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A Study of Jesús Guridi's Lyric Drama *Amaya* (1910-1920)

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A Study of Jesús Guridi's Lyric Drama *Amaya* (1910-1920)

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In memory of my grandparents:

Alberto Requejo Tamayo

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A Study of Jesús Guridi's Lyric Drama *Amaya* (1910-1920)

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In this dissertation I study the literary sources of Jesús Guridi's lyric drama *Amaya*, the historical background and the events that led to its composition and performance, its reception, and its musical and dramatic structure.

Jesús Guridi Bidaola (1886-1961) wrote the lyric drama *Amaya* during the years 1910-1920 on a libretto written in Castilian by José María Arroita-Jauregui and translated into Basque by Friar José de Arrue. The drama was based on the novel *Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII* published in 1879 by Francisco Navarro Villoslada.

The novel by Villoslada itself had two main sources. The first was the narration, in a book published in 1774 by Friar Thomas de Burgui, of a medieval legend of an involuntary parricide. The second was the work of the scholar of Oriental languages and visionary Joseph Augustin de Chaho whose article *Aïtor, Légende cantabre*, published in 1843, became the foundation of Villoslada's Romantic epic novel. Both Chaho's and Villoslada's writings became cornerstones

of the *fuerrista* movement that followed the defeat of the Carlists in Bilbao in 1876 and that prompted the creation of the Basque nationalist movement.

Guridi, who had been a student of Vincent D'Indy at the Schola Cantorum in Paris, bases some of the musical themes in the lyric drama on Basque popular songs that he knew or that had been collected by authors such as Charles Bordes, J. D. J. Sallaberry, or Resurrección M. de Azkue. He uses these and other themes of his own invention as musical leading motives that would be transformed to originate new themes and that would provide the musical foundation of the drama. The use of popular melodies responds to a strict aesthetic ideal that Guridi followed throughout his musical production and which he formulates in his speech of acceptance of a place at the *Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* in 1947.

Amaya was performed on 22nd May 1920 at the Coliseo Albia in Bilbao and subsequently in Madrid, Buenos Aires, Barcelona, San Sebastián, and Prague. Its reception varied according to the places of performance and, despite its magnitude within the composer's output, this work had a much more limited performance history than his other more popular works. In 1952 Guridi wrote an adaptation of *Amaya* for a film directed by Luis Marquina.

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Introduction

This dissertation is a study of the historical circumstances, composition, and reception of Jesús Guridi's lyric drama *Amaya* based on the novel *Amaya o los Vascos en el Siglo VIII* by Francisco Navarro Villoslada. The first chapter presents some of the historical antecedents that led to the creation of a movement of Basque opera, as well as the nationalist developments associated with them. The second chapter presents a biography of the composer Jesús Guridi with special attention to the circumstances surrounding the composition of *Amaya* and its reception until the year 1934. The third chapter will present a brief discussion of the literary sources of the lyric drama. The fourth chapter will attempt an analytical survey of central aspects of Guridi's compositional approach with respect to the lyric drama.

A preview of Guridi's work

Although Jesús Guridi Bidaola (1886-1961) composed in a wide variety of musical genres, his stage works take precedence.¹ These could generally be classified as either zarzuelas or operas, but the composer gave them different generic denominations. His first work for the stage was the *idilio vasco Mirentxu*, which had three versions (1909, 1912, 1947); he wrote one *drama lírico* – *Amaya* (1910-1920); three *zarzuelas* – *La meiga* (1928), *Mari-Eli* (1936), and *La condesa de la aguja y del dedal* (1938); two *comedias líricas* – *El caserío* (1926) and *Mandolinata* (1934); one *poema lírico* – *La cautiva* (1931); one *sainete madrileño* – *La bengala* (1938); one *sainete lírico* – *Déjame soñar* (1943); one *retablo* – *Peñamariana* (1944); one

¹ Victor Pliego de Andrés. *Catálogo de obras de Jesús Guridi (1886-1961)* [COJG]. Madrid: Fundación Juan March. Centro de Documentación de la Música Española Contemporánea, 1989.

estampa lírica – Acuarelas vascas (1948); and one *comedia – Un sombrero de paja en Italia* (1953).²

Guridi's first operatic project *Mirentxu* was based on a bucolic subject and designed initially with interpolated spoken dialogues. This first version therefore had the structure of a *zarzuela*. In the second version (1912) Guridi wrote music for the spoken parts. Another revision of the libretto of *Mirentxu* was produced in 1947. By contrast *Amaya* was the only stage work through-composed from its inception and therefore without dialogues. The subject of this lyric drama contains elements of both epic and tragic characteristics. The theatrical works that followed *Amaya* could be labeled in a broad sense *zarzuelas* for they consist of both spoken and musical numbers.

The creation of both *Mirentxu* and *Amaya* cannot be understood without reference to a complex of events such as the cultural movement that followed the defeat of the *Carlists* at the end of the second civil war in 1874, and the birth of Basque independent nationalism around the year 1893. The abolition of the *fueros* meant the loss of privileges that the *old regime* had bestowed on the Basque region and led ultimately to the emergence of a radical separatist ideology.³ A lively cultural and literary movement sprang which seems to have had the purpose of counteracting the effects of the loss of those legal privileges. This cultural movement has been named *fuerismo*.⁴

² Pliego [COJG] nos. 38, 59a, 68, 71, 75, 81, 86, 92, 111, 112, 130a, 140. For the significance of *Peñamariana* in Guridi's output see chapter II and Interview with F. Pablo Bilbao Aristegui, Winter 2001-2002.

³ The *Basque region* usually is understood to include most of the provinces of Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa. Depending on the national affiliation of the source also parts of present day Navarra and Álava, as well as the former French provinces of Labourd, Soule and Basse Navarre could be included in a map of this country. The geographical delimitation is problematic because in large areas of these provinces – especially Vizcaya, Álava, and Navarra – the Basque language seems to have been long lost as a natural language where it may have been spoken. The French provinces lost their political and administrative status in 1794 at the same time as most political institutions of the *Ancien Regime* in France.

⁴ In this study we understand this term as it has been used by Jon Juaristi in *El linaje de Aitor, la invención de la tradición vasca*. Madrid: Taurus, 1987.

The theatre became a useful vehicle for the creation of a cultural consciousness, and later for the formation of a movement of national consciousness (*Volksbewusstsein*) with more or less explicit political implications.⁵ In the attempt at the creation of a cultural movement, competitions and other incentives were organized for the composition of Basque *zarzuelas* and operas.⁶

Both of Guridi's works *Mirentxu* (1909) and *Amaya* (1910-1920) not only belong to this cultural movement but are, perhaps arguably, the most accomplished works that spring from it. The aim of this dissertation is to elucidate the significance of the lyric drama *Amaya* with respect to the *fuerrista* and nationalist movements and to understand its position with respect to the musical career and the aesthetic principles of its composer. By *fuerrista* we understand the political and literary movement described by Jon Juaristi in *El linaje de Aitor, la invención de la tradición vasca*.⁷

Amaya was the last attempt by Guridi to create a Basque opera although this was not his last work for the stage with a Basque theme. In a significant gesture, with the creation of the *zarzuela El Caserío* (1926), Guridi stepped aside and abandoned the established guidelines for a cultural nationalist programme and presented a Basque subject to a non-Basque audience.

The political implications behind *Amaya* are particularly complex as is proven by the fact that Guridi made an arrangement of this opera for a film produced in 1952 under the auspices of Franco's political regime.

⁵ The importance of this movement will be discussed in more detail in reference to the literary sources of *Amaya* in chapter III.

⁶ See Natalie Morel Borotra's dissertation about the movement of Basque opera spanning the years 1886-1920: *L'opera basque, these de Doctorat préparée sous la direction de Monsieur le Professeur Serge GUT*, Université de Paris-Sorbonne (Paris-Sorbonne, 1992). As Morel Borotra points out this movement is parallel to other nationalist movements in Europe.

⁷ Juaristi, Jon. *El linaje de Aitor, la invención de la tradición vasca*. Madrid: Taurus, 1987.

Chapter I

Historical precedents

The path towards national opera: History and dialogues about national genres

Before considering the movement of Basque opera, it will be useful to describe in general terms the operatic activity in Navarra and the Basque region in contrast with the activity in other peninsular capitals such as Madrid and Barcelona in order to understand different approaches to the problem of a national opera. Jon Bagüés has pointed out that much has been written about *Basque opera*, but too little about the presence of operatic events in the Basque country.¹

As Bagüés states, movements do not emerge by spontaneous generation, rather they develop within specific circumstances. These circumstances prompt, according to certain diachronic laws, the creation of works with unique characteristics, through the agency of those individuals capable of putting forth such products.² *Amaya* is a particularly significant work in that it belongs in a narrow frame to the movement of Basque opera described by Natalie Morel Borotra and to the *fuerrista* and nationalist movements, and in a broad frame to the history of opera.

Guridi joins what would be the project of a *Basque opera* by direct influence of several personalities associated in one way or another to the *fuerrista* movement. Individuals such as Javier Arisqueta, Juan Carlos Gortázar, Resurrección M. de Azkue, the musical institution familiarly known as *El cuartito*, and other cultural institutions of Bilbao had a decisive influence on the young composer. These however are not Guridi's only influences. The zarzuela tradition had an early impact

¹ Jon Bagüés, “*La ópera en euskal erria*”, *X Festival Internacional de Música y Danza de Asturias*. Universidad de Oviedo. Departamento de Musicología, 1984, p. 115.

² Bagüés, “*La ópera en euskal erria*”, p. 115.

on Guridi during the childhood years he spent in Madrid with his family. There Guridi met the prominent zarzuela composer Ruperto Chapí and attended the *première* performance of his popular piece of *género chico* *La revoltosa*. In the words of Arozamena, in Madrid Guridi *aprendió a amar el teatro, con sus sinsabores y sus glorias*.³ Guridi's early musical education with the Guipuzcoan Valentín Arín – himself a student of Emilio Arrieta and professor at the Conservatory in Madrid – and later at the Schola Cantorum Paris gave him the tools to undertake the writing of music for the stage for the first time with *Mirentxu*, and to venture into the composition of the full length lyric drama *Amaya* which culminated the composer's musical ambitions before he turned to writing zarzuelas.

Survey of 17th century genres with respect to the program of a nationalist opera in Spain

The discourse of a Spanish national theatre during the late 19th and early 20th centuries invariably calls into question its origins. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori traces the creation of the Spanish national genre to the 17th-century court dramas designated as zarzuelas.⁴ It is difficult to point to one in particular type as there are many different genres. The Guipuzcoan Antonio Peña y Goñi lists the following generic titles for 17th century court dramas: *representacion, paso, égloga, farsa, loa, comedia, tragedia, comedia con música, fiesta de zarzuela, auto sacramental, folla, mojiganga, zarzuela, entremés, sainete, baile cantado* or *tonadilla*.⁵ *La selva sin amor*, with text by Lope de Vega and performed in 1629, has been claimed to be the

³ This period of Guridi's life is narrated in p. 11-16 in Jesús M.^a de Arozamena. *Jesús Guridi (Inventario de su vida y de su obra)*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1967.

⁴ See Emilio Cotarelo y Mori. *Historia de la zarzuela o sea el drama lírico en España, desde su origen a fines del siglo XIX por D. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori de la Academia Española y su Secretario perpetuo*. Madrid: Tipografía de Archivos, 1934, chapter 1. Peña y Goñi differs from Cotarelo y Mori in his assessment of the problem of origins for a national theatre.

⁵ Antonio Peña y Goñi, *La ópera española y la música dramática en España en el siglo XIX*. Madrid: Imprenta y Estereotipia de El Liberal, 1881, p. 293. Guridi used some of these designations for his own works: *comedia, zarzuela, sainete*, etc. (See above, p. 1, 2.)

first Spanish opera. *El jardín de Falerina* (1643), *El golfo de las sirenas*, *El laurel de Apolo* (1657), with texts by Calderón have been claimed to be the first zarzuelas.⁶

There is no extant music for any of these works but only fragmentary sections for later ones such as Juan Hidalgo's for *La púrpura de la rosa* (1659) and *Celos aun del aire matan* (1660). Only Hidalgo's composition of *Los celos hacen estrellas* seems to have survived in its entirety. At the end of the 17th century the composition of zarzuelas was continued by Sebastián Durón (1660-1716), whose music for seven dramas has survived.⁷ Despite the scarcity of surviving items all these works were claimed by authors like Cotarelo y Mori to be the foundation of the national musical theatre. The attempt to claim a national theatre that could compete with other European courts would give a sense of national history regardless of the state of recovery of the actual music.

Although there was certain Italian influence in the court musical theatre of the 17th century, the fashion for Italian opera became much more pervasive during the 18th century. This was true to the extent that Italian opera was often viewed as an element that suffocated any indigenous initiative to create a musical theatre.

The 18th century: changes in the Spanish court and the provinces.

The prevalence of Italian fashion as a prelude to the creation of a national consciousness

The dynastic change in Spain at the beginning of the 18th century brought new tendencies into the court. New aesthetic ideas started permeating the different cultural manifestations reflecting the aesthetic trends on the continent. The opera gained new dimensions reflected in J.-J. Rousseau's definition of the genre in his *Dictionnaire de musique*:

⁶ José López-Caló, *Historia de la música española, siglo XVII*, p. 179-194.

⁷ *Ibid.*

Spectacle dramatique et lyrique où l'on s'efforce de réunir tous les charmes des beaux Arts, dans la représentation d'une action passionnée, pour exciter, à l'aide des sensations agréables, l'intérêt et l'illusion.⁸

The definition of opera as a representation of actions that pertain to the affections shows an aspect heretofore unknown. Perhaps this aesthetic reflection allowed for an expansion of the genre outside the royal courts. While there is a dearth of information about the musical activity in the peripheral regions of Spain during the 17th century, a greater amount of documentation of operatic events occur outside the court during the 18th century. Public performances of opera, *opéra comique*, or zarzuela were conditioned by the existence of local theatres or private venues. There is documentation of a permanent theatre in Pamplona, in the Kingdom of Navarra, since 1664.⁹ It is possible that some of the titles of zarzuelas as well as Italian operas performed in the court were presented at this theatre.

There exists information, although far from certain, about a theatre in Vitoria.¹⁰ Bilbao did not have a theatre until the end of the 18th century, and San Sebastián until 1802. The lack of a theatre in Bilbao, according to information furnished by Bagüés, was partially made up for by putting on some theatrical representations at the *casa consistorial* (town government house).

Bagüés lists in the same article several recorded operatic events among other theatrical productions: In 1754 thirty one *comedias de ópera* were performed in Pamplona. Also in this city a company of *cómicos operantes españoles* put on a variety of *tonadillas*, *saynetes nunca vistos*, *arias españolas e italianas* in 1764. The

⁸ Jean-Jacques Rousseau. *Oeuvres complètes. Vol. V: écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre. Édition publiée sous le patronage de la Société J.-J. Rousseau et avec l'appui du Fonds National Suisse de la Recherche Scientifique et de l'État de Genève, Éditions Gallimard*, 1995, p. 948.

⁹ It could be illuminating to research the musical activity in this city during the 18th century.

¹⁰ Bagüés, *La ópera en euskal erria*, p. 115.

company of the Italian impresario Nicola Setaro appeared in Pamplona in 1772 and in Bilbao in 1773.¹¹

In the successive years, companies led by Joseph Bichi, Thomás Setaro, Joseph Croze and Carlos Barlassina came to Pamplona and to Bilbao, as well as to San Sebastián. The repertory consisted of comic operas (mostly *opere buffe* with some *parti serie*) rather than *opere serie*, on librettos by Carlo Goldoni, with music by Giovanni Paisiello, Domenico Cimarosa and Niccolò Piccini.

Between 1758 and 1760, in the house of the Armendáriz family, in Pamplona, Girolamo Sertori put on private theatrical productions with instrumental accompaniment of works by Tommaso Traetta, Domingo Miguel Bernabé Terradellas, Baldassare Galuppi, David Pérez, Geminiano Giacomelli, and other composers of either *opere serie* by Apostolo Zeno and Metastasio or of *opere buffe*.¹²

¹¹ Antonio Martín Moreno in his *Historia de la música española, 4. Siglo XVIII*, p. 372 cites that Setaro had previously been active as a singer at the *Teatro de la Santa Cruz* in Barcelona and was authorized to become impresario at this theatre since 1750. There he produced Metastasio's *Alessandro nelle Indie* with music by the Venetian composer Giuseppe Scolari and some *opere buffe* such as *Lo scolaro alla moda*, *La finta cameriera*, *Il don Bertoldo*, Pergolesi's *La serva padrona*, *Fra il due litiganti, il terzo gode* (based on a work by Goldoni) *Il filosofo chimico poeta* and the *opera seria*, *Sesostri, re d'Egitto*. Later Setaro was active in Cádiz and Portugal.

¹² Martín Moreno, *Historia de la música española, 4*, p. 397-398: Two of these composers of *opere serie*, Terradellas and Pérez, were of Iberian origin. Terradellas was born in Barcelona in 1713, went to the conservatory of *Sant' Onofre* in Naples to study with Francesco Durante and set to music Metastasio's *Giuseppe riconosciuto* at age 23. Later he set to music *Astarto*, given at the *Teatro Tordinoma*, and *Ermenegildo martire*. While chapel master at the church of *Santiago de los españoles* in Rome he composed masses, motets, and psalms in the Italian style. For London he composed the operas *Anibale in Capua* and *Mitridate* in 1746, and the next year *Bellerofonte*. In 1748 and 1749 he was in Belgium and France, and in 1750 he gave the opera *Didone* in Turin and he set to music his own poem *Imeneo in Otene* in Venice.

