

Spain in the Enlightenment

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With the coming to power in Spain of the French Bourbon family at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the doors to Spanish society and culture - long closed to many developments of Spain's European neighbours - were flung open to admit a torrent of new ideas, philosophies and cultural trends. Philip V, the grandson of Louis XIV, introduced the Spanish court to the latest rage in France – the *contredanse*, the *danse á bal* and the *danse á deux*. All members of high society were expected to be familiar with the latest dances and their steps. French fashions, hairstyles and courtly manners found their way into Spanish life. French neo-classical thought set in motion a series of reforms in the Spanish theatre and in literature. Italian operatic and virtuoso instrumental styles rapidly inundated the Iberian peninsula. The passion for opera shared by Philip V and his son Ferdinand VI not only helped to shape tastes in the Spanish musical theatre but also left its indelible mark on sacred music. The inclusion of Italian theatrical styles in sacred compositions provoked a score of polemics. In fact, the issue of morality as it related to all of these foreign influences was hotly debated. These foreign intrusions met with stubborn resistance in some Spanish circles, especially among the middle class which flourished under the new economic policies of Charles III. New organizations and forms of public diversion arose. Nationalism - initially generated largely by middleclass concerns - permeated the entire fabric of Spanish society as the century progressed.¹

THE CHURCH

A social history of music must first concern itself with patrons. Traditionally, three social institutions had promoted the composition and performance of music - the church, the court and the theatre; to these a fourth was added in the eighteenth century - the middle class. Unquestionably, in Spain the largest of these (with the most employees) was the church. Unlike some European countries, which had a multitude of sacred musical centres of equal importance, one metropolitan centre, Madrid, dominated the Spanish musical landscape at this time. It served as the model for the cathedrals and monasteries in the outlying provinces. A position in any of the three royal chapels in Madrid - the royal chapel (Capilla Real) and those of the monasteries of the Incarnation (Encarnacion) and the Royal Discalced nuns (Descalzas Reales) - was a veritable prize: the salaries were high; a post at any of them brought fame and prestige; and furthermore a church composer's presence in the capital enabled him to compose for the theatre as well. Links with institutions in the provinces further strengthened the influence of the capital: Toledo Cathedral had extremely close ties with the Descalzas Reales; the affairs of the Encarnacion in Madrid were administered from Santiago de Compostela; Palencia repeatedly drew its musicians and influence from Madrid; and there are other examples of such links. In short, Madrid was the hub of cultural life, with influence radiating out to the provinces.²

Musical life in the Capilla Real underwent several significant changes in the course of the eighteenth century. A fire at the Royal Alcázar on Christmas Eve 1734 destroyed the music archive. Philip V commissioned many new works from composers such as Joseph de Torres Martinez Bravo, Antonio Literes, José Nebra and Francesco Corselli (or Courcelle), to begin rebuilding a basic repertory of sacred music. Ferdinand VI (reigned 1746-59) similarly dedicated much attention to rebuilding the archive. In 1750 he had numerous chant books copied to replace those lost in the blaze. He also initiated several notable reforms of the Capilla Real: in 1747 he established a code of behaviour to restore discipline among the chapel musicians their conduct had sunk to an inadmissible level of rowdy and

indecent behaviour. Ferdinand conceded an important new privilege to his subjects in 1753 by making the chapel a parish church, thus allowing them access on a daily basis. The 'New Order' of 1756 greatly enlarged the musical resources of the chapel and its progressive policies provided the musicians with such benefits as accident insurance, a retirement plan and increased salaries.³

Composers in Spain employed by the church were remarkably mobile, moving freely from post to post in a highly competitive job market. This fluid movement of composers across the Iberian peninsula worked against the formation of insular 'schools' or regional styles. The most highly coveted posts included the cathedrals at Salamanca (which brought with it close and lucrative associations with the university), Santiago (with opportunities to augment the already high income through ties to the university, prebends and frequent functions outside the cathedral), Seville and Toledo. The positions in the Canary Islands were also sought for their respectable salaries and idyllic climate.

Throughout the century the church was concerned with a series of moral questions concerning music. Many church officials were appalled at the Italian recitative-and-aria type of music creeping into the Spanish liturgy and they railed against the appearance of this theatrical style. Juan Francisco de Sayas, for instance, launched a series of diatribes against the Italians in his *Música canónica, motética y sagrada* (Pamplona, 1761): in criticizing the homophonic Italian style he stated that 'the music that is called fashionable has neither craft, nor concept, nor corresponds to the [appropriate] feeling' and 'that music presently in fashion is violent harmony, not conforming in any way with the purpose for which it is used'.⁴

One of the most influential reformers of the late eighteenth century was Francisco Javier Garda Fajer, *maestro de capilla* of La Seo at Saragossa (Zaragoza) from 1756 until his death in 1809, often referred to as 'El Españolito'. For some time the Spanish liturgy had included selections in the vernacular called *villancicos*. They replaced the Latin responsories and by the mid-eighteenth century they often had an operatic flavour, replete with recitatives and homophonic arias. Garcia Fajer regarded these *villancicos* as an intrusion of the theatre into God's church and he initiated a movement that advocated their total exclusion. He was effective. An impressive list of cathedrals banned the use of any romance language (and thus the *villancico*) from the liturgy: Santiago, Granada, Pamplona, Málaga, Santander, Cádiz and Jaén.

