Cid, *La música española en el siglo XX* (Madrid: Rioduero, 1973), 17) who demanded an orchestra of ninety teachers “to add sound as ‘playback’ on the film which was [originally] filmed as ‘silent’, greatly increasing the dubbing costs” (Caparrós Lera, *Arte y política*, 124). As a result, the scenes set in Andalusia had to be concentrated “practically in the Catalan mountains, with the cave at Begas (Barcelona) standing in for the bandits’ hideout”, and members of the editing and sound department were obliged to contact Star Films’ Mexican backer directly in order to receive payment (Caparrós Lera, *Arte y política*, 208).
- 54 Manuel Penella, “Autocrítica: *El gato montés*”, *Arte musical* no. 59 (15 June 1917): 1.
- 55 In Spanish, “*peliculera*” is used to describe something with a relationship to cinema (in this case the character’s desire to go to Hollywood and make films) and also someone who daydreams.
- 56 On popular *cuplé*, see Marta García Carrión, “Peliculera y española. Raquel Meller como icono nacional en los felices años veinte”, *Ayer* 106, no. 2 (2017): 159–162. On the gender relations deriving from this addition, I recommend Melero “Apropiación y reapropiación”.

- 57 Jorge Chenovart González, “El carácter musical andaluz en la primera etapa de Cifesa (1934–1939)”, *Revista de folklore*, no. 467 (2021): 108.
- 58 “Notas gremiales”, *Sparta Cinema: revista cinematográfica* no. 22 (22 September 1935), 19.
- 59 José Acosta Sánchez, “Historia y cultura del pueblo andaluz”, in *La identidad cultural de Andalucía: aproximaciones, mixtificaciones y negociacionismo y evidencias*, ed. Isidoro Moreno (Sevilla: Centro de Estudios Andaluces, 2008), 157.
- 60 On this topic, see Utrera, *Modernismo y 98 frente al cinematógrafo...*; Jorge Urrutia, “La inquietud filmica”, in *El teatro en España. Entre la tradición y la vanguardia, 1918–1939*, ed. Dru Dougherty and M.^a Francisca Vilches de Frutos, (Madrid, CSIC, 1992): 45–52.; Emeterio Díez Puertas, *Escritores y cine en España: un acercamiento histórico* (Madrid, JC, 1988); C. Brian Morris, *La acogedora oscuridad: el cine y los escritores españoles (1920–1936)* (Sevilla: Filmoteca de Andalucía, 1993); and Jesús Rubio Jiménez, “Teatro y cinematógrafo frente a frente: ¿enemigos o aliados?”, *Angélica: revista de literatura*, no. 4 (1993): 139–158.
- 61 Compiled by the author based on Ángel Luis Hueso Montón, *Catálogo del cine español* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2000), Juan B. Heinink y Alfonso C. Vallejo, *Catálogo del cine español (1931–1940)* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2009), Carlos F. Heredero y Antonio Santamarina, *Biblioteca del cine español: fuentes literarias 1900–2000* (Madrid: Cátedra. 2010).