David Pérez, the other composer whose works were performed at the Armendariz theatre, was born in 1711 in Naples [of Spanish parents] and wrote at least 33 operas. His musical setting of Metastasio's *Alessandro nelle Indie* opened the opera theatre in Lisbon in 1755. Among them are *La nemica amante* in 1735, *Siroe* [possibly Metastasio's *Siroe re de Persia*] in 1740, and *Solimano* in 1757. Pérez died in Lisbon.

National aspects of the operatic activity at the court

The musical activity in the Spanish court would establish the path for many future trends in music for the stage throughout the rest of the country and a sense of indigenous musical activity. In 1704 an itinerant company of Italian comedians and opera performers began to give representations at the *Corral de los Caños del Peral* in Madrid and in 1708 the Italian Francisco Bartoli requested the rent of this site to produce regular representations of opera.¹³ This event did not escape the notice of public, actors, and impresarios of the *Teatro de la Cruz* and the *Teatro del Príncipe*, which had never received royal subsidies, and prompted the support of the town government towards these smaller institutions. These indigenous and formerly prominent theatres were at a disadvantage with respect to the royally subsidized *Teatro de los Caños del Peral* which was dominated by foreigners.

The Italian fashion pervaded over the theatres of the Iberian peninsula especially after 1739 when Carlo Maria Broschi, *Farinelli*, arrived in the court and became the organizer of the musical activities. The late 19th-century music critic Peña y Goñi saw in the figure of *Farinelli* a symbol of dominance of the Italian taste in detriment of an indigenous art.¹⁴

The politics of protection of the national art had their wavering moments. A decree of 1801 prohibited the activity of foreign singers and actors only to have many Italian actors make their way into Barcelona and the capital of the kingdom in 1808, under Joseph Napoleon. The most popular composer in the Iberian peninsula at the time was certainly Gioachino Rossini.¹⁵ After multifarious vicissitudes the Italian art continued to dominate the operatic scene in Madrid, and as a consequence, in the rest of the peninsula.

¹³ Peña y Goñi, *La ópera española*, p. 60-62.

¹⁴ Peña y Goñi, *La ópera española*, p. 69.

¹⁵ Carlos Gómez Amat, *Historia de la música española, 5. Siglo XIX* (Vol. 5). Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1983, p. 106.

The Real Sociedad Bascongada de Amigos del País and *El borracho burlado* as a precursor of Basque opera

The enlightened ideas of the 18th century brought new cultural manifestations to the peripheral regions. One interesting and symbolic event for the formation of a Basque consciousness in the elites was the creation of the *Sociedad Bascongada de Amigos del País*, a type of institution which served as model for parallel institutions throughout the peninsula.

While Pamplona, as we have seen, witnessed relatively regular operatic events during the 18th century, the *Sociedad Bascongada* founded by Francisco Xabier María de Munibe e Idiáquez, *VIII conde de Peñafiorida* in Guipúzcoa had very different cultural aims. Munibe was born in Azcoitia in 1729. There he first attended the Jesuit school and afterwards went to the *Séminaire Royal de Toulouse*, directed by members of the Society of Jesus which at the time had been banished from Spain. In Toulouse he studied mathematics, physics, and music. He returned to Azcoitia, where he became mayor, *diputado general* of Guipuzcoa in 1750, and *diputado en cortes* in 1758.

In 1764 Munibe received permission from King Carlos III to found the *Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País*. This society was a scientific, economic, and cultural institution born from academic meetings of diverse local personalities that had taken place in Munibe's native Guipuzcoan town. The model of this society prompted Carlos III to recommend that similar societies be founded throughout the rest of the kingdom.¹⁶ Theatrical representations offered recreation to the members of the society, a group of intellectuals from the surrounding towns who met informally to discuss varied subjects and to play music.

Munibe translated François-André Philidor's *opéra-comique Le maréchal ferrant*, as *El mariscal en su fragua*, and wrote an opera himself, *El borracho*

¹⁶ Bagüés, *La ópera en euskal erria*, p. 15.

burlado, ópera cómica en castellano y bascuence, escrita y puesta en música por un caballero guipuzcoano with the spoken dialogues in Castilian and the musical numbers in Basque. The count himself, don Pedro Valentín de Mugartegui, don Félix María de Samaniego (Peñaflorida's nephew and illustrious writer of fables), and doña Gertrudis de Ozaeta y Barroeta took on the principal roles.¹⁷

Le maréchal ferrant, *El borracho burlado*, and at least parts of Pergolesi's *La serva padrona* were performed in Azcoitia and Vergara in 1765. Peñaflorida composed another opera with bilingual text entitled *El carnaval*.¹⁸

The musical activity at the *Sociedad* was not limited to musical experiments in Basque. Peñaflorida sent a letter to Tomás de Iriarte (like Samaniego, an illustrious writer of fables) requesting a zarzuela with the title *La espigadera* whose text was a translation of an *opéra-comique*.¹⁹ An *opera buffa* by Manuel de Gamarra, *El médico avariento*, is recorded in the list of titles of the archives (*fondos*) of the *Sociedad*. Other theatrical experiments were taking shape at the *Real Seminario Patriótico Bascongado de Vergara*, in Guipuzcoa, an ancillary of the *Sociedad*, but few of them earned much significance. Most compositions performed at the *Sociedad* were zarzuelas, *opéras-comiques*, and *opere buffe*.

The creation of this institution and the bilingual musical experiments of *El borracho burlado* and *El carnaval* are significant antecedents of the movement of Basque opera of the late 19th century. These events point to new aesthetic principles

¹⁷ José María Zapirain "El borracho burlado del conde de Peñaflorida." *Revista de musicología*, VI: 2, 1983. A copy of the text of the opera is at the *Biblioteca nacional* cat. no. T/7145. In 1905 Julio de Urquijo announced that the music of this composition was lost. In 1965, among the old papers of the Inza-Espinosa family from Vergara, appeared a piano reduction of the score. The authenticity of this copy of *El borracho burlado* has been contested but this does not detract from the significance of the piece as the origin of an enlightened interest by the aristocracy in certain aspects of Basque folklore. Morel Borotra points to several concordances of popular songs found in the opera in other sources: Lucien Bonaparte's archives, collections by Santesteban and Manterola, and Wilhelm von Humboldt. See Natalie Morel Borotra, *L'opera Basque*, p. 81-82.

¹⁸ Bagüés, *La ópera en euskal erria*, p. 116. Bagüés gives the date 1765 for *El borracho burlado*, while J. M. Zapirain, *op. cit.*, 4, writes 1664.

¹⁹ Many zarzuelas were in fact translations of *opéras comiques*. The music for two *tonadillas* by Peñaflorida has survived. Apparently Peñaflorida composed another opera with bilingual text titled *El carnaval*.

close to the sensibility reflected in Rousseau's definition of opera and which show a growing interest in local rather than universal artistic manifestations. The use of the local language as a means (*sensations agréables*) to excite interest and illusion is especially remarkable in this regard.

The 19th century: Music and critics towards the establishment of a national opera in Spain

During the 19th century the cities of Barcelona and Bilbao experienced a demographic growth greater than most other provincial capitals in Spain and became important cultural centres where the bourgeoisie developed tastes in new artistic manifestations.²⁰ In Barcelona the old *Teatro de la Santa Cruz* was rebuilt from the remains of the fire which destroyed it in 1787. In this theatre the public became acquainted with the contemporary Italian operatic repertory under the direction of Francisco Baus and Antonio Tocci. The *Teatro de la Santa Cruz* would become later the *Teatro Principal*.

In April of 1838 the *Sociedad Filodramática de Montesión*, a circle of officials of the *Milicia Nacional* whose barracks were installed in the building of the old monastery of *Montesión*, was turned into the *Liceo Filarmónico-Dramático Barcelonés de Doña Isabel II*, and inaugurated professorships in vocal and instrumental music, and declamation. There was fierce competition between the partisans of the *Teatro de la Santa Cruz / Principal* and the *Sociedad Filodramática / Liceo*. In 1847 a new *Liceo* was built. Since then this has become one of the leading operatic institutions in Spain.²¹

Bilbao did not have a foundation as strong as Barcelona and its several theatres were built with histories of varying success. The *teatro de la Ronda* caught

²⁰ By the end of the century the iron industry led the economy in the former capital and the textile in the latter.

²¹ Gómez Amat, *Historia de la música española*, 5, p. 121.

on fire and was demolished after a decree of 1828. The promising young composer Juan Crisóstomo Arriaga y Balzola (1806-1826) had written and put on a performance of his only opera *Los esclavos felices* at this theatre in 1820.²² Only the overture of this *opera semi-seria* has survived.

A musical academy was organized by the *Ayuntamiento* of Bilbao in 1878 but it only lasted until 1882. The *Sociedad Filarmónica* developed later from a private initiative of several music amateurs who named their activity according to the place where they used to meet: *El Cuartito*. An *Academia Vizcaina de Música* was founded in 1901 by Javier Arisqueta, Juan Carlos Gortázar, and Lope Alaña. The *Conservatorio Vizcaino* was not founded until 1920.

To summarize, during the 18th century the musical activity varied depending on geographical conditions. The court was first in the development of an operatic activity dictated by Italian fashions. In Pamplona the performance of Italian operatic works was well established, and isolated but significant experiments were being performed at the *Sociedad Bascongada de Amigos del País*. The operatic activity increased in Bilbao during the 19th century but was never as successful as in the city of Barcelona. Some of these manifestations allowed during the 18th and 19th centuries the creation of cultural and educational institutions which put an emphasis on theatrical activities as means of artistic expression.

The problem of a national opera

Ever since the 19th century almost every music critic in Spain has been concerned with the definition of a national opera. As Gómez Amat states, although

²² Gómez Amat, *Historia de la música española*, 5, p. 38. Peña y Goñi wrote that this opera was reviewed by Antonio de Trueba in *El noticiero bilbaino*, evidently much later than its first performance. See Peña y Goñi *La ópera española*, p.287: “La ópera española de que habla Fétis tenía por título *Los esclavos felices*, según dice D. Antonio de Trueba en un artículo publicado en *El Noticiero Bilbaino*, y se cantó en Bilbao con buen éxito, afirma el citado escritor, en el teatro que existió en la calle de la Ronda y fué devorado por un incendio casual.”

the idea of a national opera sung in Spanish and with music of a somewhat Spanish character has been defended with ardor, it has never succeeded, and practical instances of such type of opera have not survived.²³ There are a few exceptions such as Emilio Arrieta's *Marina*, but even this work was first conceived as a zarzuela.²⁴ The history of the *Teatro de los Caños del Peral*, with its many vicissitudes, illustrates the frustrations that came with the creation a national theatre. In 1855 a concentration of musicians at the Conservatory of Madrid requested protection from the *Cortes* for a national opera, with a subvention from the government and its see at the *Teatro Real*.²⁵

Already in the late 20th century Gómez Amat states that the definition of zarzuela as a genre in which sung and declaimed scenes alternate, unlike *opera* which is all sung, is too simplistic. The essence of the 19th century zarzuela – continues Gómez Amat – is its Spanish character, which has resisted the very strong Italian influence. This national character of the zarzuela originates in the use of peasant folklore.²⁶ This discussion reveals that the two most important aspects of the dialogue over a national opera are the opposition to the Italian influence, and the character which originates from the national folklore. Both constitute crucial aspects in the development of a national cultural identity in Spain during the 19th century.

²³ This statement was made as late as 1984 by Gómez Amat, *Historia de la música española*, 5.

²⁴ Peña y Goñi, *La ópera española*, p. 113.

²⁵ Peña y Goñi, *La ópera española*, p. 113.

²⁶ Gómez Amat, *Historia de la música española*, 5. Gómez Amat's concern with the definition shows his own concern trying to define a national genre and thus he does not escape the nationalist discourse itself. In this respect cfr. Peña y Goñi, *La ópera española*, p. 131: "lo que hace a la zarzuela ser como es, reside en su carácter español, que resistió a al fortísima influencia italiana y, ya en tiempos más recientes, a la de la opereta vienesa. La zarzuela es zarzuela, aunque resulte en momentos italianizante, y en otros reciba influencia de diversas fuentes. El españolismo de la zarzuela procede en general de folklore campesino, pero en el "género chico", menor por las dimensiones y no por la intención ni por la calidad hay una conexión evidente con lo que se puede llamar folklore urbano..."

Peña y Goñi's monograph on a national Spanish opera

Antonio Peña y Goñi's monograph *La ópera española y la música dramática en España en el siglo XIX, apuntes históricos*, 1881, reflects very vividly the concern of a (Basque) music critic and writer with the definition of a national opera – or more generally with dramatic music – in Spain. This book deserves some attention as it provides a firsthand narration of the history of opera in Spain, and exemplifies the concerns not only of this particular writer but of the larger artistic community with the construction of a *Volksbewusstsein* in the theatrical life of the nation.

Peña y Goñi was passionate, and frequently unbalanced, about his opinions with respect to the national genre and was aware of his own position as he was giving a first hand account of its development. In the following paragraph he describes the risk he takes by dealing with composers who are still alive or were recently alive and with whom he had close friendships:

Desde el próximo capítulo, el autor de este libro se coloca en una situación especial y un tanto arriesgada. [...] La situación cambia radicalmente desde este momento. Los artistas de que tendré que ocuparme en adelante, viven, la mayor parte, ó han muerto recientemente. ...con algunos de ellos me han ligado ó ligan estrechas relaciones de amistad. Los datos que habré de suministrar, por tanto, acerca de sus obras y de su carácter llevarán un sello de verdad y de palpitante interés.²⁷

In the first chapter Peña y Goñi posits a fundamental question which, he says, would solve many others: “Does Spanish opera really exist?” After claiming that he was far from falling into any sort of *chauvinisme* he makes the following radical statement: “No, Spanish opera does not exist, it has never existed.”²⁸ Then he sets out to prove that a national genre should rather be based on the 19th-century zarzuela.

²⁷ Peña y Goñi, *La ópera española*, p. 173-174.

²⁸ Peña y Goñi, *La ópera española*, p. 14. ¿Existe realmente la Ópera española? /.../ Nó; la Ópera española no existe; la ópera española no ha existido nunca. Both Carlos Gomez Amat and, as we

But before attempting a definition, Peña y Goñi reflects on the struggle to emancipate the nation from the Italian influence inherited from the musical activity of the 18th century. He mentions royal decrees of 1799 and 1801 by which all operas that were set at the *Teatro de los Caños del Peral* were to be sung in Spanish and by Spanish singers. In Peña y Goñi's opinion the activity of composers such as Manuel Vicente García represented the hope for an end of the Italian domination. These attempts were once and again frustrated by the imposition of the Italian taste as was the case under the regency of José Napoleon.²⁹

This reaction against Italian opera pervades Peña y Goñi's writing. Quoting Soriano Fuertes, the critic states that national music and poetry had lost their fresh and galant indigenous character under the negative effect of Italian opera:

“La poesía al par que la música española, acabaron de perder en esta época su fresco y galanoso ambiente natal.”³⁰

But according to these authors popular song has also been corrupted under Italian influence. The historian Soriano Fuertes seems to apply Rousseau's characteristics of opera as a representation of a passionate action that excites interest and illusion by means of perception to song. For Soriano Fuertes the dependence on Italian opera meant the cease of these features of popular song: its melancholy and sweet poetry, its tender and passionate melodies, its charming and delectable setting. According to Soriano Fuertes, originality disappeared in favour of imitation; *our* glorious principles led to a degraded end; *our* past, independent and brilliant, hoped for a future of artistic and literary servitude:

shall see later, Francisco Gascue have agreed with the opinion that there has never been a successful Spanish opera and when an attempt was made it failed invariably.

²⁹ Peña y Goñi, *La ópera española*, 73-76. Vicente García's operas listed by Peña y Goñi are now completely forgotten: *El reloj de madera*, *Quien porfía mucho alcanza*, *El criado fingido*, *El farfalla*, *El tío y la tía*, *El cautivo aparente*, *El hablador*, *Los ripios del maestro Adán*, *Florinda*, and *El poeta calculista*.

³⁰ Peña y Goñi, *La ópera española*, p. 63.

“Cesaron de crearse nuevos cantos populares, de aquellos cuya tradición conservada por el pueblo, aun admiramos por su melancólica y dulce poesía, sus tiernas y apasionadas melodías y su conjunto tan encantador y deleitable.
“Se acabó en fin nuestro ser original, para convertirse en un casi no ser imitativo; nuestro principio glorioso, para arrastrar un fin degradado; nuestro independiente y brillante pasado, para esperar y aun elogiar un porvenir de servilismo artístico y literario.”³¹

Peña y Goñi also writes about the destructive action of the irritated and servile generation (“acción deletérea que debió ejercer sobre el de la música aquella generación enervada y servil...”) and the decadence of the national genre, the *tonadilla*. The transfer of characteristics from Rousseau’s definition of opera to song is peculiar to the 19th century and is at the base of the creation of national consciousness (*Volksbewusstsein*).