THE COURT

The second major patron of the arts was the court. Ferdinand VI shared his father's passion for music and the arts. Domenico Scarlatti was in the employ of his wife, Marfa Barbara Braganza. The famous Italian castrato Carlo Broschi, better known as Farinelli, remained one of the most important and influential men at court even after Philip V's death in 1746. Philip's widow, Isabel (Elisabetta Farnese), attempted to retain Farinelli in her service but was overruled by the newly crowned Ferdinand VI, who not only retained Farinelli but augmented his role in cultural affairs. Farinelli was made director of the royal entertainments and initiated an impressive series of performances in the royal sites of the Buen Retiro and Aranjuez. The lavish style with which he enticed Europe's top performers is recorded in his manuscript *Fiestas reales en el reinado de Fernando VI*.⁵ Artists were granted eight days with meals and lodging during rehearsals at the royal sites, while rehearsal time in other theatres was normally confined to two days. If the elegantly furnished accommodation was not to a virtuoso's liking, he or she could find lodging elsewhere and be fully reimbursed. Carriages were supplied to allow the artist to make visits to the country, pay social calls or go to Mass.

Perhaps the most spectacular events under Farinelli's guidance were the elegant boat excursions that he planned for the royal couple and their court during their spring residences of 1752-7 at Aranjuez. A stunning regatta of ornately decorated boats took short journeys up and down the Tagus.

The music on these occasions must have been as lavish as the rest of the entertainments. Farinelli sang, often accompanied by the king himself or by the queen. On numerous occasions the queen and Farinelli sang duets. These regal expeditions also featured fishing and the hunting of wild boar, deer, foxes and other wildlife that were roused and frightened towards the banks by the king's servants. For the evening of 17 July 1757 Farinelli arranged a breathtaking display in which the boats and river banks and the branches of the trees were illuminated by 40,000 candles.⁶

Italian influence soon dwindled. When Charles III assumed the throne in 1759 he quickly made known his love of hunting and his apathy towards opera. One of his first acts was to send Farinelli back to Italy, although with his full salary. Yet if Charles III was not an avid music-lover himself, he nevertheless took great care to see that his children received the best music education available. In 1761 he appointed the great Italian violinist Felipe Sabbatini to instruct the young Prince Charles (who was to become Charles IV) and secured Jose Nebra as clavichord teacher for him and for Prince Gabriel.⁷

Under the protection and patronage of Charles III's sons, musical life continued to flourish. Gabriel had a concert hall, the Casita de Arriba, constructed in the centre of El Escorial. It consisted of two storeys under a domed ceiling; the public was seated on the ground floor and the performers on the floor above, which had small windows open to the public below. Gabriel surrounded himself with music at court. He sponsored music academies in his own quarters, at which Haydn's music was often performed. At El Escorial Padre Antonio Soler, who had arrived in 1752, soon impressed the royal family so much that Charles III appointed him master of music for the princes Gabriel and Luis Antonio. Not surprisingly, a large proportion of Soler's publications bear the inscription 'composed especially for Prince Gabriel'. Soler had had constructed a special type of keyboard instrument, with the tone divided into nine parts, to illustrate for his royal student the differences between a major and a minor semitone.⁸

Prince Luis Antonio's small court, called the 'Prince's Room', rivalled his brother's; if Gabriel had access to the accomplished Padre Soler at El Escorial, Luis Antonio could claim in his employ an artist of no less brilliance - Luigi Boccherini. The Italian was initially invited to Spain in 1770 by the French ambassador of Luis Antonio's brother Charles, but Luis Antonio was the fortunate one who actually obtained Boccherini's services at Aranjuez that same year. Luis Antonio's death in 1785 left Boccherini and his fellow court musicians unemployed and in a precarious financial state. Charles agreed to pay their wages for six months while they were searching for new posts. Oddly enough, he did not assimilate Boccherini into his own court when he ascended to the throne in 1788, but continued with his previous master of music (clearly of lesser talent), Gaetano Brunetti.⁹

The nobility of Spain had personal courts that rivalled the crown's. Superb musical performances often graced the palaces of the Duke of Osuna and the Duke of Arcos.¹⁰ No court, however, surpassed that of the house of Alba; Spain's finest musicians performed at the musical evenings organized by Fernando de Silva (the twelfth Duke of Alba) and his son Francisco de Paula de Silva (the Duke of Huescar). Fernando was responsible for putting many of the Spanish intelligentsia in contact with the artistic and philosophical trends of Spain's European neighbours. While serving as the ambassador to Paris under Ferdinand VI he became acquainted with Jean-Jacques Rousseau.¹¹ The secretary of the embassy during his stay was none other than Ignacio de Luzán, Spain's most influential neo-classicist. Their artistic precepts so impressed the duke that he became one of the leading proponents of neo-classicism in Spain upon his return. Ramón de la Cruz, the first librettist successfully to incorporate neoclassical principles into the zarzuela (a dramatic form including singing and dancing with spoken dialogue), was under the duke's protection.¹² The younger Duke of Huescar was no less enthusiastic in his patronage of the performing arts. Musical performances at his palace inspired scores of imitators attempting to replicate the rich quality and quantity of those gatherings. The list of composers represented at them reads like a 'who's who' of eighteenth-century Spanish composition. Works by such masters as Luis Misón, Antonio Guerrero, Manuel Canales and Blas de Laserna were standard fare.