Besides his opposition to Italian opera, Peña y Goñi also expresses opposition to the ideas of intellectuals like Pedro Antonio de Alarcón who see in the (French) *grand-opéra* the goal at which a national opera should aspire. For Peña y Goñi the name of the national genre should rather be *ópera cómica* or even *opera buffa*. He states however that the *ópera cómica* or zarzuela is the best expression of the national spirit³² but not for historical reasons since the 19th century zarzuela is a completely different genre from its 17th century predecessor. While Italian opera brought about the death of the 17th-century royal court zarzuela, modern zarzuela was born of Italian opera:

Si se fueran á establecer las diferencias históricas que existen entre la zarzuela del Pardo y nuestra zarzuela actual, podría decirse fundamentalmente que mientras la ópera italiana mató á aquella en su cuna, ésta nació precisamente al calor de la ópera italiana.³³

³¹ Peña y Goñi, *La ópera española*, p. 63. See above Rousseau’s definition of opera (p. 6-7).

³² On p. 308 and ff. Peña y Goñi lists as the founders of the national genre the composers Rafael Hernando, Joaquin Gaztambide, Cristobal Oudrid, Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, and Emilio Arrieta.

³³ Peña y Goñi, *La ópera española*, p. 314.

Not only does Peña y Goñi differ from Cotarelo y Mori and other authors, for whom modern zarzuela is a continuation of its historical predecessor, but he interprets modern zarzuela as an outgrowth of 19th-century Italian opera. Peña y Goñi searches for a more specific definition of the national genre. The 17th-century zarzuela did not succeed in becoming an established genre because its inherent characteristic, the alternation of music and dialogue, was already present in previous dramatic genres:

la música lírico-dramática existía en España antes [...] de la intrusión de la zarzuela en el palacio del Pardo, lo cual viene á justificar de un modo evidente la falta de sentido de esa denominación que no puede abrazar racionalmente todos los espectáculos en que lo hablado y lo cantado alternan.³⁴

While the 17th-century predecessor of the zarzuela did not leave a trace, and the 18th-century *tonadilla* was a decadent genre, according to Peña y Goñi, 19th-century composers have created a genre with an individual personality which has attained for itself a place in history.

Peña y Goñi searches among the popular genres which he stresses ought to be differentiated from the *populachero* or vulgar ones. The model of the popular genre for this music critic finds its expression in the works of Francisco Asenjo Barbieri. This composer's work is the idealized *tonadilla* in which popular song, elevated aesthetically by the composer's talent, stresses the musical individuality that best and most naturally characterizes Spanish composers:

La obra de Barbieri puede juzgarse en dos palabras; es la tonadilla idealizada. Para hablar más claro y en términos menos sintéticos, Barbieri ha agrandado el cuadro de la tonadilla, encajándola de una manera incomparable en la ópera cómica, y ha conseguido que el canto popular, realizado por las galas de su ingenio, sirva para destacar la individualidad musical quizá más desenvuelta y característica de los compositores españoles de este siglo.³⁵

³⁴ Peña y Goñi, *La ópera española*, p. 316-317.

³⁵ Peña y Goñi, *La ópera española*, p. 418.

According to Peña y Goñi, popular song gave this ideal model the characteristic and confident individuality of the Spanish music of the 19th century. However, if popular song would constitute the gist of the national genre, the simplicity attained by Barbieri as the ideal aim of the *drama lírico* finds its foundation in the faulty principles of Italian art:

Italiano por los cuatro costados, considerando la Sonámbula de Bellini como ideal del drama lírico, y profesando principios estéticos reñidos hasta con las nociones más elementales de lo bello, como se verá más tarde, Barbieri parece haber encerrado sus aspiraciones y concretado su fin en la prontitud, la abundancia y la sencillez de la producción.³⁶

Notwithstanding, Barbieri stands close to what the national genre should aspire as he tried to *indigenize* (and Peña y Goñi apologises for this neologism) the comic opera with patriot clothing:

Se propuso [Barbieri], desde luego, indigenizar (permítaseme este neologismo, si lo es) la ópera cómica, quiso que el ropaje pátrio fuese una cualidad virtual de la zarzuela... La zarzuela de Barbieri viene á ser, por tanto, la verdadera zarzuela, la ópera cómica indígena.³⁷

According to Peña y Goñi, in order to form a national genre, it is necessary on the one hand to oppose both the influence of Italian opera and the historicist view that the original zarzuela was in fact its predecessor. On the other hand, it is necessary for the composer to elevate popular song “with its melancholy, and sweet poetry, its tender and passionate melodies...” to another aesthetic level in order to indigenize the genre so it can be appropriated as national.

Both the domination of a foreign style and the implied degradation of the indigenous popular song, as we shall see, are the two main aspects in Azkue’s attempt at the creation of a Basque cultural identity with the zarzuela *Vizkay’tik Bizkaira*. The aesthetic elevation of popular song by the composer was later formulated by Guridi in his speech of acceptance at the *Real Academia de Bellas*

³⁶ Peña y Goñi, *La ópera española*, p. 419.

³⁷ Peña y Goñi, *La ópera española*, p. 428.

Artes de San Fernando and reflects the composer's approach to the composition of the lyric drama *Amaya*.

From reading Peña y Goñi it can be concluded that the achievement of a Spanish national expression would grow from the opposition to the Italian influence. At the same time, the genre that constitutes the best example of a national expression is itself an outgrowth of Italian opera. This paradox seems to stress a *dialectic* between the element opposed and the original. In Peña y Goñi's case this dialectic is blurred by the lack of definition of what the popular element should be.

Meanwhile Peña y Goñi writes at length on composers from the Basque country and Navarra who contribute to the formation of a Spanish national opera. He starts his account with the Navarrese Hilarión Eslava – “the most enthusiastic artist who wanted to found a national opera in Spain” – and pays careful attention to Joaquín Gaztambide, Emilio Arrieta, and the Vizcayan Valentín de Zubiaurre.³⁸

Peña y Goñi published *La ópera española* shortly after the end of the second *Carlist* war. During this time a movement of cultural identity was growing in the Basque country, and within this movement an attempt was made to create a Basque opera. Peña y Goñi's inclusion of *Pudente* in his own discussion seems surprising because it shifts the center of attention from a Spanish national opera to a regional operatic manifestation. For Peña y Goñi this opera is just an expression of regionalism within the rich variety of the Spanish nation.

Peña y Goñi devotes an appendix to his teacher D. José Juan Santesteban and to his son D. José Antonio Santesteban, natives of the Basque country. Besides the first opera *bascongada*, *Pudente*, the latter had published a collection of *Aires populares bascongados*. According to Peña y Goñi the opera consists for the most part of adaptations of popular songs to the poetry of Serafin Baroja.³⁹ This event

³⁸ Peña y Goñi, *La ópera española*, p. 630. Consult appendix 1 for a summary of Peña y Goñi's report on these composers.

³⁹ Peña y Goñi, *La ópera española*, p. 648. See below (p. 38) for a discussion of *Pudente*.

became an unusual antecedent of the movement of Basque opera to which Natalie Morel Borotra has dedicated a dissertation.

Morel Borotra's account of Basque opera and *basquitude*

Morel Borotra's dissertation *L'opéra Basque* offers a comprehensive view of the movement of Basque opera and attempts to create a coherent description of its development. The boundaries are – perhaps for psychological reasons – much more complex than what a list of works could reveal. Morel Borotra is aware of this and acknowledges the significant contribution of Basque and Navarrese composers to the creation of a Spanish national theatre. The Basque composers – acting as Spanish composers and conscious of the attempt at creating a national theatre – have held an important position in the Spanish musical life:

Dans cette tentative de création consciente du théâtre lyrique espagnol, alimentée de réflexions théoriques, les Basques, agissant ici en tant qu'Espagnols, ont joué un rôle important, ce qui n'est guère étonnant étant donné la place qu'ils tiennent dans la vie musicale et l'enseignement madrilènes.⁴⁰ (And in the footnote she continues:) les Basques ayant toujours occupé une place importante dans la vie musicale espagnole.

Morel Borotra points to a change of interests as she argues that while many Basque composers contribute to the development of Spanish opera throughout most of the 19th century, in the last years of the century they abandon that tendency to develop their own opera. This *prise de la conscience de la basquitude* changes the mentality, behaviour, and artistic manifestations and rests on a *nationalitaire* or nationalist base:

La prise de la conscience de la basquitude que modifie les mentalités, les comportements, mais aussi les manifestations artistiques, et qui

⁴⁰ Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque (1884-1933)*, p. 26. See above and appendix 1 for Peña y Goñi's account of this phenomenon.

assied le phénomène sur des bases nationalitaires, sinon nationalistes, dont il est indissociable.⁴¹

The difference between *base nationalitaire* and *nationaliste* is not obvious but seems to point to a distinction between non-political and explicit political manifestations of nationalism. The nationalist manifestation if perhaps for Morel Borotra the radical type of nationalism pronounced by Sabino Arana Goiri. Morel Borotra considers the Basque country as a whole and sets herself to study the movement in isolation. For instance she does not distinguish between Spanish-Basque and French-Basque with the purpose of understanding the creation of a common national consciousness.⁴² However, it becomes evident along her narrative that the nationalist movements on both sides are to a great extent independent from each other. In the north – states Morel Borotra – the political process of centralization is faster as the Basques find themselves forming a department subjected to the authority of the French state. The cultural *débasquisation* is slower, discrete, less visible and, although it is imposed effectively, it does not traumatize the collective unconscious as brutally as in the south.

Despite the political differences of north and south, the cultural movement – continues Morel Borotra – has the same manifestations on both sides of the Pyrenees. These manifestations develop around the myth of a *bon sauvage*, the Basque peasant who is master of his house and lives a simple life in the country which he loves. The agricultural, pastoral, or maritime life is idealized as a civilization which is rustic but full of finesse and which has the depth of the ages.⁴³

Morel Borotra dates the *prise de conscience de la basquitude* around the 1880's, shortly after the defeat of the *Carlistas* and the abolition of the *fueros* (1876) – the last in a chain of events that debilitated the political power of the different regions in Spain. Morel Borotra points out that these events were accompanied by

⁴¹ Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque (1884-1923)*, p. 35.

⁴² She does not make a distinction between the Basque country and Navarra either.

⁴³ Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 47.

the industrial development of Bilbao and the rise of an industrial bourgeoisie coupled with the emergence of a proletariat of non-Basque origin with socialist, and frequently anticlerical and *anti-Basque* tendencies. While socialist and anticlerical sentiments are commonplace features of the proletarian movement in the 19th century, Morel Borotra does little to explain or document the anti-Basque tendencies of this social group. The rejection seems to be opposite. As we shall see with Arana Goiri, a tendency against what is not Basque and which pollutes the pure features of this race develops with the birth of militant nationalism.

Rather, the *prise de conscience de la basquitude* – continues Morel Borotra – emerges when the risk of losing their identity prompts the Basques to idealize a past in which they lived free and protected by their *fueros*. Now that idealized past is threatened by the industrial era and the organization of a new political regime:

S'appuie sur l'idéalisation du passé, de ces temps d'avant 1876 où le Basque vivait libre, protégé par ses fueros que chante le célèbre *Gernikako Arbola* d'Iparragirre, heureux dans ses traditions qu'il ne savait pas menacées par la future ère industrielle et le nouveau régime.⁴⁴

Joseph Augustin de Chaho has an important role in this *prise de conscience de la basquitude*. For Morel Borotra he is a leading intellectual, writer, philosopher, and linguist *plus imaginative et enthousiaste que scientifique*.⁴⁵ For Jon Juaristi, Chaho is the precursor of the *fuerista* movement. It is interesting to note that both Morel Borotra and Juaristi, two writers with opposite views with respect to Basque nationalism, see Chaho simultaneously as an author of imaginative and unscientific enthusiasm, and the precursor of the nationalist movement at once.

Morel Borotra mentions the creation of associations – such as the *Asociación Euskara de Navarra* founded by Arturo Campión, a prolific pioneer of the *fuerista*

⁴⁴ Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 45.

⁴⁵ See the chapter “Chaho, el precursor” in Jon Juaristi, *El linaje de Aitor, la invención de la tradición vasca*. Madrid: Taurus, 1987. Chaho's influence is studied in relation to the libretto of *Amaya* in chapter III of this dissertation.

movement – with the purpose of revitalizing Basque culture. The foundation of the journal *Euskal-Erria* by José de Manterola was also key for the propagation of the new ideology. Associations, publications, and writers led – in the words of Morel Borotra – to the nationalist awakening of the last decade of the century.⁴⁶

Several political movements with more or less nationalist aspirations developed during this time. *Carlism*, a legitimist monarchic movement, had its origin in the earlier 19th century and received strong support in the Basque country. A political liberal regionalist ideology, more acceptable to the industrial class of Bilbao than the radical nationalism, materialized in the *Euskalerrriaco* movement led by Ramón de la Sota y Llano.⁴⁷ In 1893 the heated political activity of Sabino Arana Goiri gained prominence and constituted the nucleus of an incipient nationalism, as Morel Borotra qualifies it, *pur et dur*.⁴⁸

According to Morel Borotra's description of nationalism, Sabino Arana claimed beyond the cultural structures of his predecessors – the *fuerristas* – the structures of a State. Sabino Arana's definition of State – according to Morel Borotra – was not based on Rousseau's principle of social contract but rather on a peculiar language, peculiar customs, and a specific racial identity. Morel Borotra's qualification of Sabino Arana's concept of race is quite mild, even sympathetic. She states that this concept, which today evokes genocide and discrimination, had for Arana Goiri rather a meaning of genealogy, community, or lineage, “porteuse de caractères distincts de ceux des peuples voisins”.⁴⁹ However, Arana Goiri's message is much more belligerent to non-Basque elements than Morel Borotra admits. For Arana Goiri, the violent opposition to non-Basques is an essential character of his

⁴⁶ Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 46-47.

⁴⁷ Resurrección María de Azkue dedicated his *Cancionero Popular Vasco* to Sota y Llano.

⁴⁸ As Morel Borotra admits the nationalist movement on the north side of the Pyrenees was much weaker as a political movement and remains, save for a few political manifestations, a cultural movement at large.

⁴⁹ Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 49.

brand of nationalism and this is unambiguously stated in his writings as we shall see in the following example.

**Radical nationalism and theatre as means of propaganda:
Arana Goiri, Azkue's *Vizcay'tik Bizkaira*, and zarzuela with political
implications**

Morel Borotra points to the rapid progress of Arana Goiri's party. In 1893 the founder of Basque nationalism published *Bizkaia por su Independencia, cuatro glorias patrias* – the account of four battles fought in the middle ages against the Castilians in which the narration of the battles is amply glossed with vituperations against the enemies of the Basques. This book is in Castilian in its entirety although its author promises a version in Basque. Also in 1893 Arana Goiri started publishing the bilingual journal *Bizkaitarra* and proclaimed the need of a movement destined to fight for Bizcayan independence. The next year he founded the *Euskeldun Batzokija*, initial cell of the future nationalist party. Arana Goiri's doctrines and praxis found opposition from the government and led to the closing of his publications, prison, and subsequent exile. In 1901 he published the first issue of the journal *Euzkadi*. He died in 1903 at age 38 and it was his followers who witnessed most of the results of his activity.⁵⁰

The birth of Arana Goiri's nationalism coincided with a musical event: the composition of a zarzuela by Resurrección María de Azkue became a significant cultural manifestation of the brand new political ideology. Arana Goiri himself wrote an extensive critique of its performance in *Bizkaitarra*.⁵¹ The reading of this critique is highly informative of the tenets and attitudes of Arana Goiri's political movement.

⁵⁰ Morel Borotra, *L'opera Basque*, p. 49-50.

⁵¹ Sabino Arana Goiri, "Teatro Nacional" in *Bizkaitarra*, Bilbao: Año III, 17 de Febrero de 1895, Núm. 21.

Azkue produced the zarzuela *Vizkay'tik Bizkaira* at the *Patronato de Obreros* in Bilbao on 2nd February 1895. In this zarzuela, the main character, Txomin, must leave his paternal farm in order to fulfill mandatory military service. During the time of duty he has been influenced by the Spanish culture and lost his own – he has been *españolizado*. Thus at his return from military service he supports the Spanish representative instead of the Basque representative in the election for the town government. The nationalist representative is elected instead. Although seemingly unrelated to the main story line, the new teacher from Spain convinces Txomin to steal the priest's money. Thus two elements play against the Basque culture: the military service that the young Basques have to undertake and the morally corruptive influence of the teachers of non-Basque origin. The play was written in both Basque and Castilian in order to reflect the current linguistic state in the Basque country.

Besides writing the article in *Bizkaitarra*, Arana Goiri organized an homage to Azkue during the premiere of his zarzuela as the founder of Basque nationalism saw in this play the first manifestation of a national theatre.⁵² His article in *Bizkaitarra* is particularly informative of its founder's nationalist discourse.