Tragically, the bulk of musical scores for these concerts was destroyed by two fires: the first, in 1795, consumed the libraries of the houses of Villafranca and Alba; and a disastrous fire during the Spanish Civil War obliterated the Alba archives.¹³

One of the most colourful purveyors of taste was the Duke of Huescar's daughter, the Duchess Marfa Teresa Cayetana of Alba. She had a flamboyant and eccentric flair - she was a stunning beauty, had amorous affairs with bullfighters and sponsored boisterous *tertulias* in the middle of the night in the Prado. Foreign fashion did not excite her. She rejected the refined customs generally associated with the aristocracy and adopted instead the language, dress and fashion of the Spanish commoner. She effectively promoted these values among the Spanish nobility and it was not long before her chief cultural competitor, the Countess-Duchess of Benavente and Osuna (María Josefa Alonso Pimentel), was also playing the role of the Spanish *maja*.¹⁴

The Countess-Duchess of Benavente was herself an independent spirit; she was a good huntress and would often climb mountains and hike alone. She enjoyed the company of writers, philosophers and artists. The latest fashions from Paris and London filled her wardrobe. Only the Duchess of Alba and Queen Maria Luisa of Parma (wife of Charles IV) matched her importance as a principal definer of artistic taste and fashion. It was she who introduced many of Haydn's compositions to Spain and she so adored his music that she had her representative in Vienna, Carlos Alejandro de Lelis, negotiate a contract with Haydn in which he was to send copies of his new works directly to her, from 1783 to at least 1789. She surrounded herself with talent: Tomas de Iriarte and Ramon de la Cruz composed for her theatre. Her orchestra included some of Spain's best instrumentalists, including Jose Lidon and Luigi Boccherini, who became her orchestra director after he failed to obtain a post under Charles IV.¹⁵

THE THEATRE

Dramatic activities in Madrid revolved around three principal theatres. The Teatro del Príncipe and Teatro de la Cruz were well-established public theatres devoted primarily to dramas from Spain's golden age: the works of Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca and Tirso de Molina were still perennial favourites in the very buildings that had seen their premieres centuries earlier. The theatres had remained in their original condition - open-air constructions with a central patio surrounded by windows and balconies belonging to the neighbouring residents - until their demolition and reconstruction in the early eighteenth century (the Cruz theatre was rebuilt in 1738, the Príncipe in 1744). A third, Teatro de los Caños del Peral, opened in Madrid in the early eighteenth century. It was dedicated almost exclusively to performances of Italian opera and Philip V afforded the theatre extremely generous financial and political privileges that assured its success in the early years; but it too was demolished and reconstructed, in 1737. By 1739, however, the regular scheduling of opera performances had already ceased and the theatre closed its doors, except for an occasional opera, concert or masked ball.

The Príncipe and Cruz, being public theatres, relied on popular support to maintain operation. But the court relied on these theatres as well. The two entities - court and theatre - developed a type of symbiotic relationship. The public theatre benefited from the relationship (at least early in the century) because the king bore the financial burden of mounting expensive zarzuelas. After opening at the palace, a zarzuela moved to one of the public theatres to play for several performances. Thus the public theatres were spared the risk of enormous production costs when they had no assurance that they could recoup their investment. (Later in the century, however, the court was unwilling to finance zarzuela productions, which forced them to become entirely self-supporting through box-office receipts.) In addition, the performers received extra payments for part-time employment in palace productions. However, the crown depended heavily on the public theatres. The actors needed for the *autos sacramentales* (one-act sacred plays performed especially on the feast of Corpus Christi) were

normally drawn from the companies performing at the Cruz and Principe theatres. The palace needed to draw on their talent for its own productions, for it had no resident, full-time theatre troupe. Lastly, the public theatres supported local charities: one third of their total profits was distributed to charitable causes.¹⁶

A series of important reforms in the second half of the century transformed the two theatres, especially with regard to their musical resources. In 1765 small orchestras became a standard fixture instead of an occasional luxury. The Count of Aranda instituted several changes in 1767: he encouraged more cooperation between the two theatres and declared that the two companies must alternate in the use of each other's halls. The orchestra moved from behind the curtains on stage to its modern position in front of the audience. On stage, theatre flats or screens replaced curtains. Musicians and actors were first granted permission to mount productions for their direct financial benefit during the summer nights in 1768, a privilege that spawned a new flurry of musical activity and concert life. Music became more firmly established as an essential part of the theatre troupes in 1768, when the post of 'company musician' appeared on the companies' rosters and payrolls. The job entailed teaching the necessary music to the actors, guiding the dance steps, assisting with rehearsals and copying parts when the copyist was ill. The roster of Manuel Martínez's company of 1778 at the Teatro de la Cruz mentions a new post of elevated importance entitled 'company composer'. The holder had to compose the music for all productions. The staggering magnitude of that task can be gathered if one considers that Pablo Esteve y Grimau (who was appointed in 1778) had to compose in that year alone music for at least 72 *tonadillas* (short plays treating comic subjects, involving several singing characters) and scores for the Spanish comedies and zarzuelas and for French tragedies. Not surprisingly, both Esteve and Laserna (who was appointed company composer to the other theatre) began almost immediately to complain of unrealistic expectations.¹⁷

In the last decade of the eighteenth century, theatres were disrupted by several events. Leandro Fernández de Moratín and the board of censors set out to rid the Spanish stage of any works that abused the neo-classical principles that they cherished so dearly. Their campaign, in the course of which they compiled a list of over 600 prohibited works that included most of the masterpieces by Tirso, Lope and Calderón, had a disastrous effect. Another equally radical policy, although of a different bent, was instituted in 1799 by the board of theatrical reform. Resentment towards the importing of foreign culture (especially Italian opera) had finally reached such a pitch that the board banned the mounting of any dramatic piece in any language other than Castilian and made it mandatory for all performers to be Spanish as well. The policy reflects how much public and official opinion had changed since the century's first years, when Italian opera was so passionately promoted by Philip V and his court.¹⁸

Two dramatic forms unique to Spain, the *zarzuela* and the *tonadilla escénica*, captured the underlying social currents that were shaping eighteenth century Spanish society. The zarzuela was an elaborate theatrical production, usually in two acts, that alternated sung numbers and spoken dialogue. Until the second half of the eighteenth century it dealt with allegorical or mythological topics, but the withdrawal of the crown's financial underwriting of production costs later in the century necessitated changes in the genre itself. The zarzuela abandoned mythological topics for popular, folklike ones, beginning with Ramón de la Cruz's and Antonio Rodríguez de Hita's *Las labradoras de Murcia* (Principe, 1769). After all, the financial risk was now entirely the theatre's and the indigenous folklike scenes drawn from daily life were more likely to please the paying public than Greek mythology. Neo-classical precepts affected zarzuela plots, beginning with Rodríguez de Hita's and de la Cruz's *La Briseida* (1768), which was commissioned by the Count of Aranda who zealously championed neo-classical thought in the Iberian peninsula. The first successful union of neo-classical ideals with national characteristics occurred in de la Cruz's and Fabian Garda Pacheco's *El buen marido* of 1770. It is neo-classical in that it adheres to the three classical unities, it does not rupture dramatic verisimilitude and it attempts to instruct the audience with a moral lesson. At the same time, popular Spanish values are

captured by its setting in the streets of Madrid and its characters drawn from everyday life. Even Italian opera is represented in the virtuosity of certain musical numbers and recitative sections.¹⁹

Few artistic genres have captured the new aesthetics of the middle class more perfectly than the *tonadilla escénica*, a literary-musical production that flourished from about 1750 to 1800. Normally performed between the acts of a Spanish drama or *comedia*, *tonadillas* were satirical yet true-to-life, depicting everyday scenes with such characters as street vendors, magicians, soothsayers, gypsies, bullfighters, poets, musicians, soldiers, guards and bandits. By far the two most common character types to appear were the abbot and the *majo*. The audience would roar as the pious church father broke into a jovial song-and-dance routine. The other indisputable favourite was the Spanish *majo* who, through his sharp wit and biting ridicule, would have great fun at the expense of the Italian fops and French dandies. He was the theatrical manifestation of Spanish resentment towards foreign cultural invaders.²⁰

The middle class loved *tonadillas*. Academies frequently included them in their programmes. The nobility, too, became infatuated with them as the century progressed. This was a result of the shift from foreign, affected and over-refined mannerisms to values considered natural, folklike or indigenous to Spain. There are abundant examples of the enthusiasm of high society for *tonadillas*. They were standard fare at the king's residence in Aranjuez. The Countess-Duchess of Benavente and the Countess of Penafiel repeatedly staged them at their private functions. The Count of Artois, the French ambassador to Spain, was so taken by them that he requested that one of his favourites (*Los viajeros*) be performed between the acts of the drama he attended on 4 August 1782.²¹ Beaumarchais was also an avid fan of the genre. He had been in Madrid from spring 1764 to spring 1765 and after his return to Paris he wrote back to a business associate, frantically pleading with him to locate the stack of *tonadillas* he had mislaid.²²

The nobles squirmed rather than applauded, however, whenever the *majos* or *majas* on stage aimed their satirical barbs in their direction. One of the most graphic instances was a *tonadilla* composed by Luis Mison in which the acclaimed singer 'La Caramba' strolled on to the stage dressed as an elegant noblewoman, only to portray the nobility in an extremely unflattering light. Mison's work so enraged the Countess-Duchess of Benavente and the Duchess of Alba that he had to flee to avoid both prosecution and the wrath of the Duke of Arcos who had amorous ties with the offended ladies.²³