Arana Goiri argues in his review of *Vizkay'tik Bizkai'ra* against the Carlist journal with a traditionalist antiliberal catholic ideology *El Basco* and elaborates on his own definition of the term *maketo* to include every non-Basque Spanish person. In order to make a distinction with the Carlist principles, Arana Goiri includes in his definition of *maketo* any non-Basque person from any Spanish region or the adjacent islands, whether or not he inhabits the Basque country, whether liberal or non-liberal, Catholic or atheist. The belligerent tone is obvious:

Enseñar al que no sabe es una de las obras de misericordia, y por más de que *El Basco* [a Carlist journal published in Bilbao] sabe perfectamente que maketo no se llama a una clase determinada de españoles, vamos a ejercitar en parte aquélla recordándose a tan olvidadizo caletre, pues parece no lo recuerda. *Maketo* es, no

⁵² See also Jesús María de Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi (Inventario de su vida y de su música)*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1967, p. 58.

solamente el castellano liberal, sino todos los castellanos en igual grado; y no solamente el castellano, sino también, y con la misma cantidad de maketismo, todos los españoles [Catalanes, Leoneses...] En una palabra, es maketo todo español, sea católico o ateo; y *Maketania*, toda España con sus islas adyacentes.⁵³

In this article, written entirely in Castilian, Arana Goiri saw in Basque opera one manifestation among others of the resurgence of the fatherland. The safeguard of tradition and the defence and promotion of cultural patrimony was an essential goal for the Basques in his nationalist ideology. The negative effect in this defence of the influence of external corrupting elements – the military service and the *maketo* teachers – narrated in Azkue's zarzuela is praised lavishly by Arana Goiri. Then Arana Goiri explains the title of the work: from the slave and *maketa* Vizcaya with Castilian spelling to the free Basque Bizkaya with Basque spelling:

No conocemos la obra del euskerólogo lekeitiano y entusiasta euskaráfilo, el Presbítero Señor Azkue; pero ya su título revela el fondo de la obra. *Vizkay'tik Bizkai'ra*, esto es De Vizcaya a Bizkaya, de la Vizcaya de ortografía castellana, a la Bizkaya de ortografía euskérica; de la Vizcaya esclava, a la Bizkaya libre; de la Vizcaya maketizada y maketa, a la Bizcaya euskeldun y bizkaina; de la Vizcaya del siglo XIX a la Bizkaya del siglo XX.⁵⁴

As a manifestation of the negative influence of the foreign element Arana Goiri accuses the contemporary theatrical activity in Bilbao of being built over impiety, immorality, and *maketismo*. In a military metaphor he states that the realm of the theatre has not yet been conquered yet by the nationalist camp. The theatre as an effective means of propaganda would show the *Bizkaino* the gruesome devastation that Spanish domination has exerted morally and physically on his own fatherland. The moral aspect of Arana Goiri's nationalism clings to a notion of Catholic religion as he states that in order to be a *Bizkaino* one ought to be a Catholic and a patriot.

⁵³ Arana Goiri. "Teatro Nacional" in *Bizkaitarra*, Bilbao: Año III, 17 de Febrero de 1895, Núm. 21, p. 510-511.

⁵⁴ Arana Goiri, "Teatro Nacional", p. 468.

According to Arana Goiri Azkue's change of loyalty from his former *wrong* fatherland – Spain – to the *true* fatherland – the Basque land – manifest in the creation of this zarzuela has made him a good patriot. Azkue's zarzuela – states Arana Goiri – has become a momentous event for the nationalist party.⁵⁵

Arana Goiri's summary of *Vizkay'tik Bizkaira* stresses the patriotic aspects of the play. Thus he states that the protagonist, a good and simple Biscayan, tries to revive the love for his country against the oppressor, the *erdeldun* or *maketo*. However, the stress falls instead on the negative effects of oppression. The symbols of oppression are the *maketo* teachers and Txomin who returns home from the military service *maketizado* and with fondness for the Taurean art. Bullfighting is a symbol of foreign art for Arana Goiri. Instead of returning to his parents like a good Basque son would after tour of duty, Txomin meets the teacher in the tavern and becomes morally corrupted under his influence. Thus today's Vizcayan soldier forgets his nationality unwittingly becoming a slave and celebrating with guitar-strumming the abandonment of his paternal home:

Está bien retratado el quinto bizkaino de hoy, que olvidando su nacionalidad y no sintiendo el peso de la esclavitud, celebra con cantares, baile y guitarreo su partida del hogar paterno.⁵⁶

Not only are bullfighting and guitar-strumming symbols of the foreign element but the whole African continent becomes a symbol of alien lack of civilization. Thus – states Arana Goiri – the Spanish teacher and the *maketizado* Biscayan enjoy the music of the nation where the African continent begins: Africa is uncivilized and so are the different regions of *Maketania*.⁵⁷ Arana Goiri continues

⁵⁵ Arana Goiri, *Teatro Nacional*, p. 472-473. According to Arana Goiri Azkue had stated with concern the decadence and weakness of Spain in a lecture given in 1893. There is a clear connection between the crisis in the Spanish state at the end of the century with the birth of seceding nationalisms reflected in Azkue's change of loyalties.

⁵⁶ Arana Goiri, *Teatro Nacional*, p. 476.

⁵⁷ Arana Goiri, *Teatro Nacional*, p. 476. Arana Goiri writes in a different article that the *Orfeón Euskaria* is a product of the "Carlo-phoenician" fusion. (Quoted by Morel Borotra, p. 225.) The

stating that the Spanish teacher wants the unification of laws, customs, language, costume, of everything...⁵⁸ and thus he becomes the most abominable destructor of the language, of the national character, and of the healthy beliefs and customs of the Basque: religiosity, language, race, psychological character. The school teacher belongs to a race that has always hated *ours* – continues Arana Goiri – to the point that not only the liberal *maketos* but also the catholic *maketos* despise *us*.⁵⁹

The symbolic status of the Basque language is crucial in the construction of a national consciousness and its abandonment has for Arana Goiri devastating moral consequences. When the Basque abandons the language of his fatherland⁶⁰ and adopts the Spanish language – continues Arana Goiri –, he loses the virtues of his character, becoming indifferent in questions of religion and perverting his own customs. It does not seem contradictory to him that he uses the Spanish language to put forth his pro-Basque political message. On the other hand, the military service – a contribution in blood that the Spanish government imposes on Biscaye – produces both material and moral harm.

With respect to the performance of the zarzuela at the *Patronato de Obreros*, Arana Goiri points out those aspects that stress the differences between Basques and non-Basques. For instance, the *maketos* should have been represented as “more *maketos*”. Also in the declamation of the Basque language some of the actors betrayed that this was not their native language. Some details of the *mise-en-scène* were wrong, such as a villager with his sleeves folded in the *maketo* style, wide

identification of Spain with Africa or Phoenicia as pejorative comparisons is common in Arana Goiri's writings.

⁵⁸ Arana Goiri, *Teatro Nacional*, p. 482.

⁵⁹ Arana Goiri, *Teatro Nacional*, p. 489-490.

⁶⁰ Only men were invited to the first performance of *Vizkay'tik Bizkaira* (see Arana Goiri, *Teatro Nacional*, p. 491). The patriarchal character is inseparable of traditional society in Sabino Arana's model of society. See below Sabino Arana's comment about some female teachers who signed a protest about the play (Arana Goiri, *Teatro Nacional*, p. 497).

cumberbunds in the *maketo* style, big berets in the *maketo* style, etc. All other aspects of the representation was worthy of praise from Arana Goiri.⁶¹

Arana Goiri observed the presence of a few *maketos* in the audience. For him this was a sign of degradation to an absolute lack of dignity and affection for their own Spanish nationality. There are also *maketophiles* or *españolistas* from the *maketizada* Bilbao, in other words, Basques who affiliate themselves with Spanish culture and customs. These would learn the most about the negative effect of foreign influence by attending this zarzuela.

For Arana Goriri the *Carlist* ideology is a *maketo* ideology and should not be confused with Basque nationalism. The *Carlists* and those *maketophiles* who establish some sort of Basqueness within the boundaries of the Spanish state are the most dangerous type.⁶²

Arana Goiri continues his article with a survey of the reviews given of Azkue's zarzuela by different newspapers. Although he boasts of being a Catholic and defines Basque nationalism as fundamentally Catholic, he attacks the also fundamentally Catholic *Carlist* doctrine as another kind of *maketismo*. A long series of local newspapers over a wide range of ideologies are criticized by Arana Goiri for claiming to be *Bascophile* but which are in truth *maketophile* and un-patriotic. Especially the *Carlist* journal *El Basko* is the aim of his attacks.

On the other hand Arana Goiri praises the journal *Las Noticias* for its open confrontation with the content of Azkue's zarzuela.⁶³ The critic of *Las Noticias* points out that a work that has such a content – no matter how beautifully it is

⁶¹ Arana Goiri, *Teatro Nacional*, p. 490-492.

⁶² Arturo Campión is quoted speaking at the *Jeux Floreaux* of 1903 in Irun by Morel Borotra (*L'opéra Basque*, p. 52) pointing to the danger of the interior enemy: One needs to be aware as to who among the Basques renounce the heritage of their parents, for whom the use of the Basque language is a sign of intellectual and social inferiority. Campión was a pioneer of the *fuerrista* movement and founder of the *Asociación Euskara de Navarra*. Paradoxically his maternal language was not Basque but he gained conscience of this fact while pursuing studies in law in Madrid at the time of the abolition of the *fueros* and immediately set himself to learn it. He did not make an explicit political nationalist statement.

⁶³ Arana Goiri, *Teatro Nacional*, p. 520.

presented – cannot be considered praiseworthy since dangerous ideas have appeared in *our* land which should be rejected by those who, with a Basque heart, have the pride of being Spanish. Arana Goiri was elated at the openness of this last comment as the critic of *Las Noticias* places himself in radical opposition to the Basque nationalist. Whoever is *español* or *euskeriano españolista* – states Arana Goiri – cannot agree with the content of *Vizkay'tik Bizkaira* or with the nationalist Bizkayan.⁶⁴

Azkue's criticism of the figure of the school teacher had a repercussion in the local press. Arana Goiri narrates that following the performance of the zarzuela local teachers lodged a public complaint about Azkue's portrait of the school teacher. Arana Goiri lists the names of those complaining in two columns: one column with *maketo* names, the other with Basque names. He states that these two lists of *maketo* and *maketizado* teachers constitute the gravest threat to the country and responds with the aggressive style that characterizes his prose throughout the article and in which Spain is grouped once more with the uncivilized regions of Africa:

Callen la boca maketa, y recogiendo los trastos váyanse con la música pedagógico-maketil a cualquiera region de España /.../ donde se habla el español con gracia y salero, pero donde los maestros no ven un perro chico en su vida y tienen que hacerse a vivir como el camaleón, bicho indígena de aquel paraíso y antesala de jauja (!!!). Pero esto de venirse acá, donde nadie los ha llamado /.../ de cualquier otra región más o menos incivil o africana de España /.../ eso es cinismo y desvergüenza propia sólo de los españoles.⁶⁵

According to Arana Goiri, the Basque teachers who signed the complaint were committing a repugnant suicide for conspiring against their own country. As for the women teachers who signed he is not surprised since weakness is innate in women:

De las maestras no nos extraña hayan caído incautamente en el lazo: al fin la debilidad es innata en la mujer.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Arana Goiri, *Teatro Nacional*, p. 520.

⁶⁵ Arana Goiri, *Teatro Nacional*, p. 496-497.

Both Azkue and Arana Goiri with the creation of the zarzuela point to the negative influence of Spanish elements in Basque culture. Arana Goiri's language is particularly aggressive perhaps because the Spanish element is very strongly present in his own culture. Arana Goiri himself, except for a few quotes of the zarzuela, writes extensively in Spanish (Castilian) as we have seen also in his *Cuatro Glorias Patrias*. Peña y Goñi's nationalism was of a cultural rather than a political kind, but his arguments were not very different in nature. The negative effect of Italian opera was patent in the state of the national genres and in the state of creation of popular song.

The assumption of opposition runs the risk of being overly simplistic and not taking into account other aspects of nationalism, but it helps define the concept of lineage – as Morel Borotra mildly puts it – as a “porteuse de caractères distincts de ceux des peuples voisins”. This element of radical rejection of what is construed as foreign accounts for an important aspect of both Peña y Goñi and Arana Goiri's nationalisms, perhaps more than Morel Borotra is willing to portray. It could also be argued that cultural and political nationalisms are interdependent as the manifestations and development of the Basque cultural renaissance of the late 19th century owes much to the radical nationalism of Arana Goiri as Azkue states in his introduction to the *Cancionero Musical Vasco*:

¿A quién debemos, ... después de Dios, el renacimiento vasco en todas sus simpáticas manifestaciones? Fundamentalmente, principalísimamente, a Sabino Arana Goiri.⁶⁷

By stating that Arana Goiri was the source of inspiration for the whole movement, Azkue hints at the importance of the political aspects with respect to the cultural aspects of a national consciousness. Since the birth of this radical

⁶⁶ Arana Goiri, *Teatro Nacional*, p. 497.

⁶⁷ Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 53; quotation complete from: Resurrección M. de Azkue *Cancionero Popular Vasco*. Barcelona: A.Boileau & Bernasconi, 1922.

nationalism the cultural productions that follow it have the potential of becoming items of political propaganda. Arana Goiri states that Azkue abandoned the positions of the *Integrista* party and that during the dinner given in his honour for the performance of *Vizkay'tik Bizkaira*, the composer said: he who has a mother, does he need a surrogate mother? Thanks to our mother we all have health and well-being:

Ama daukanak ¿zetarako dau Ama-ordia? Geure Amagaitik, gustijon osasunerako ta neure onerako.⁶⁸

Azkue, however, was not likely to make explicit political statements. During this dinner not a word of flattery towards the composer was heard by the simple and virtuous attendants, Sabino Arana points out. That would have been appropriate only at *español* and *españolista* banquets.

Rather than dwelling on the negative element of Basque nationalism, Morel Borotra prefers to point to the utopic principles of Arana Goiri's nationalism, which on the one hand rejects vigorous and comprehensively industrialization and, on the other makes an apology for a rural, egalitarian society of small land-owners. If Biscaye were poor and owned nothing but fields and flocks, states Arana Goiri quoted by Morel Borotra, the Basques would all be patriots and happy. The true sons of the Basque race from whom the motherland can expect assistance are the peasants. In Arana Goiri's society, as Morel Borotra states, there is no separation between politics and religion. Politics need to be subjected to *Jaun Goikoa*, which among the Basques is the name for God.⁶⁹ Although this utopic model was revised by the end of the century when the industrial bourgeoisie of Bilbao joined Arana Goiri's party, the Romantic tenets of the *bon sauvage* were present in the initial formulation of nationalism.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Arana Goiri, *Teatro Nacional*, p. 493.

⁶⁹ Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 49-50. See in chapter III the discussion of Chaho's interpretation of this term.

⁷⁰ Arana Goiri himself wrote the libretto for the opera *Libe*. This was never set to music. In the later period of his life he is known to take a *españolista* position himself, because of the influence of more moderate elements representative of Bilbao's industrial bourgeoisie.

The evolution of the notion of *basquitude* in the musical theatre

Besides zarzuelas such as *Vizkay'tik Bizkaira*, *Pasa de Chimbos*, or *Colonia Inglesa*, Azkue wrote the operas *Ortzuri* and *Urlo* in a Wagnerian style. Azkue made also remarkable contributions in the fields of Basque grammatology, lexicology, and folklore. In the latter discipline his major work is his *Cancionero Popular Vasco*.

Bilbao was not the only city to have a cultural Basque renaissance during the years following the abolition of the *fueros*; the city of San Sebastián was also particularly active in a plurality of manifestations. Festival games (also known as Floral games), *fiestas euskaras*, poetry competitions – improvised as well as written – theatre, plastic arts, athletic games, and other types of competitions, contributed to the building of a cultural national consciousness without making explicit political statements and thus leaving aside the militant aspect that was pervasive in Bilbao around the figure of Arana Goiri.

Poetry was particularly widespread. It was inspired in tales, legends, customs, or in the local history. José de Manterola founded the pioneer literary publication *Euskal-Erria* in San Sebastian in 1880. The theatre was also cultivated and a theatrical tradition started to develop. Toribio Alzaga's career as a playwright and producer established a strong base for the Basque theatre. Alfredo de Echave and Azkue made important contributions to the scenic art.⁷¹

Choral music was composed, old choirs were reorganized or re-established, and new choirs were founded. Antonio Peña y Goñi and José Antonio Santesteban (see above, p. 21) had founded in 1865 the *Orfeón Easonense* which was taken over by the *Sociedad Coral* patronized by the *Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País*. The *Orfeón de Santa Cecilia* was founded in Bilbao in 1869. The *Orfeón Donostiarra* was founded in 1897.

⁷¹ See appendix 2 for information on Toribio Alzaga, Buenaventura Zapirain and their opera *Chanton Piperri*. Alfredo Echave did not speak Basque so all his contributions were in Castilian.

In Bilbao Cleto Alaña added elements from several different choirs to the *Orfeón Santa Cecilia* and gave the group the designation *Sociedad Coral de Bilbao*. This group won first prize at the *Fiestas Euskaras* in Durango in 1886. This event was of political significance since Bilbao had resisted the Carlist advance with success at the time when Durango was the court from where Don Carlos directed his operations.

In 1889 Aureliano Valle took over the direction of the *Sociedad Coral* stepping down in 1912 to be substituted by Jesús Guridi. Many choral formations emerged in the different towns of the country north and south of the Pyrenees. Even in Montevideo and Buenos Aires Basque choirs were founded. The *Batzoki-Juventud Vasca de Bilbao* had its own music academy and choir.⁷² In 1906 the *Sociedad Coral de Bilbao* and the *Orfeón Pamplonés*, and in 1909 the *Orfeón Donostiarra*, broke the tradition of male choirs (similar to the central European *Männerchöre*) and opened their doors to women.