SOCIAL REFORM AND THE MIDDLE CLASS

The complexion of Spanish society in the eighteenth century was the result of two driving forces: the economic and political reforms instituted by Charles III and the introduction of radically different attitudes regarding socially acceptable behaviour. The Spanish economy flourished under Charles III's farsighted economic policies. One of the important products of that healthy economy was a burgeoning middle class with the time and new-found wealth to pursue such interests as the arts and music. Not coincidentally, then, two new entities sprang up - the *concert spirituel* ('sacred' concert) and the academy - that enabled this new public to enjoy the musical pleasures previously reserved for the court. During Lent, opera and staged representations were forbidden because of the solemnity of the season. Opera or theatre companies therefore began to organize public performances of unstaged musical works known as *concerts spirituels* for this off-season, to ease the performers' financial hardship while the theatre was closed.²⁴ The Duke of Híjar petitioned the crown for permission to produce *concerts spirituels* in Madrid at the Caños del Peral theatre in 1786 as a way to raise money needed for the hospitals' board. Financially they were a huge success and almost immediately the other two theatres in Madrid organized their own.²⁵ *Concerts spirituels* were also inaugurated in Barcelona and Valladolid in the final years of the century.²⁶ The other new development was the establishment of public concerts or academies. During the hiatus between opera seasons several enterprising musicians

from the opera companies organized academies at various locations in the capital.²⁷ Before the crystallization of a viable paying audience the existence of such academies would have been unthinkable.

Many citizens also delighted in the masked balls and other public dances that had become commonplace in Madrid's public theatres by the mid-1770s. They were festive occasions lasting from eleven o'clock at night until four in the morning, with serving tables of soups, roast foods and cold cuts. They were not exclusive, closed affairs for the nobility but granted free access to the middle class. Again, Charles III (who sponsored these dances) revealed his concern for the well-being and pleasure of his subjects.²⁸

Curiously, however, Charles III was unsympathetic to music publishers, a group that was attempting to meet the needs of the new middle-class market. Prospective publishers petitioned the crown for permission to establish a music press in Spain, but they met with apathetic responses or even open antagonism.²⁹ Thus Spain never developed the publishing houses capable of addressing the new amateur market or of disseminating Spanish music beyond its borders. Most Iberian music, regardless of merit, was imprisoned in manuscript form. In spite of these conditions, a handful of publications did see the light and were most often directed towards this new audience of the *aficionado* or amateur. Early in the century Pablo Minguet y Yrol published a number of small books (usually extremely condensed summaries and blatant plagiarisms of other authors' work) that claimed to teach almost any instrument or dance without the need for an instructor, and he was quite successful in reaching the middle-class musician.³⁰ Similarly, numerous guitar books appeared at the end of the century, all directed towards the new amateur market.

The position of music in university studies changed dramatically in the eighteenth century as a result of Charles III's expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. The Society of Jesus owed its allegiance directly to Rome, not Madrid. The Jesuits therefore stood as an impediment to Charles III and his desire to develop a strong secular government, headed by the monarchy and free of church intervention. (Charles III was not the first European ruler forcibly to remove the Society of Jesus from his realm; the Jesuits were expelled from Portugal in 1759 and from France in 1762.) The Jesuits' monopoly of Spanish education evaporated with their expulsion and almost immediately educational instruction shifted its emphasis from religious concerns and antiquated scholasticism to a preoccupation with modern sciences and empirical thought. Although this reform may have been beneficial in many ways, music studies did not fare well. Charles IV's reforms of 1807 removed music from the university altogether. Another unfortunate repercussion of the Jesuits' expulsion came with the forced exile of Spain's first modern music historians, Esteban de Arteaga and Antonio Eximeno. Their best works were published far from Spanish soil.³¹

The second force reshaping Spanish society was the introduction of radically different attitudes regarding socially acceptable behaviour. Before the turn of the century the home was a fortress rarely penetrated by non-family members; women rarely left home. The Bourbons permanently altered this way of life: for the first time friends were received at home as a common occurrence and women would leave their homes daily to display their expensive carriages or stroll along the streets to talk to friends and to show off new clothes.³² This dissolution of the extreme privacy of the home, coupled with the desire to display private wealth in a public fashion, helped to bring about two new cultural phenomena - the *tertulia* and the *sarao*. The *tertulia* consisted of an evening of intellectual discussion on the latest trends in the arts, philosophy and modern sciences and would often include a concert. *Tertulias* could take place at a nobleman's palace, an individual's home or even a public gathering place. The *sarao* differed from the *tertulia* in that it concluded with group dancing. The ability to dance and familiarity with the latest steps became indispensable for anyone hoping to circulate in high society. What better way to show off wealth and social skills than with an ostentatious evening replete with extravagant refreshments and a spectacle of music followed by a dance.³³

The women's role in Spanish society had changed strikingly with Bourbon rule. Not only did the walls of her home no longer imprison her, but the behaviour expected of her while within those walls had also been altered. It became nearly obligatory for a woman of high society to take private instruction in singing, playing an instrument and dancing. Often the instructors were French or Italian, and the fashions and styles they promoted were usually foreign.³⁴

As in the theatre, so in domestic affairs: resentment of the wholesale import of culture grew as the century progressed. The Spanish middle class, in particular, ridiculed the upper class's seemingly insatiable thirst for anything and everything new and foreign. José de Cadalso y Vasquez captured this view in his *Cartas marruecas* (1793) when he asked:

How does the powerful man of this century spend his money? Two chamber servants, elegantly dressed and combed, wake him; he has an exquisite mocha coffee in a cup carried from China via London; he puts on the finest shirt from Holland, later a coat of good taste woven in Léon, France; he reads a book bound in Paris; he dresses to the instruction of a French tailor and hairdresser; he goes out with a carriage that has been painted where the book was bound; he goes to eat his hot meals in dishes produced in Paris or London and his fruits and sweets on plates from Saxony or China; he pays a master of music and another of dance, both of them foreigners; he attends an Italian opera (well or poorly performed) or a French tragedy well or poorly translated; and when it is time to go to bed he is able to say this prayer, 'I give thanks to heaven that all my activities of today have been directed to send out of my homeland as much gold and silver as has been in my power'.³⁵

The character that appeared in the late eighteenth century demonstrating the extent to which middle-class values had affected artistic trends - the *majo* - was the antithesis of, the foreign dandy or fop (the *curatoco* or *petimeter*). He valued the indigenous and traditional; he detested artificial courtesies, preferring real passion to courtly rules and foreign mannerisms. Goya captured the *majo* in his canvases. As we have seen, the *majo* was one of the principal character types on the Spanish stage; the rowdy spectators (*mosqueteros*) in the theatre's open patio delighted in scenes where the *majo* made fools of the foreigners. Dance, too, was transformed by popular values. Gradually the French *danse à deux*, minuet and contredanse (so fashionable at the beginning of the century) fell from favour and by the final decades were replaced by the traditional dances of the *majos*, such as the *fandango*, *bolero*, *seguidilla* and *tirana*.

Spain shared many of the cultural developments of the Enlightenment that pervaded the entire continent of Europe. Neo-classical precepts imported from France gradually appeared in Spanish theatrical works. To the traditional sources of musical patronage church, court and theatre - was added the increasingly powerful middle class. New cultural outlets developed to address this new middle-class audience. Public performances and dances abounded. An appeal to simplicity and natural expression (devoid of obtuse or over-refined mannerisms) became the aesthetic goals in the arts. The enormous resentment caused by imported cultural trends and the resulting nationalism that took hold were primarily the reaction to the cultural upheaval that accompanied the institution of a new dynasty. The Bourbons transformed Spanish attitudes towards daily life and brought with them Italian opera, French dance and the instrumental styles that were fashionable across Europe. But in the Iberian Peninsula these foreign styles were charged with political and social overtones not present (or at least not to the same degree) in other European countries. Their presence galvanized debate and public concern over the preservation of indigenous Spanish culture, particularly among members of the middle class. Thus by the end of the century Italian opera had been formally banned, French dance had fallen from favour and the common Spanish *majo* had ascended to a primary role as the cultural ideal.