The emotional shock of hearing the choirs singing popular songs of the country played an essential role in the discovery of a *nationalitaire* identity.⁷³ The statutes of the choirs generally insisted on their role of defenders and propagandists of Basque music. The choral societies constituted the base from which the creation of opera was made possible.⁷⁴

Although in the late 1800's representations of Basque operas and zarzuelas were organized at the same time and by the same individuals, Morel Borotra makes a sharp distinction between the two genres.⁷⁵ In Bizcaye the interest in zarzuela as well as in spoken theatre received its most energetic impulse from R. M. de Azkue. After *Vizkay'tik Bizkaira* he wrote the bilingual zarzuela *Eguzkia nora* (I'm going to

⁷² Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 66. See Nagore Ferrer, María. *La Sociedad Coral de Bilbao en el contexto del movimiento coral europeo (1850-1936)*, vol. 1. Valladolid: (doctoral thesis,) 1993.

⁷³ Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 67.

⁷⁴ Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 68.

⁷⁵ Both Morel Borotra (*L'opéra Basque*, p. 80-86) and Arozamena (*Jesús Guridi*, p. 96) see in *El borracho burlado* an antecedent of the movement of Basque opera.

the sun)⁷⁶ in 1896, *Sasi eskola*, a zarzuela for children, *Colonia Inglesa* (1898), and *Pasa de Chimbos* (also bilingual, 1898). Azkue was the first to reflect on the rôle of the lyric theatre and he positioned himself as the pedagogue and propagandist of the Basque cause.⁷⁷

Dramatic and lyric productions were means to encourage a cult to the Basque language, a centrepiece for the whole movement. Azkue does not hide the fact that he wrote *Vizkay'tik Bizkaira* with the purpose of eliciting a patriotic reaction from the public against the *debasquisation* of the country and against the “loss of the characteristic features of our race and the outstanding profile of *our* moral physiognomy”.⁷⁸

The creation of new zarzuelas had its most vigorous centre in Bilbao. Following the spirit of Azkue's *Vizkay'tik Bizkaira*, these zarzuelas exalted nationalist attitudes and the virtues of the Basques who opposed the errors of their fellow countrymen who rejected their origins, and who opposed the Spanish who acted against the interests of *Euzkadi* (the Basque country).⁷⁹ Morel Borotra states that this kind of nationalist manichéism and anti-Spanish sentiment based on racial prejudices was a stage in the development of nationalism in which it was necessary to denounce the “enemy” both interior and exterior. “L'époque, enfin, ne poussait pas toujours à la nuance en ce domain...”⁸⁰ This statement by Morel Borotra dismisses too easily an essential feature of nationalist movements as has been shown in the work of Peña y Goñi and Arana Goiri himself.

⁷⁶ Also mentioned by Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 96.

⁷⁷ Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 95: “La démarche d'Azkue est neuve, étrangère aux préoccupations des zarzuelas et des opéras basques qui ont été créés jusque là. De ce point de vue, il faudra attendre une dizaine d'années pour retrouver des objectives en partie similaires chez les auteurs d'oeuvres lyriques basques. Azkue est en effet le premier à avoir une réflexion sur le rôle du théâtre lyrique, et il se pose en pédagogue et en propagandiste de la cause basque.”

⁷⁸ Review of *Vizkay'tik Bizkaira* published in *Euskal-Erria*, XXXII, 1895, cited by Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 96.

⁷⁹ Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 100. *Euzkadi* is a neologism invented by Arana Goiri to denote the Basque country.

⁸⁰ Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 110, footnote 62. See above the review by Arana Goiri of Azkue's *Vizkay'tik Bizkaira*.

Morel Borotra however acknowledges the effect of these political manifestations and makes the interesting suggestion that this militantism of the zarzuela liberated the later movement of Basque operas in its development from the constraints of a political programme.⁸¹ From the moment the radical nationalist statement was made by Arana Goiri any cultural manifestation could be interpreted as a nationalist statement. The zarzuela *Vizkay'tik Bizkaira* of 1895 represents a starting point in this regard.

However Azkue never became a militant of Arana Goiri's party and the latter accused him of a lack of political commitment, especially when he became an ally of Ramón de la Sota y Llano.

Evolution of nationalist ideals: Sota y Llano and Echave

The figure of the industrialist Ramón de la Sota y Llano (1857-1937) represents a development into a more moderate – and probably more viable – phase of Basque nationalism. Sota was the owner of a shipping company and a financier from Portugalete. President of the *fuera* society *Euskal-Erria* in Bilbao in 1894 he was accused of Spanish regionalism by Arana Goiri. Nevertheless Sota y Llano supported the nationalist leader during the elections of 1898 and joined the *Partido Nacionalista Vasco* in 1899. He funded theatrical events, cultural centres, journals, and schools. When he became representative in the Spanish government in 1918 he defended an autonomy without separatism based on an economic liberalism supporting – in sharp contrast with the initial ideals of Arana Goiri's nationalism – industry and modernity.⁸²

Alfredo de Echave, born in Bilbao in 1872 and a member of *Euzkeldun Batzokija* since 1898, maintained a career as a journalist and playwright alongside a business career. He was a Bizcayan who did not speak Basque and represents in this

⁸¹ Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 101.

⁸² Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 53.

regard one of the great paradoxes of the nationalist movement from its cultural perspective.⁸³ This is a movement whose theoretical and aesthetic tenets have been formulated not the Basque but in Castilian at the same time a great emphasis is played on the peculiarity and uniqueness of the Basque language. Morel Borotra describes Echave as an author who wrote in Spanish making an effort to create a theatre with a Basque soul.⁸⁴

Echave and other writers follow Azkue's model writing new zarzuelas for the *Centro Vasco* created in 1898 by the followers of Arana Goiri and Sota y Llano. Echave was, according to a chronicler in Arana Goiri's publication *Euzkadi*, the initiator, organizer, and soul of the theatre established at this centre. Many of the zarzuelas written during this time continued the tradition of praising the simplicity of Basque customs and the admirable character of the Basque represented in the old countryman (*gizona*).⁸⁵

A different genre in Basque: the opera *Pudente*

The opera *Pudente*, produced at the Teatro Circo in San Sebastian on 25 February and 1 March 1884 with text by Serafín Baroja and music by José Antonio Santesteban, presages the later movement of Basque opera in some respect but it can be associated neither with Arana Goiri's nationalist movement nor even with the *fuerrista* movement. The plot of this opera takes place in the mines of the Baetica during the 1st century AD. Its striking feature is to have Roman protagonists singing in Basque, a trait which Morel Borotra justifies with the circumstance that it was performed during Carnival, a rather colourful time in the city of San Sebastian.

⁸³ This was a common trait among many propagators of Basque culture and nationalism. Guridi himself did not speak Basque.

⁸⁴ Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 98.

⁸⁵ The word *gizon* says Morel Borotra expresses a higher degree of dignity for *man* or *homme*, because of a higher conception of the human being by the Basque. See footnote 56.

Arozamena states that this work – as well as the opera *Iparraguirre* by Guimón – is of very little value.⁸⁶

The librettist, Serafín Baroja, had worked as an engineer himself in the mines of Río Tinto, Huelva, and was not inclined to have his work published. Both Morel Borotra and Julio Caro Baroja, Serafín's grand nephew, point to the author's liberal ideology, his anticlericalism, his dislike of the old law and the *fuéristas*, and of course of the *Carlists*. All of these ideologies that he opposed were strongly adhered to in the Basque country. He was nevertheless interested in the *old language* as he translated into Basque works by Calderón, Shakespeare, and some French authors, and wrote a novel in *style de feuilleton*, poetry, short stories, and a drama also in Basque.⁸⁷

Caro Baroja points to the humorous personality (evidently not absent in the circumstances of the plot of the opera *Pudente*) of his grand-uncle. He also states that Serafín would have been disappointed with the changes of spelling using the prescribed Basque K, hinting at the lack of interest of his great grand-uncle towards the nationalist cause, at least in its linguistic manifestations.⁸⁸ Serafín Baroja seemed to be interested in Basque linguistic and cultural manifestations insofar as he could shun away from their political implications. He showed sharp antagonism with respect to Carlism, the precursor of Basque nationalism, and itself a nationalist ideology with a traditionalist and Catholic ideology.

The music for *Pudente* was provided by José Antonio Santesteban (See above, Peña y Goñi and the foundation of the *Orfeón Easonense*, p. 20-21), who received a thorough musical education in Paris and Brussels and became organist at the Cathedral of Santiago in Bilbao and Santa María in San Sebastián. This is an interesting opera for it represents a forward-looking aspect with respect to

⁸⁶ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 97.

⁸⁷ Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 151.

⁸⁸ Baroja, Serafín. *Bertsokak, Pudente, Tormesko, Lazarotxoa, Kontuak*. San Sebastián: Txertoa, 1988. Introduction by Julio Caro Baroja, p. 7-9.

nationalism: why wouldn't the Romans speak Basque in *Pudente* as say the Egyptians would speak Italian in *Aida*? The irony is obvious and points to some of the tenets of Bakhtin's theory about the epic and the novel that will be discussed in chapter III.

Zapirain's *Chanton Pipperri*

The first Basque opera properly speaking is *Chanton Pipperri* with music by the Vizcayan Buenaventura Zapirain Uribe and text by the Guipuzcoan Toribio Alzaga.⁸⁹ It was given at the Teatro Principal in San Sebastián on 12, 15, and 18 April 1899. This opera narrates the opposition of two rival family factions in the Basque country. The final peace and unity between the two factions is a symbol of the unity of all Basques, a theme well suited for the nationalist programme beyond the rejection of foreign elements denounced in Azkue's zarzuela *Vizkay'tik Bizkaira*. If, as Morel Borotra stated, the militantism of the zarzuela liberated the later development of a *Basque opera* from the constraints of a political programme now Zapirain and Alzaga were able to present a nationalist programme devoid of the opposing militantism of the earlier zarzuelas. The story of *Chanton Pipperri* exhorts the Basques to pursue their political unity, it does not oppose any foreign element but calls for the cessation of internal struggles and for a positive unification.

Chanton represents a step forward towards the new horizons of Basque opera – states Morel Borotra. It has pretensions of a grand historical opera as it has adopted the international conventions of the genre and has attained a halo of respectability. Morel Borotra continues: it can cross the border of the Basque lyrical theatre and represent the nationalist cause especially in the ending hymn to the Basque country.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ *Chanton Pipperri, opera vascongada en 3 actos, música de D. Buenaventura Zapirain, letra de D. Toribio de Alzaga*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, s. d. See appendix 2 for a summary of the libretto.

⁹⁰ Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 178.

The opera was only produced in San Sebastián, Bilbao, Vitoria, Pamplona, and Bayonne so it can hardly be said that it reached an international audience. It is understandable however that it became the most represented of all Basque operas during the first two decades of the century when its reception was enthusiastic. Without any doubt we can speak of *Chanton Piperri* as the most successful national opera of the Basques. After 1920 representations of *Chantón* became much rarer.⁹¹

Despite its enthusiastic reception, *Chanton Piperri* was a work of limited musical and dramatic accomplishment. It was qualified by the critic Francisco Gascue as a work of a youthful eclecticism that reveals the lack of a well defined personality.⁹² The first act is built on a succession of choral numbers in dialogue with Chanton and is, according to Gascue, the best part of the opera. So long as the popular musical themes pervade the scene the work has interest, but the music becomes less interesting – writes Gascue – as it reflects less the spirit of the race and the regional atmosphere.⁹³

Morel Borotra lists other operas which could not have fared much better than *Chanton Piperri* and have almost inevitably been forgotten. Zapirain's other opera *La dama de Amboto* seems to have been limited by a complex and clumsy plot. The music – despite some favourable local criticism comparing it with *Chanton Piperri* – was not much more inspired than its predecessor. Even within the Basque country it was less favoured than *Chanton*.⁹⁴

Many composers of early Basque operas were church organists, trained locally and with few resources. The language was a barrier for the expansion of these works, as they would only be understandable by a small mostly rural public

⁹¹ Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 178-180. Other operas were produced with irregular results: *Maitena*, by the Bayonnais playwright Etienne Decrept and the composer Charles Colin, *Artzai Mutilla*, by Ortiz de San Pelayo and libretto by Pello María de Otaño, *Iziar* (1906) by Elías Gorostidi and Miguel Oñate, *La dama de Amboto* (1909) also by Toribio Alzaga and José Antonio Zapirain, etc.

⁹² Francisco Gascue, *La Ópera Vascongada. Páginas Euskaras*. San Sebastián: Imp. Lib. y Encuadernación de F. Ferreirós, 1906, p. 29.

⁹³ Gascue, *La ópera vascongada*, p. 29.

⁹⁴ Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 213.

who was not naturally inclined to attend opera. 19th century opera however was a spectacle of the urban upper classes and, while these operas played an important role in the creation of a national identity, their main audience was constituted by the industrial and merchant classes of Bilbao and San Sebastián. The rural areas were less likely to partake in its representations unless an explicit effort was made in that direction.

Towards a theory of Basque opera: Gascue

Francisco Gascue published in 1906 the article entitled *La ópera vascongada* to give a post-facto theory of what *Basque opera* should be.⁹⁵ Gascue begins his discussion with the question of Spanish opera and arrives at the same conclusion as Peña y Goñi: There is no Spanish opera and the attempt at creating one is futile. It is worth pointing out the reasons why, according to Gascue, most of the country has not been able to produce decent musicians. He suggests that the north differs greatly from the rest in the quantity and quality of musical activity. Perhaps – Gascue continues – the Semitic origin of Spain is to blame. While Italy is Greco-Latin, and thus has a talent for singing, the south of Spain is Arabic and therefore inherently devoid of such talent. According to Gascue, the Semitic customs and character are one of the causes of *our* – Spanish – anemic and sad social state because most of Spain took from the Semites not the brilliant qualities of the vigorous, conquering, and active *Omiadas*, but from the indolence and laziness of their decadent successors.⁹⁶ When Gascue asks what the Andalusian and the Basque have in common, he states that the Basque is much closer to the Breton, the Norman, or the Dutch than to the people who inhabit the south of Spain.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Francisco Gascue, *La Ópera Vascongada. Páginas Euskaras*. San Sebastián: Imp. Lib. y Encuadernación de F. Ferreirós, 1906. See also Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 190-194.

⁹⁶ Gascue, *La Ópera Vascongada*, p. 14-15. Perhaps the author means *Umayyas* for *Omiadas*.

⁹⁷ Gascue, *La Ópera Vascongada*, p. 18. Contrast this statement with Jesús Guridi's speech of reception of at the *Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* (Ch II p. 119).

In fact, Gascue points out that Arrieta's celebrated zarzuela-turned-opera *Marina* and Zubiaurre's forgotten *Don Fernando el Emplazdo*, notable exceptions of Spanish opera, were written by composers of Basque origin. The critic concludes that Spain was a conglomerate of different nationalities with radically different characteristics. Therefore to pursue a national opera that would make all ethnic groups feel the same things with the same intensity is no more than a pious desire and a phantom of our imagination.⁹⁸ Thus Tomás Bretón's opera *Los Amantes de Teruel*, based on the popular Aragonese *jota* – states Gascue – is perceived very differently by a Castilian than by a Catalan. This is a regionalist opera and it cannot project itself to the whole nation beyond the specific region where it was inspired. Although Gascue points to an ethnic and therefore national, differentiation of populations in Spain, he does not and cannot reject the idea of the larger nation, or as Arana Goiri would say, he is still attached to his surrogate fatherland. However, the difference between *nation* and *region* seems to be, for the purpose of a study on nationalism, purely nominal.

Gascue's solution for the creation of a Spanish dramatic genre is to pursue a regional rather than a national opera. Hence he feels the responsibility of encouraging the development of a *Basque opera* with certain traits.⁹⁹ For Gascue the virtue of Santesteban's *Pudente* and Zapirain's *Chanton Piperri* was to find inspiration in the popular song: a pure, simple, and authentic reflection of the moral character of the Basque race.¹⁰⁰ For him Serafin Baroja's *Pudente* represents the regional character on two accounts: first, in the humorous aspect of the libretto which reflects the humorous character of the *Donostiarra* (inhabitant of San Sebastián), and second, in that the composer assigned popular melodies to each one of the dramatical units which constitute the opera.¹⁰¹ Popular song is not only a

⁹⁸ Gascue, *La Ópera Vascongada*, p. 18-19.

⁹⁹ Gascue, *La Ópera Vascongada*, p. 23.

¹⁰⁰ Gascue, *La Ópera Vascongada*, p. 24.

¹⁰¹ Gascue, *La Ópera Vascongada*, p. 26.

source of inspiration but something that is worth protecting from the influence of external polluting elements. Like the nationalist writers, Gascue laments the degrading influence of foreign popular songs.

With respect to the subject of *Chanton Piperrri* Gascue has a different opinion. He asserts that at such an early stage in the creation of a Basque regional theatre, the aim of the librettist should be to reflect the lives and customs of *our* people. The struggle between the two bands of Oñaz and Gamboa in *Chanton Piperrri* reflects, on the contrary, a period of destruction and devastation. This period of war-like factions, continues Gascue, is a distant and abnormal one, and could not move our emotion as easily as more recent periods when more typical and authentic customs have developed. The subject of a *Basque opera* should not be war, which is an unnatural subject for this people. Gascue's rejection of themes of struggle and war, such as *Chanton Piperrri*, precludes the violent opposition to an external enemy. His position contrasts sharply with Arana Goiri's 1893 publication of *Bizkaia por su Independencia*, the narration and glorification of four battles against the Castilians.