NOTES

- ¹ See A. Martín Moreno, *Historia de la música española: siglo XVIII* (Madrid, 1985), especially pp.288-388; C. E. Kany, *Life and Manners in Madrid: 1750-1800* (Berkeley, 1932/R1970), 268-338; and C. Martín Gaité, *Usos amorosos del dieciocho en España* (Barcelona, 1972).
- ² Martín Moreno, *Historia*, 27-90; A. Araiz Martínez, *Historia de la música religiosa en España* (Madrid, 1942), 162-77; J. Subini, 'La música en la capilla y monasterio de las Descalzas Reales de Madrid', *AnM*, xii (1957), 147-66; and J. Subirá, 'La música en la Real Capilla Madrileña', *AnM*, xiv (1959), 207-30.
- ³ Martín Moreno, *Historia*, 29-30, 43-9, 50-56.
- ⁴ F. J. León Tello, *La teoría española de la música en los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Madrid, 1974), 226-37.
- ⁵ For a modern edition see Carlo Broschi Farinelli, *Fiestas reales en el reinado de Fernando VI*, ed. C. Morales Borrero (Madrid, 1972).
- ⁶ E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Orígenes y establecimiento de la ópera en España hasta 1800* (Madrid, 1917), 101-90, especially pp.182-3; and Farinelli, *Fiestas reales*, 61-86.
- ⁷ Martín Moreno, *Historia*, 235, 249.
- ⁸ S. Rubio, *Anlonio Soler: Calilologo crftico* (Cuenca, 1980), 23-4.
- ⁹ Martín Moreno, *Historia*, 240-44.
- ¹⁰ *ibid*, 258-65.
- ¹¹ J. Subira treats Rousseau's and the Duke of Alba's extensive correspondence in *La música en la Casa de Alba* (Madrid, 1927), 89-98.
- ¹² Martín Moreno, *Historia*, 266.
- ¹³ Subirá, *La '17lística en la Casa de Alba*, p.xix.
- ¹⁴ Martín Moreno, *Historia*, 310-11.
- ¹⁵ Countess de Yebes, *La Condesa-Duquesa de Benavente* (Madrid, 1955), especially pp.81-107; and N. A. Solar-Quintes, 'Las relaciones de Haydn con la Casa de Benavente...', *AnM*, ii (1947), 81-104.
- ¹⁶ W. M. Bussey, *French and Italian Influence on the Zarzuela: 1700--1770* (Ann Arbor, 1982), 6, 7, 52, 78.
- ¹⁷ J. Subirá, *La tonadilla escénica: sus obras y sus autores* (Barcelona, 1933), 128-32; J. Subirá, *La tonadilla escénica* (Madrid, 1928), i, 321; and R. E. Pellissier, *The Neo-Classical Movement in Spain during the XVIII Century* (Palo Alto, 1918), 97.
- ¹⁸ Subirá, *La tonadilla escénica: sus obras y sus autores*, 82, 184; and Martín Moreno, *Historia*, 369-70.
- ¹⁹ Bussey, *French and Italian Influence on the Zarzuela*, 98-165.
- ²⁰ Subira, *La tonadilla escénica: sus obras y sus autores*, 11-12, 42-3; and J. Subira, *La participación en el antiguo teatro español* (Barcelona, 1930), 55-{}.
- ²¹ Subirá, *La tonadilla escénica*, i, 261-7.
- ²² *ibid*, i, 276-7; and Subirá, *La participación*, 67.
- ²³ Subira, *La tonadilla escénica*, i, 267.
- ²⁴ *ibid*, i, 267-8; and Cotarelo y Mori, *Orígenes y establecimiento de la ópera*, 310.
- ²⁵ Martín Moreno, *Historia*, 316; Cotarelo y Mori, *Orígenes y establecimiento de la ópera*, 300.

²⁶ Martín Moreno, *Historia*, 320-21.

²⁷ Lists of founders and addresses for numerous academies are found in Subirá, *La tonadilla escénica*, 267, and Cotarelo y Mori, *Orígenes y establecimiento de la ópera*, 310.

²⁸ Martín Moreno, *Historia*, 306-7.

²⁹ *ibid*, 247, 262, 397.

³⁰ For information concerning Minguet's publications see C. H. Russell, *Sanliago de Murcia: Spanish Theorist and Guilarist of the Early Eighteenth Century* (diss., U. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1981), 143-54, especially n.14 and n.19.

³¹ Martín Moreno, *Historia*, 299-301, 435-9.

³² Martín Gaité, *Usos amorosos del dieciocho en España*, 286.

³³ Martín Moreno, *Historia*, 289; Martín Gaité, *Usos amorosos del dieciocho en España*, 36-8; and Kany, *Life and Manners*, 268-89.

³⁴ Martín Gaité, *Usos amorosos del dieciocho en España*, 41.

³⁵ Martín Moreno, *Historia*, 292.

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Historical-political background

The best social history of this period is still J. Sarrailh's *La España ilustrada de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII*, translated into Spanish by A. Alatorre (Mexico City, 1957); the best histories in English are R. Herr's *The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain* (Princeton, NJ, 1958) and C. E. Kany's *Life and Manners in Madrid: 1750-1800* (Berkeley, 1932/R1970). C. Martín Gaité's eloquent and perceptive study of amorous customs in eighteenth-century Spain. *Usos amorosos del dieciocho en España* (Barcelona, 1972), is indispensable for those interested in Spanish secular music or dance of the era. W. N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley's *Eighteenth-Century Spain 1700-1788: a Political, Diplomatic and Institutional History* (London, 1979) is well-documented and thorough; in *Spain under the Bourbons, 1700-1833: a Collection of Documents* (London, 1973) the same author has compiled and translated a wealth of government documents, royal decrees and other primary source material. This latter publication - which deals exclusively with official documents - is complemented by an anthology of contemporaneous anecdotes and travellers' accounts found in *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, compiled, annotated and translated into Spanish by J. García Mercadal (Madrid, 1962).