Instead there are two subjects that Gascue deems appropriate: first, the *bucolic* subject or the life on the farm and in the village, and second, the legend, which is fantastic and uncertain. The legend can easily be sought in the *fuerrista* writers of the 19th century: Goizueta, Arzac, Campión, Trueba, Araquistain, etc.¹⁰² The librettist can take advantage of his own imagination and personal observations but should primarily make use of oral and written literature.

Gascue points out that the legendary subject should come hand in hand with the description of the countryside: the mountains, valleys, rivers, coasts, forests, and mists of the Basque country.¹⁰³ In order to assimilate well the manifestations of the popular genius and to penetrate the beauty and nuances of the Basque countryside – continues Gascue – it is necessary to flee the agitation and frivolity of the city and the clamor of the bullfighting festivals. Bullfighting takes for Gascue a slightly

¹⁰² Gascue, *La Ópera Vascongada*, p. 28, i.e. the *fuerristas*.

¹⁰³ Gascue, *La Ópera Vascongada*, p. 37-39. See also Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 192.

different connotation than for Arana Goiri but only by degree. While for the latter it was a sign of foreign oppression, for the former it becomes, alongside the hustle and bustle of the city, an impediment for inspiration in truly Basque sources. For both it is an object that should be rejected by Basque culture. Instead the composer ought to search for inspiration in the countryside or by the sea, where there is an intense view of the Basque atmosphere. The idealization of the Basque countryside is as patent in Gascue as it was in Arana-Goiri.¹⁰⁴ The ideal setting is the Basque home and countryside which should certainly be reflected in the scenery.

Nature, continues Gascue, is the link to race as both concepts are in fact inseparable. Thus the composer and librettist ought to imbibe themselves with the natural aromas of the country. It is important for them to pay attention to the chants as well as to the sounds of the words in common conversation, to the pronunciation according to the particular region within the country, and to each one of the sounds that constitutes the origin of music. Gascue states that the Basque language is particularly apt for music for the extensibility and contractability of its words. Since Basque is not subject to the authority of an Academy which fixes the rules of use of the language, the speaker is free to add or subtract syllables to fit the melody. Similarly the accentuation is much freer than in other fixed languages, such as Castilian, German, or French, in which there is a divorce between prosodic and musical accents. These and other traits, in Gascue's opinion, make Basque, like Italian, an ideal language for opera. The ideal union of musician and poet would be realized if the composer wrote the libretto himself.¹⁰⁵ This proved to be impossible as most composers and some librettists were not speakers of the language. Gascue, like Arana Goiri and many others who theorized about certain aspects of *basquitude* in a language other than Basque, wrote this article entirely in Castilian.

Gascue feels confident in prescribing young composers a method of learning their trade. The composer ought to study the traditional melodies and classify them

¹⁰⁴ Gascue, *La Ópera Vascongada*, p. 44. See also Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 193.

¹⁰⁵ Gascue, *La Ópera Vascongada*, p. 32-35.

in order to have them available for composition.¹⁰⁶ What Santesteban and Zapirain had done with their operas, Gascue is suggesting to do more methodically. Throughout the country it is easy to find sad and melancholy chants such as those collected by Iztueta – he continues. Prescribed elements such as melancholy chants, the life in the countryside, legends, and the rejection of war themes lead to operas with characteristically languid librettos such as those produced during the 1910 season of the *Sociedad Coral de Bilbao*.

Usandizaga's *Mendi Mendiyan* and Guridi's *Mirentxu*

The 1910 season of the Sociedad Coral de Bilbao opened with an opera based on life in the countryside: the *pastoral lírica Mendi-Mendiyan (In the mountain)* with text by José Power and music by José María Usandizaga. Usandizaga was born in San Sebastián in 1887, and entered the *Academia de Bellas Artes* in 1896 to study piano and the *Schola Cantorum* in Paris in 1901, first with the intention of pursuing a career in piano, but afterwards turning to composition. At the *Schola Cantorum* he met Jesús Guridi with whom he made close acquaintance. He graduated and returned to San Sebastián in 1906 where he participated actively in the musical life as a prolific composer.

Unlike *Chanton Piperri*, which was written by Alzaga in Basque, the *pastoral lírica Mendi-Mendiyan* was written first in Castilian and later translated into Basque. This became the norm of Basque operas: the first version of the libretto was written in Castilian and then translated by a different author. In many cases it is difficult to determine to what extent the composer worked with the Basque translation.

¹⁰⁶ Gascue, *La Ópera Vascongada*, p. 41.

The sung parts of *Mendi-Mendiyan* were translated into Basque by José Artola.¹⁰⁷ This form in which the sung parts are in Basque and the dialogues are in Castilian replicates the example of *El borracho burlado*. In 1912 the dialogues of *Mendi-Mendiyan* were also translated into Basque and in 1920 Usandizaga provided music for the spoken parts.¹⁰⁸ This version was given at the *Teatro Victoria Eugenia* in San Sebastián on 3rd August 1920. The opera, which had many representations in its initial form with dialogues during the previous years, was not performed again until September 1934, once again at the Teatro Victoria Eugenia. On this occasion it was paired with Usandizaga's later opera *Las Golondrinas*, entirely in Castilian.

Both *Mendi-Mendiyan* and *Las Golondrinas* were works of high achievement and rapidly became popular. Morel Borotra states that Usandizaga was described by music critics as a modern composer, whose operas were rather symphonic poems of descriptive music. His orchestral accompaniment and instrumentation were always interesting, his sense of drama had a personal and seductive lyricism, and he introduced traditional melodies in his music with great success.¹⁰⁹ The musical quality of *Mendi-Mendiyan* yielded many representations and prizes for the composer.

Morel Borotra points out that Usandizaga sent the piano reduction of this opera to the composer Tomás Bretón who likened its solid and modern musical technique, and its romantic and sensitive style, to those of Grieg, Mendelssohn, and Bellini.¹¹⁰ After the opera *Las Golondrinas* of 1914, Usandizaga started the composition of *La Llama*, also an opera on a non-Basque theme.

Another creation of the lyrical season of 1910 was *Mirentxu*, an *idilio vasco* in two acts with libretto by Alfredo de Echave and music by Jesús Guridi. In 1908 Echave contacted Guridi for the creation of this work. The music was written

¹⁰⁷ For this reason Gascue regrets the lack of homogeneity between musical numbers and spoken scenes.

¹⁰⁸ Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 249.

¹⁰⁹ Article in *El Nervión* 23rd May 1910 cited by Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 254.

¹¹⁰ Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 259.

between October 1909 and May 1910. The sung parts were translated into Basque by José de Arrue, General of the Franciscans.¹¹¹

Mirentxu closed the campaign of the *Sociedad Coral de Bilbao* in 1910. This season was particularly successful thanks to the contribution of Usandizaga and Guridi. In an article of 1910, Zubialde wrote that these two young but experienced composers took the decisive step towards a lyrical Basque theatre and gave the *Sociedad Coral de Bilbao* new occasions of glory. To him the goal of Basque opera ought to be to persevere and to solidify this path of progress, leaving aside whatever does not lead to the conquest of the personality of our region's art and its inclusion and participation afterwards in the great currents of universal art.¹¹²

Both *Mendi-Mendiyan* and *Mirentxu* seem to follow closely the prescriptions set by Gascue in his article of 1906 *La ópera vascongada*. They were based on bucolic themes reflecting on the farm life of the simple Basque, very different from the previous tones of war and struggle in *Chanton Piperri*. These works also represent the first operatic enterprises of two composers who had achieved musical maturity. Despite their musical superiority over their predecessor operas, the languidity of their librettos make them not only inefficient means of any sort of political statement, but also uninteresting and feeble dramatic works.

Some attempts by Azkue: *Ortzuri* and *Urlo*

Azkue, the author of *Vizkay'tik Bizkaira* and other zarzuelas, attempted the creation of two operas. Born in Lekeitio, Vizcaya, in 1864, Resurrección María de Azkue learned Basque from his mother at a young age. He studied at the Seminary in Vitoria during the years 1881-1885. Until 1888 he studied sacred scriptures in Salamanca, where he was ordained priest and received a doctorate in 1893. In 1888

¹¹¹ *Mirentxu* will be revisited in chapter II (p. 68).

¹¹² Zubialde, "*La ópera vasca*" cited by Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 290.

he joined the class of harmony of Sainz Basabe in Bilbao.¹¹³ He obtained, in competition with Sabino Arana Goiri and Miguel de Unamuno, the professorship of Basque language created by the *Diputación de Vizcaya*. Azkue was a pioneer in the defence of traditional Basque culture and language. In 1897 he founded the journal *Euskalzale*, with *euskalerrriaco* political orientation and financial support.

Azkue traveled the country in order to collect words specific to different dialects, expressions, tales, popular melodies, etc.... He published the results of his field research little by little and gave many conferences on these subjects.

Azkue attended the *Schola Cantorum* in Paris in 1904 at the time he was preparing a trilingual Basque dictionary in Tours. After publishing this dictionary in 1906 he moved to the Conservatory in Brussels where he studied organ and fugue. From 1907 until 1909 he remained at the Seminary and attended composition classes at the Conservatory in Cologne.¹¹⁴ There he studied the work of Wagner and attended productions of *Tristan und Isolde* and *The Ring of the Nibelung*.¹¹⁵

At his return to Bilbao Azkue learned that Guridi and Usandizaga were preparing the production of *Mirentxu* and *Mendi-mendiyan*. Azkue felt compelled to prove his talent by writing a lyric drama. He selected melodies from the songs he already had collected and wrote both the music and the text completely in Basque.¹¹⁶ The libretto of his first opera, *Ortzuri*, published by the Revista Internacional de Estudios Bascos, was followed by a lexicon of rare Basque terms.

The first act of *Ortzuri* was produced by the *Sociedad Coral de Bilbao* in 1911 under the direction of Jesús Guridi. The audience was disconcerted not by the libretto, which showed great dramatic talent and perfect use of the Basque language, but by the music. The critics asked themselves: is it because the composer's German

¹¹³ José Antonio Arana Martija. Preface to *Cancionero popular vasco de D. Resurrección María de Azkue dedicado a su amigo D. Ramón de la Sota y Llano. Tercera edición*. Bilbao: Euskalzaindia, 1990, p. viii.

¹¹⁴ Arana Martija. Preface to *Cancionero Popular Vasco*, p. x-xi.

¹¹⁵ In 1890 he had heard *Lohengrin* at the Teatro Arriaga in Bilbao.

¹¹⁶ José Antonio Arana Martija. Preface to the *Cancionero popular vasco*, p. xi.

influence prevails over the Basque?¹¹⁷ It is perhaps the short and fleeing Basque themes which, because of their number and rapid succession, disorient the inexperienced listener? Perhaps the scholasticism of the work drowns its admirable native qualities. The critics continued: it is not a work that produces noisy enthusiasm, it does not impress in a crazy fashion, however one cannot deny that Azkue has achieved a triumph. Somebody even calls him the Vizcayan Wagner.

Arozamena, more realistic than his first critics, gives Azkue's opera the epithet of *plúmbeas* (dull, lead-like).¹¹⁸ Arozamena also states that, although he was an expert in popular knowledge and philology he did not match these achievements as a composer.¹¹⁹ *Ortzuri* has not been produced since then.

Azkue's second opera, *Urlo*, performed at the Teatro de los Campos Eliseos in Bilbao in 1914, did not fare much better, although Azkue himself took charge of almost all aspects of the production. The conductor was maestro Juan Lamote de Grignon – not Guridi as Arozamena states – with the Orquesta Sinfónica de Barcelona.¹²⁰ *Urlo*, wrote Arozamena, was a complete failure and its cost turned into a financial disaster.¹²¹ This was the last attempt by Azkue in the lyrical theatre. At the time he had to be persuaded by his friend Txomin Zumaia to continue with his cultural studies and to not enter the noviciate in the Jesuits of Loyola and become a missionary. On 27th July 1914 he wrote Hugo Schuchardt that he would devote all his efforts to the study of the language and announced the preparation of his encyclopedic *Euskalerrriaren Yakintza* (Knowledge of the Basque people).¹²²

¹¹⁷ Belausteguibeitia, cited in Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 304-305.

¹¹⁸ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 58-59.

¹¹⁹ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 96. Arozamena was arguing the statement that Azkue had founded the Basque lyrical theatre.

¹²⁰ María Aldama et al. *La Sociedad Coral de Bilbao. 100 años de su historia*. Bilbao: Diputación Foral de Bizkaia, n. d., p. 121.

¹²¹ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 59: “*Urlo* fue un rotundo fracaso.”

¹²² Arana Martija. Preface to *Cancionero popular vasco*, p. xi & Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 312.

The fate of *Basque opera* after the 1910 season in Bilbao

The cost of the production of *Mendi-Mendiyan* and *Mirentxu* during the 1910 season at the Teatro Arriaga caused a dire deficit for the *Sociedad Coral*. The *mise en scène* was costly and the royalties were elevated. In a *Memoire* of the *Sociedad Coral* the reason for the apparently high royalties for the composers is explained by the motives of their enterprise: the creation of a *Basque lyrical theatre*. These royalties have to be higher than those given for the types of works which are performed frequently and in different theatres of the Spanish geography, namely zarzuelas and pieces of the so-called *género chico*, which had a well established audience throughout the country. The meagre royalties paid for these works were compensated by the number of representations. The royalties of the Bilbao 1910 opera season would have to compensate for the fact that the composers' works would not be represented frequently or in an extended geographical area. This is the *memoire* quoted by Arozamena:

De los derechos de los autores, que parecen también cuantiosos a simple vista, hemos de decir que, como consecuencia inmediata de la finalidad que perseguimos, o sea la creación del teatro lírico vasco, no es posible que sometamos la cuantía de esos derechos al tipo o porcentaje que es corriente en la nación por otro género de obras, que pueden ser representadas muchas veces y en diferentes teatros. Consagrar la producción artística de un año, que no dura menos la composición de una ópera de medianos vuelos, a los ingresos usuales, por derechos de autor, que corrientemente se aplican a la zarzuela española y al género chico, no es perspectiva ni aliciente muy risueño para un músico que sabe, de antemano, que el fruto de su inteligencia ha de quedar localizado, aun en el caso más feliz y durante bastante tiempo, a un solo teatro y a una sola región. Corre, además, con el albur de un fracaso de su obra, y si esto sucede resulta para él completamente estéril el trabajo de un año.¹²³

¹²³ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 104.

Guridi received 1,511.00 pesetas in royalties for *Mirentxu*, Usandizaga 997.90 for *Mendi-Mendiyan*, Azkue, approximately 250 for *Ortzuri*. The librettists relinquished their royalties in favour of the *Sociedad Coral*. The costs of *décors* and costumes were 489.30 for *Mirentxu*, 785.45 for *Mendi-Mendiyan*. The costs of room and board for Usandizaga were 428.25 pesetas. Gratifications and gifts for the artists cost 3,966 pesetas. To these must be added provincial taxes, theatre fees and expenses, advertisement, and programs. The collection by subscription amounted to 17,360 pesetas, the door tickets sales to 23,888.40. A modest subvention of 2,000 pesetas was given by the *Diputación de Vizcaya* which assigned 5,000 pesetas to the publication of a piano reduction of *Mirentxu* after its creation. For financial reasons there was no operatic season until 1913 when only the French-Basque opera *Maitena* and *Mirentxu* were produced.¹²⁴

If the question of creating a Basque national genre became problematic for the lack of resources which pointed ultimately to a lack of an operatic tradition, there was yet another problem added to the enterprise. The question of language became polemical as some librettists did not speak Basque and they were usually criticized by the Basquist press. Most librettists felt more comfortable writing in Castilian, which had had a long literary tradition, than in Basque, a language transmitted orally. The solution of writing librettos in Castilian and then translating them proved practical although in the long run rather artificial. The cases of Toribio Alzaga and R. M. de Azkue were notable exceptions as they wrote their librettos in Basque. After 1914 the tendency was to return to hybrids with musical parts in Basque and dialogues in Castilian, or just to use Castilian.

Morel points to the First World War as a turning point for these cultural manifestations. Although she mentions some unfinished works that were inspired by the successes of *Mendi-Mendiyan* and *Mirentxu*, the year 1914 marked the end of the production of operas in Basque. It would not be until 1967 that another Basque

¹²⁴ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 103 & Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 306-307.

opera, *Zigor* by Manuel de Lecuona and Francisco Escudero, is produced. The significant exception was Jesús Guridi's *Amaya* which will be studied in greater detail in the next chapter.

The steps of folklore research and Azkue's exhortation to the folklorists

Parallel to this operatic activity there was a growing interest in the manifestations of popular culture, and new campaigns to preserve oral traditions were initiated. On 15th February 1901, Azkue read and published the lecture *La música popular baskongada* at the *Sociedad Centro Vasco* founded by initiative of Ramón de la Sota y Llano in Bilbao.¹²⁵ Azkue argued that there exists a pure Basque tradition. He urged his audience to become acquainted with the *real* popular music “in order to restore what has been lost, to enliven the songs that were threatened to die, and to send to exile those that were harmful to this tradition.”¹²⁶ Azkue used the image of a silkworm surrounding itself with the thread as a metaphor for the need of the Basque people to isolate themselves with their melodies and protect them from pernicious influences.¹²⁷ This approach to the isolation of the Basques resonates well with the statement of rejection of foreign influences of Azkue's first zarzuela *Vizkay'tik Bizkaira*, and with the nationalist programme in which a period of isolation was necessary before creating a new form of life. Azkue included in this lecture and in its printed version the popular melody *Ene arrerosteko* – one of 14 examples in this collection – which Guridi would use later in the lyric drama *Amaya*. (See Ch IV, p. 200.)