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Court music

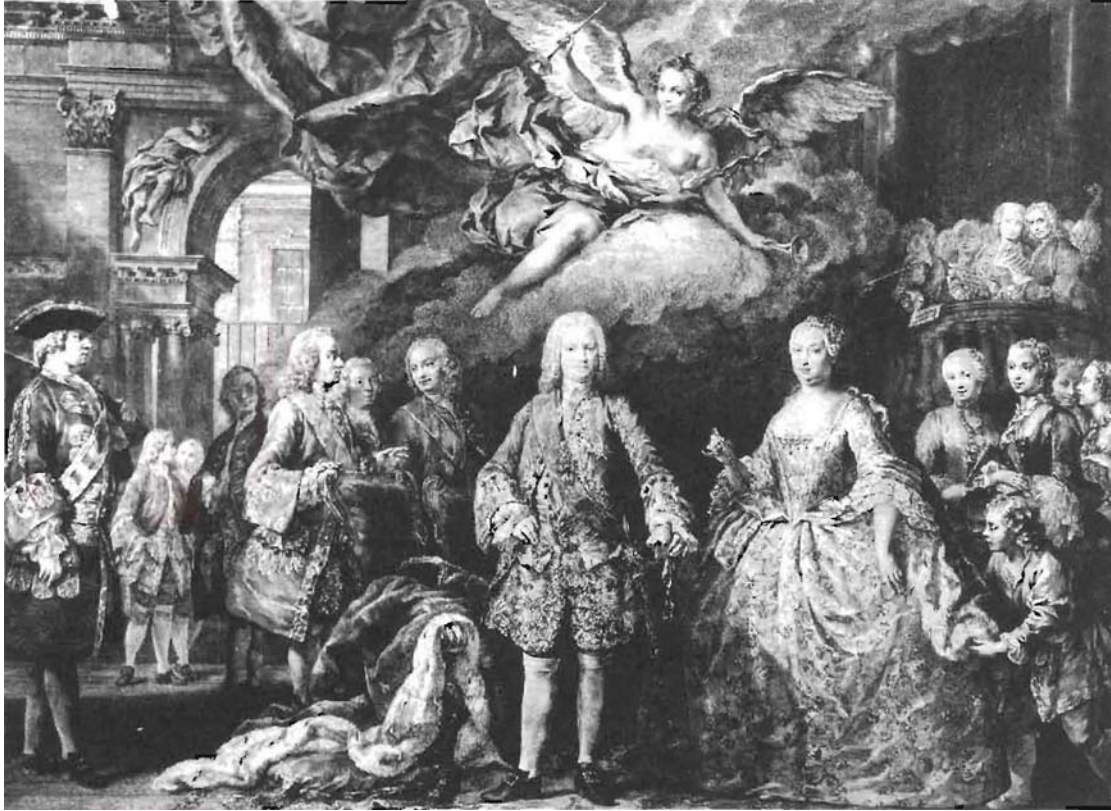
A. Martín Moreno's *Historia . . . siglo XVIII* contains the best overview of Spanish music at court. J. Subirá's *La música en la Casa de Alba* (Madrid, 1927) gives a fascinating and well-researched

account of musical life of the house of Alba; for a discussion of the house of Benavente see Countess de Yebes, *La Condesa-Duquesa de Benavente: una vida en unas cartas* (Madrid, 1955), especially pp.81-107, and N. A. Solar-Quintes, 'I. Las relaciones de Haydn con la Casa de Benavente; II. Nuevos documentos sobre Luigi Boccherini; III. Manuel Garcia intimo: un capitulo para su biografia', *AnM*, ii (1947), 81-104. Most of the sources cited below also deal extensively with music at court.

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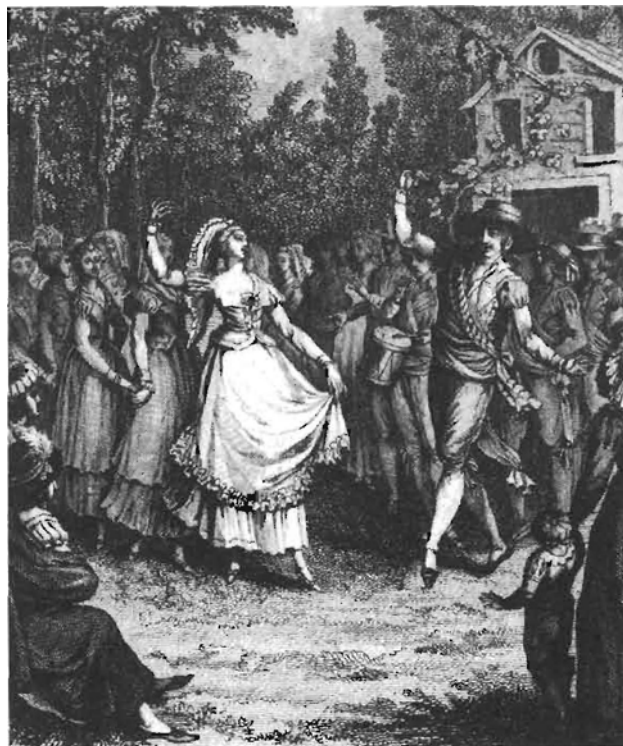
81. King Ferdinand, Maria Barbara and the Spanish royal family (with the musicians Domenico Scarlatti and Farinelli in front of the musicians' gallery); engraving by C.J. Flipart after Jacopo Amiconi (1752)



82. Masked ball in the Teatro del Principe: painting (c1770) by Luis Paret y Alcázar



83. Chamber musicians: pen and ink sketch by Manuel Tramullas (1751-91)



84. The Fandango: frontispiece from C. A. Fischer's 'Voyager en Espagne aux années 1797 et 1798' (1801)