After praising the foundation of the *Academia Vizcaina de Música* by the *Diputación* Azkue exhorts his Basque audience to cultivate their own music and to

¹²⁵ Dr. D. Resurrección María de Azkue. *La música popular baskongada. Conferencia dad en los salones de la Sociedad "Centro Vasco" el día 15 de Febrero de 1901*. Bilbao: Imprenta y Litografía de Gregorio Astoreca, 1901. The *Sociedad Centro Vasco* had been founded in 1898.

¹²⁶ Azkue, *La música popular baskongada*, p. 6.

¹²⁷ Azkue, *La música popular baskongada*, p. 8.

compile popular melodies so that young composers could use them in their musical designs. He ends his exhortation with a mention of the young composer Jesús Guridi, a gift from the Muses, on whom Azkue has concentrated all his hopes:

Cultivemos nosotros nuestra música, vistanse de sus colores las composiciones de nuestros artistas, sus diseños y cadencias resuenen siempre en nuestros oídos...

Para esto recopílese y difúndanse las melodías populares y aliéntese á los jóvenes en cuya inteligencia ha encendido Dios la llama de la inspiración...

En quien especialmente tengo concentradas mis esperanzas es en ese niño, espléndido regalo de las Musas, que en fecha muy reciente nos dejó asombrados. (In a footnote Azkue reveals that the child is (1) Jesús Guridi Bidaola, niño de 13 años, que tanto llamó la atención en el concierto de la Sociedad Filarmónica el día 10 de Enero de 1901.)¹²⁸

Popular song acquires official status: a competition for song collections

The search for compilations of Basque songs becomes a reality with a competition for collections of popular songs. On 15th June 1910 following the recent relative success of the opera season organized by the *Sociedad Coral de Bilbao* the deputy Don Manuel Lezama-Leguizamón proposed at the *Diputación Foral de Vizcaya* the creation of a prize of 5,000 pesetas for a collection of *aires vascongados*. The operas premiered during the opera season following the tenets of Gascue and Azkue used popular song as the basis for their composition. The realization that the collections already in existence were few in number or merely reproduced songs from previous ones became apparent.

The proposal for a competition was accepted on 5th July 1910 and extended to the *Diputaciones* of Navarra (31st August), Alava (29th November), and

¹²⁸ Pliego [COJG] cites 28th January 1901 as the date of the first concert, probably following Arozamena's chronology. It is possible that the first concert was given on 10th January and the second on 28th January and that Arozamena thought of the latter as the first. Otherwise Azkue's statement would be wrong.

Guipúzcoa (10th December). On 21st February 1911 Lezama-Leguizamón presented the premises for the competition. Buenaventura Zapiain and José María Usandizaga were members of the jury from the *Diputación* of Guipúzcoa, and Aureliano del Valle and Juan Carlos Gortazar were nominated members in Vizcaya. Azkue presented a song book under the title *Vox Populi* with 1,689 songs and 121 instrumental melodies, and Fr. José Antonio de Donostia presented another one under the title *Gure abendaren Eresiak* with 499 songs and 24 instrumental melodies.

The collections were received by the jury in October 1913 but the result was not announced until 13th December 1915. Azkue received the first prize and Fr. Donosti the second. The *Unión Musical Española* published Fr. Donosti's collection under the title *Euskel Eres Sorta* (Basque song collection) in 1921.

There were two different editions of Azkue's song book now with the title *Cancionero Popular Vasco* both dedicated to Azkue's friend Don Ramón de la Sota y Llano. For the edition of selected songs with accompaniment Azkue had Fr. Cesáreo Miangolarra and José María Arroita-Jauregui (who would later write the libretto for Guridi's *Amaya*) prepare translations into Castilian. Azkue was hoping that copies of this edition would be sold as collections for amateur singers and would defray the costs of publication. The publication of both the version with accompaniment and the *Cancionero manual* was undertaken by Boileau & Bernasconi in Barcelona and suffered multiple delays and vicissitudes.¹²⁹

In the *Cancionero manual* Azkue presented transcriptions of the melodies and texts collected with commentary about their origin and circumstances of performance. In the last version Azkue reduced the number of songs to 1,001 and added precise information for each one: by whom and where each song had been

¹²⁹ Arana Martija. Preface to the *Cancionero Popular Vasco*, p. xvi-xviii. Azkue himself travelled to Barcelona and the number of volumes of the *Cancionero selecto* (*Lieder*) was reduced from 12 to 9. The first volume of this *Cancionero* was finally published on 7th April 1922. The 9th and last volume on 19th January 1924.

sung, its Basque text and a Castilian translation. The songs were organized by subject and alphabetical ordering. The first volume was published on 25th August 1922, the last – no. 11 – in October 1925. Azkue brought samples of both editions to the *Diputación de Vizcaya* on 14th December 1925 closing thus a painfully long episode of publication.

We have reviewed the major facts that lead to the creation of a movement of Basque opera with its many facets. Now it is timely to discuss the composer to see more specifically what led him to the composition of the lyric drama *Amaya* and, conversely, to see where this work led his musical career afterwards.

Chapter II

A biographical overview of the work of Jesús Guridi with emphasis on the lyric drama *Amaya*

Main sources

One of the main sources for the biography of Guridi is Jesús María de Arozamena's book *Jesús Guridi (Inventario de su vida y de su música)*.¹ Arozamena collaborated with Guridi in the composition of *Nacimiento* (a stage work performed on 3rd January 1938), in the 1947 version of *Mirentxu*,² and in other minor works.³ He wrote with Adolfo Torrado Estrada the libretto for Guridi's zarzuela *La condesa de la aguja y el dedal* first performed in 1950.⁴

Since Arozamena knew the composer well his book is an invaluable source for information especially after 1938. The chronology and details of events are problematic at times – particularly in the early life of the composer – or there are simply no dates for some events in the years prior to their collaboration. It still remains the most helpful source for the life and works of Guridi and indirectly shows the attitudes with respect to nationalism that pervaded the period of Franco's political regime.

¹ Jesús María de Arozamena. *Jesús Guridi (Inventario de su vida y de su obra)*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1967.

² Victor Pliego de Andrés. *Catálogo de Obras de Jesús Guridi (1886-1961)*. [COJG] Madrid: Fundación Juan March. Centro de Documentación de la Música Española Contemporánea, 1989, no. 38 (p. 66-67).

³ These pieces are: *Nacimiento* (1938, Pliego no. 88), their first collaboration, *Colón* (1938, Pliego no. 91) a retablo now lost, the song *Albada – canta el gallo tempranero* for voice and orchestra (1942, Pliego no. 106), *La novia del rey* (1942, Pliego no. 106), *El día de las regatas* (1943, Pliego no. 108), *Seis canciones infantiles* (1946, Pliego no. 120), *La víspera de Santa Águeda* (1947, Pliego no. 123), *Romería de abril – habanera* (1950, Pliego no. 130b), *Madrigal* (1956, Pliego no. 149), *La Virgen de la Azucena – nana negra* (1956, Pliego no. 149).

⁴ Pliego no. 130a (p. 168-170).

A valuable source until the time of the first performance of *Amaya* is the short “Biografía de Guridi” published by León de Urriza in *Hermes, Revista del País Vasco* in 1920 on the occasion of the first performance of this lyric drama. Arozamena frequently relied on this article for the early biography of the composer.⁵

A relatively useful source is a book with the title *Jesús Guridi, ensayo crítico de su vida y de sus obras* by Ángel Sagardía. This is a shorter biography by a musicologist who, although not close to Guridi, provides accurate information especially about Guridi’s relations with other composers such as Manuel de Falla.

The last source on which the following biographical sketch is based is the *Catálogo de Obras de Jesús Guridi (1886-1961)* [COJG] published in 1989 by Víctor Pliego de Andrés.⁶ This catalogue is thorough and detailed despite a few minor misprints or mistakes. The greatest disadvantage of this catalogue is its unavailability since it has been out of print for several years. It starts with a prologue by Fr. Pablo Bilbao Aristegui, a close friend of the composer who was able to locate many works and pieces of information that otherwise would have been lost.⁷

The present brief biography concentrates on Guridi’s education and musical work as it pertains principally to his operatic output, and especially on the circumstances of composition and performance of the composer’s lyric drama *Amaya*. Other aspects of the composer’s life and works, such as his music for piano, organ, or chamber are mentioned in passing but left for other studies.

⁵ León de Urriza. “Biografía de Guridi” in *Hermes. Revista del País Vasco*. No. 60, 1920, p. 429-437.

⁶ Victor Pliego de Andrés. *Catálogo de Obras de Jesús Guridi (1886-1961)*. Madrid: Fundación Juan March. Centro de Documentación de la Música Española Contemporánea, 1989. This catalogue is out of print. A reprint of the Catalogue would be advisable.

⁷ An interview with P. Bilbao Aristegui held on 4th January 2001 provided invaluable insights for this project.

Childhood and early education

Jesús Guridi Bidaola was born on 25th September 1886 in Vitoria.⁸ His parents were Lorenzo Guridi y Arola from Guernica, and Trinidad Bidaola from Pamplona. He was born to a family of musicians. His great grand-father Nicolás Ledesma (1791-1883), a native of Grisel, Aragón (therefore not of Basque origin), was an accomplished organist and composer. His daughter Celestina Ledesma y Ancioa was born in 1825 while he was organist at the *Colegiata* in Tafalla. Celestina married Luis Bidaola, also an organist from Pamplona. Ledesma brought his family to Bilbao, where he was named organist at the Basilica of Santiago. Luis Bidaola succeeded his grand-uncle at the position of organist in Santiago in 1857. Trinidad Bidaola, Jesús' mother, was an accomplished organist herself.

Lorenzo Guridi was a violinist who had practiced his art and made a small fortune in America (Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay). Lorenzo and Trinidad married in Bilbao and had in Vitoria their first residence. During the second Carlist war they moved to Burgos. Here their two older children, Luis and Carmen were born. At their return to Vitoria, Lorenzo built a house in the Street of *La Florida* where José, Lorenzo, and María were born. Jesús was born on 25th September 1886. His parents taught him to play the piano at a young age. Lorenzo took him to Villarreal de Urrechua, town of the popular 19th-century Basque bard Iparragirre. Arozamena narrates that Jesús made the comment that he wanted to become like Iparragirre. The Guridi family moved to Zaragoza in 1895 so their children could pursue their different scholarly and vocational interests.

Jesús entered the school of the *Padres Escolapios* where he tended to get distracted with music and to disregard other subjects. Trinidad removed Jesús from this school and enrolled him with the Jesuits who held him under more strict discipline. During that year his brothers Luis and José died of tuberculosis. José

⁸ A plaque in his birthplace remembers the event.

was about to acquire a professorship at the University of Zaragoza. Their premature death effected a severe shock on Jesús and the rest of his family.

This event led the Guridi family to move to Madrid in 1896 with the help of Jesus' aunt Severiana Bidaola. Lorenzo was enjoying his stay in Madrid among artists but his investments went sour especially after the crisis that followed the Spanish-American war of 1898. In Madrid Guridi met the baritone Emilio García Soler, who became a friend of the family. The singer learned Jesús Guridi's works, and, realizing the talent of the youth, looked after his musical education.

Around this time García Soler sang, according to Arozamena, a *romanza* that Jesús had composed.⁹ Pliego dates this piece ca. 1898. García Soler brought Jesús to the attention of Valentín Arín, a Guipuzcoan student of Emilio Arrieta and professor of composition at the Conservatory of the Queen consort Cristina. Jesús received private lessons in harmony from Arín. In Madrid, in the company of García Soler, Guridi became acquainted with the lyrical theatre and admired the popular zarzuela composer Ruperto Chapí. A few years later Guridi learned in a conversation with Manuel de Falla that during this time he had been brought to this composer's house by García Soler.¹⁰

Bilbao

In 1899 the Guridi family returned to Bilbao. Arozmena states that Jesús left Madrid with sadness.¹¹ As grandson of Nicolás Ledesma, chapel master of the Basilica of Santiago, Jesús was received well in the musical circles of Bilbao. The

⁹ Victor Pliego, *Catálogo de Obras de Jesús Guridi (1886-1961)*. Madrid: Centro de Documentación de la Música Española Contemporánea, Fundación Juan March, 1989, no. 1 (p. 53).

¹⁰ Ángel Sagardía. *Jesús Guridi. Ensayo crítico de su vida y de sus obras*. Madrid: Ediciones de Conferencias y Ensayos, n. d.

¹¹ It is difficult to assess the accuracy of this statement since Arozamena did not start collaborating with the composer until the production of *Nacimiento* a stage work which is now lost, first performed on 3rd January 1938. When Guridi met García Soler again in 1923, the baritone returned to him his childhood compositions which he had kept carefully. Pliego no. 1, p. 53, gives the date 1920. 1923 seems more probable because of the presentation of *Amaya* in Madrid.

Orfeón Bilbaino had been founded in 1886. This choral association won first place in the *Fiestas Euskaras* in Durango. Arozamena observes that Don Carlos, who had set his headquarters in Durango, held a stiff siege on Bilbao during the second *Carlist* war. Bilbao had resisted the siege until Espartero defeated Don Carlos' army. The performance of the *Orfeón Bilbaino* at the *Fiestas Euskaras* was an opportunity to make amends between the two former rival cities.¹²

In 1901 Jesús was introduced to an amateur musical group in Bilbao informally called *El cuartito* because its meeting place was a small room in Calle del Arenal 8. The members of this group were music amateurs who had close ties with the *Sociedad Filarmónica de Bilbao*. Through this room came some celebrated international musicians (the violinists Eugène Ysaÿe and Jacques Thibaud figure in Arozamena's list).¹³

Guridi received violin lessons from Lope Alaña, who presented him to the members of *El cuartito* as Ledesma's grandson and a young composer of great talent. Guridi, who had in his favour his grandfather's fame, found in the members of this association zealous protection and guidance. There he performed pieces later published by Breitkopf und Härtel in Brussels as *Quatorze morceaux pour le piano*.¹⁴ At *El Cuartito* he made contact with Juan Carlos Gortázar, with whom Guridi developed an important artistic and spiritual relationship as mentor and protégé. Guridi was associated first as a student and later as a professor of organ with the *Academia Vizcaina de Música*. Around this time Guridi received lessons in harmony from José Sainz Besabe.

Andrés Isasi, another young composer whom Morel Borotra associates with the movement of *Basque opera*, was also revealing himself as a young talent in

¹² Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 21.

¹³ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 27. Other names cited by Arozamena were Pugno, Bauer, Colonne, [Matthew] Crickboom, Degreef, Hermann.

¹⁴ Pliego no. 25 (p. 59). (Brussels: Breitkopf und Härtel, c. 1905; AG: 40, 105a-b; ERB 7, UME (16916)) Nos. 2, 3, 5 figure in Pliego's catalogue belonging to the *Quatorze morceaux* are nos. 2, 3, 5.

Bilbao.¹⁵ The model for these young musicians was Juan Crisóstomo Arriaga (1806-1826), a child prodigy from Bilbao who had succumbed to tuberculosis before the age of 20 while already professor at the Conservatory in Paris. In his short life he wrote a full scale opera, one symphony, three string quartets, and other works.¹⁶

Guridi's association with *El Cuartito* brought the opportunity of the first public concert. On 28th January 1901 Jesús Guridi performed at the *Sociedad Filarmónica* in Bilbao some of his own works accompanied by Lope Alaña on the violin, revealing his talent as a composer as well as a pianist.¹⁷ Once more, in the journalistic announcement of the event it was noted that he was the grandson of maestro Ledesma. The first part of the concert consisted of a performance of a Saint Saëns piano trio in F by Tellechea at the violin, Pueyo at the cello, and Larrea at the piano. Then Guridi performed three of his works for piano: Menuetto, Intermezzo, *Cuatro Romanzas sin Palabras*, and a *Scherzo* for piano and violin, with Lope Alaña accompanying at this instrument.¹⁸ There was a third part in which the first group interpreted the *Fantasia appassionata* by Vieuxtemps, and Larrea and Arisqueta interpreted *Conte d'avril* by Widor.

The concert was successful and as a consequence Guridi was invited to give another concert in Bilbao and one in San Sebastián. The concert in San Sebastián took place on 18th May 1902. In the first part Larrocha and Pagola performed a sonata in C minor by Saint Saëns for cello and piano. The second part consisted of works by Guridi performed by Guridi himself and Lope Alaña. The third part was the Piano Trio no. 3 by Beethoven performed by Alaña, Larrocha, and Pagola. In this concert Guridi played the same pieces as in the first and introduced a new

¹⁵ Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 325.

¹⁶ There was a brief discussion of Arriaga in reference to the musical life of Bilbao and his opera *Los esclavos felices* in chapter 1, see p. 14-15.

¹⁷ See Azkue's reference to this concert in his lecture of 15th February 1901 at the *Sociedad Centro Vasco*, Chapter I p. 58 and ff.

¹⁸ These are respectively Pliego nos. 2 (p. 53), 3 (p. 53), 5 (p. 54), 6 (p. 54).

Improntu (sic) and an *Arietta* after the *Cuatro romanzas sin palabras* and before the *Scherzo*.¹⁹ Several successful concerts followed.

In 1902, according to Sagardia (and Pliego), in 1901 according to Urriza, Guridi obtained the prize Plácido Allende during the *Juegos Florales* in Bilbao for *Chalupan*, a work for voice and piano with text by the prominent *fuerrista* and director of the Journal *Euskal Erria*, Antonio Arzak.²⁰

Guridi's education abroad

In 1903 – according to Arozamena – Guridi departed for Paris to study at the *Schola Cantorum*.²¹ One day Guridi himself suggested the idea in one of the meetings at *El Cuartito*.²² The next day the Count of Zubiría (Tomás de), deputy in the lower chamber (*diputado en Cortes*), presented himself at the venue to offer the young composer a scholarship.

Lorenzo Guridi delegated authority on Resurrección María de Azkue to accompany his son. In return the priest had to report on Jesús' progress at the *Schola*. Besides D'Indy, Alexandre Guilmant and Charles Bordes had a prominent role in the foundation and development of the school. Guridi would later use the song *Argizagi ederra* in the version published by Charles Bordes – a student of Cesar Franck, organist, and *Bascophile* who wrote several musical works based on Basque themes – for his lyric drama *Amaya*. Guridi dedicated a collection of *Cuatro piezas para piano* which he composed in Paris between the months of March and May of

¹⁹ These were Pliego nos. 8 and 9 (p. 55). Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 44-45. Arozamena reprints the program of the concert on 18th May 1902 in San Sebastián.

²⁰ Pliego no. 13 (p. 56). Urriza (p. 432), Sagardia (p. 10), and Pliego make a record of this prize, but not Arozamena. Both Urriza and Sagardia use the spelling *Chalupan*. Pliego lists the title with spelling *Txalupan*.

²¹ Both Urriza and Sagardia state the year Guridi went to Paris was 1904.

²² Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 49-50.

1904 to his patron Don Tomás de Zubiría. The titles of these pieces are *En el bosque*, *L'Orage*, *Allegro con brio*, and *La partida*.²³

In Paris Guridi and Azkue were received by José María Usandizaga who had been attending the *Schola Cantorum* since 1901. They stayed at a boarding house in a building adjacent to the school, on 269 Rue Saint Jacques. For a period of time Usandizaga used to attend frequently the shows of Carolina Otero, an authentic “Andalusian” for the Parisian public, but in reality a Galician, at the *Folies Bergere*. Arozamena tells the story about José María Usandizaga asking Azkue to attend one of the shows with him. Azkue refused. Usandizaga asked: Is it because priests are not allowed to know the *Folies Bergere* or applaud a compatriot? Azkue – perhaps avoiding argument with respect to nationalist and regionalist questions – answered: “I don’t like to stay up late, I wake up early in the morning.”²⁴

According to Arozamena, in Paris Guridi became particularly fond of the music of Claude Debussy and attended the orchestral concerts conducted by Eduard Colonne at the *Chatelet*. The young composer kept writing music during this time. Both Arozamena and Sagardia mention an *Andante* that Guridi presented to D’Indy.²⁵ The teacher – in a characteristically distant tone – made the following comment in which he encourages Guridi to take his studies of composition seriously:

Il y a du sentiment dans cet “andante” et des réelles qualités d’invention, mais vous ne pourrez vraiment tirer parti de ses qualités naturelles, que quand vous aurez étudié la composition.²⁶

Guridi composed in 1905 *Paysage* inspired by a poem read in a Parisian public library. This work would be performed in Bilbao in 1907.²⁷ Besides writing music, Guridi read scores of the masters and studied their instrumentation. D’Indy

²³ Pliego no. 21 (p. 57). (Original ms (AG: 401 copies from the archive of the Count of Zubiría))

²⁴ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 56-57.

²⁵ Pliego no. 16 (p. 56). Pliego states that this is probably the work that both Arozamena and Sagardia say was presented to Vincent D’Indy.

²⁶ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 61.

²⁷ León de Urriza, *Biografía de Guridi*, p. 433. The details of this event are vague and there is no information about the actual poem.

lent him the original of his second symphony which was about to be performed. The piece Guridi wrote for his exam in composition was praised by D'Indy who played it twice in the classroom as an exemplary piece for the other students. The government of Combes and the anticlerical manifestations that took place during Guridi's years in Paris used to upset D'Indy. "This is not Paris, you do not know what Paris is"... he is quoted as saying.²⁸

Guridi attended the *Comédie Française* to see *Le Père Lebonnard*. At the *Variétés* he saw performances of Offenbach's *Barbe-Bleu* and *La fille de madame Angot*. He attended the theatre assiduously: Galdós' adaptation of *Elektra*, the spectacles at the *Chatelet*, a piece by Victor Hugo: *Angelo, tyrant of Padua*, etc. He went with Vincent D'Indy to the inauguration of the monument to César Franck in the *Square Sainte Clotilde*. When Guridi left the *Schola Cantorum* D'Indy threw a little party in his honour. He had been one of his most brilliant and vigorous students.²⁹

Georges Auric, in his contribution to Arozamena's book, states that D'Indy's teachings were strict and prepared the students in the serious trade of musical composition. His school was disciplined. His concept of the musical profession was established by tradition: he used to draw a direct line from Beethoven through Cesar Franck to himself. This might be a sectarian exaggeration – states Auric – but D'Indy left behind good composers. The *Schola Cantorum* suffered a great blow with the war of 1914.³⁰

²⁸ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 63.

²⁹ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 65.

³⁰ George Auric's contribution to Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 65-68.

Brussels and Cologne

From Paris Usandizaga returned to San Sebastián in 1905. Azkue and Guridi went to Brussels the same year. At the *Schola Cantorum* Guridi had acquired a good technique in harmony, counterpoint, and organ in group classes. In Brussels he studied composition and organ personally with Joseph Jongen.³¹ There he wrote, according to León Urriza, *Nostalgia*, which appeared as one of his *Tres pequeñas piezas para orquesta* performed on 29th October 1907 at the *Sociedad Filarmónica* in Bilbao.³² From this period is also a *Fantasia para gran órgano*.³³

During his stay in Brussels, Guridi was encouraged by Eugène Ysaÿe to write an *Elegy for Violin*.³⁴ Also in Brussels Guridi wrote a string quartet that he himself rejected later.³⁵ Guridi met for a second time with Manuel de Falla, who reminded him of his first visit in Madrid when the young Guridi came in the company of García Soler.³⁶ There is not much information about Guridi's studies with Jongen. Arozamena's statement about this period of Guridi's education is laconic in extreme:

La etapa belga fue importante en la formación musical de Guridi. Las lecciones de Jongen le fueron preciosas.³⁷

At Azkue's suggestion Guridi parted for Cologne to study instrumentation with Otto Neitzel, pianist, composer, and eminent musical critic. In Cologne he spent the months of his last summer abroad. There is even less information about his studies in Cologne besides the information provided by Urriza and repeated by

³¹ Quoted in Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 71. Arozamena remembers that the Royal Theatre in Brussels had witnessed the first performance of Auber's *La Muette de Portici* in 1830, with Belgian nationalist connotations.

³² Pliego no. 33 (p. 62) and no. 39.

³³ Pliego no. 26 (p. 59-60). (Original ms AG: 79).

³⁴ Pliego no. 32 (p. 61). (Original ms violin/orchestra SGAE: AS 139; Brussels: G. Oertel, 1908). There is no information available about Guridi's encounter with Ysaÿe in the sources used for this study.

³⁵ Pliego no. 30 (p. 61).

³⁶ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 72. (See above, p. 60.)

³⁷ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 73.

Arozamena. The naturalist Neitzel used to teach the young composer outside. Neitzel brought Guridi to Munich for eight days so he would learn Wagner's works.³⁸ Pliego gives the year 1908. This information contradicts Arozamena who says they went directly from Paris. It is difficult to determine from these sources how much influence Azkue had on the decisions to move to Brussels or to Cologne and what was his role with respect to the young composer.

Return to Bilbao: *Sociedad Coral* and *Amaya*

In 1907 Guridi returned to Bilbao. On 29th October a concert was devoted entirely to his own works including the string quartet which he later rejected, an *Adagio* for cello and piano with Guridi as accompanist, and a *Fantasia* for organ also interpreted by Guridi.³⁹ In this concert three little pieces for orchestra were performed as well: *Mediodía*, *Nostalgia*, and *Tempestad próxima*.⁴⁰ Also part of the concert were the melodies for voice: *Las Ave-Marías*, with text by the *fuerrista* writer Antonio de Trueba,⁴¹ *Paysage*, *Soledad* (with text by Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer), and *Cantabria*, also with text by Trueba. The *Elegía para violín* was performed by the violinist Joaquín Blanco Recio.⁴² After the concert the composer was named honorary member of the *Sociedad Filarmónica de Bilbao*.

In 1909 Guridi composed *Así cantan los chicos, escenas infantiles* for boys' choir and two pianos. When the definitive version went to print, Guridi decided in favour of a setting for boys' choir and one piano. According to Arozamena, Juan

³⁸ Urriza, *Biografía de Guridi*, p. 435.

³⁹ The quartet is Pliego no. 30 (p. 61, see above). The *Adagio* for cello and piano (Pliego no. 31, (p. 61)) is now lost. The *Fantasia para gran órgano* (Pliego no. 26 (p. 61)) received the first prize at the 1909 *Exposición Regional de Valencia*.

⁴⁰ Pliego no. 33 (p. 62). As Pliego states it is possible that these pieces for orchestra were at some time pieces for piano. The title of Pliego no. 24 is *Tempestad próxima* (AG: 83). The title of Pliego no. 39 is composed of three pieces for piano. No. 2 is *Nostalgia*.

⁴¹ Pliego no. 27 (p. 60). This piece may be the same as the one belonging to Pliego no. 23 *Melodías para canto y piano*, composed of 1. *Paysage* (Paris, June 1905), 2. *Las Ave-Marías*, 3. *Misterio* (both Bilbao, 8th August 1905).

⁴² See above footnote 17 Pliego no. 32 (p. 61).

Carlos Gortázar applied the text after the music had already been written.⁴³ In 1923 this work in three movements was performed at the *Conservatorio Vizcaino de Música* now with orchestral accompaniment. The lessons in orchestration paid off in its skillful instrumentation. In the program it figures as *tres piezas infantiles para coro y orquesta. Así cantan los chicos* was received with great enthusiasm and pondered by Manuel de Falla. Gerardo Gombau, professor at the Royal Conservatory saw in this work the characteristic traits of the future Guridi, the aesthetic constant features that would be present in his later works.⁴⁴ Despite the awkwardness of Gortazar's libretto in *Así cantan los chicos* Guridi showed in this piece his predisposition towards dramatic music – as the subtitle *escenas infantiles* suggests.

Another instrumental piece, *El torneo*, interpreted by the orchestra of Bordeaux, did not inspire excessive enthusiasm in the public of the French city and Guridi did not pursue the creation of a dramatic work based on it. Pliego states that afterward he intended to transform it into a suite but this project was not realized either.⁴⁵

Guridi's *pastoral lírica Mirentxu* and the movement of Basque opera

The *pastoral lírica Maitena* by Charles Colin and Etienne Decrept was produced in Bilbao on 29th May 1909. Alfredo de Echave translated this work into Castilian because, as Decrept himself reasons, Bilbao was no longer a Basque city.⁴⁶ Writing about *Maitena* Arozamena considers that the self-sacrificing members of the *Sociedad Coral* for *Basque opera* movement were wasting their time with works

⁴³ Pliego no. 35 (p. 62-64). (Original ms for choir and orchestra SGAE: AS-137; Bilbao: Imprenta Bilbaína 1909 AG 54, 303; other editions listed by Pliego.) Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 78.

⁴⁴ Arozamena includes a study by Gerardo Gombau in his biography of Guridi. Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 80-92.

⁴⁵ Pliego no. 34 (p. 62).

⁴⁶ Natalie Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque (1884-1933)*. Thèse de Doctorat préparée sous la direction de Monsieur le Professeur Serge Gut. Université de Paris -Sorbonne (Paris IV), 1992, p. 228-230.

appropriate for a children-school evening performance. Arozamena's attitude with respect to the movement of *Basque opera* is accentuated with interrogation marks in the text:

Y en verdad que debían tener muchas ganas de ópera (¿?) vasca aquellos abnegados orfeonistas cuando perdían su tiempo con una tontería propia de velada de colegio.⁴⁷

The calling of the *Sociedad Coral*, continues Arozamena, to poets and musicians to write new works for the 1910 season, responded to the necessity of establishing the lyrical art on creative bases, taking it out of a mere "historicist game" that plays like *Maitena* had achieved. Because of the pressure of erudition, the inventive vein of the Basque lyrical art had been dried out.⁴⁸ With the intention of collecting what was traditional, the flight of the imagination was being curtailed, continues Arozamena. And he states to end his remark: to date the Basques had very little written artistic production and the *Sociedad Coral* wanted to stimulate the generation of a theatre with music which would benefit from Basque popular poetry and which participated in its *outworldly* ingenuousness and purity.⁴⁹

As we have seen in chapter I, during the 1909 season three composers were chosen by the *Sociedad Coral* to write operas: Usandizaga was assigned a libretto written by José Power, *Mendi-Mendiyan*; Santos Inchausti and Guridi were assigned respectively two works provided by Alfredo de Echave, *Lide ta Ixidor* (a children's tale) and *Mirentxu*.

Arozamena states that the weakness of Echave's libretto for *Mirentxu* would not have escaped Guridi's attention if the composer had had knowledge of the principles of dramatization. Echave had been criticized also by Etienne Decrept for his translation of *Maitena* for questions of language and his lack of dramatic sense. (See p. 68 & 70.) Juan Carlos Gortazar helped Guridi with dramatic aspects of the

⁴⁷ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 93. The following comments constitute Arozamena's perception of the movement of Basque opera at the time of its *épanouissement*.

⁴⁸ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 93.

⁴⁹ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 93.

composition.⁵⁰ The sung parts were translated into Basque by José María Arroita-Jauregui, later the author of the libretto in Castilian for *Amaya*. Usandizaga had a similar fate with the libretto he received from José Power.

As Guridi's first dramatic work *Mirentxu* is – in words of Arozamena – the purest, more spontaneous, and personal of Guridi's works. In its primitive form this *idilio vasco* had dialogues and sung sections.⁵¹ It was composed in less than six months by commission of the *Sociedad Coral*. The author of *Maitena* however cannot forgive Echave for not having learned the trade of a dramatic author. Echave borrowed Marcel Prévost's *Chonchette*, whose action occurs in a radically different social and psychological context, for the subject of *Mirentxu*.

In order to write the music for *Mirentxu* – Arozamena states – Jesús Guridi consulted the old songbooks: Iztueta, Salaberry, Manterola, the works of Bordes, definitely those by Azkue, Fr. Donosti, and those of Guridi's own friend Juan Carlos Gortázar.⁵² It is difficult to establish the accuracy of this statement with respect to Azkue and Fr. Donosti since the *Cancionero Popular Vasco* or the *Euskal Eres-Sorta* were not published at the time of the composition of these operas. It is certain, however, that Guridi knew and consulted the work of the collectors of popular songs and that he used his own practical knowledge of these. But, as Arozamena states, he did not need to cast himself into the path of writing down melodies because Azkue or Fr. Donosti brought him the materials.⁵³

The influence between opera composers and song collectors was twofold. As the goal of the *Sociedad Coral* had been to create and establish a Basque opera

⁵⁰ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 97.

⁵¹ Pliego no. 38 (p. 65-70). Pliego lists 5 different versions: 1909, 1912, 1934, 1947, 1967. Editions: First version reduction for voice and piano, Bilbao: Excma. Diputación Provincial de Vizcaya, Mar & Cía, 1910; Fourth version – reduction for voice and piano, Madrid: SGAE & Gil Mateos. For details about the complex of changes between versions consult appendix 7 and Pliego's catalogue.

⁵² See chapter I.

⁵³ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 93-99. Although Guridi obviously used melodies collected by others or melodies that were *vox populi*, there is no immediate indication of which ones he used and from which sources he obtained them. A study of *Mirentxu* should give light to Guridi's use of popular melodies.

inspired by popular songs, it seemed advisable to have a deposit of sources available for composers. The *Diputación de Vizcaya* thought it timely to announce a competition for collections of popular songs and to announce the other *Diputaciones* so they could partake in the search. (See above, chapter I, p. 54.)

The first theme of *Mirentxu* came from Iztueta's song book. According to Arozamena, Guridi resorted for the composition of *Mirentxu* to the appendices of Azkue's lecture *La música popular baskongada* given at the *Centro Vasco* on 15th February 1901. For instance, the duo between Chantón and Presen was written over the popular melody *Barda-amets*, a variant of the Souletin melody *Txoriñua Kaiolan*, recorded as example no. 10 by Azkue in his lecture *La música popular baskongada*. The love scene was taken from a song from Iztueta's song book entitled *Naparcho*. A children's song in the opera was based on *Aldapeko sagarraren*, a theme which can be found in Azkue's *Cancionero* as well as in Guridi's *Cantos Populares Vascos* – primera serie Pliego no. 45a (1913).⁵⁴

Guridi later owned copies of both Fr. Donosti's *Euskal Eres-Sorta* and the 11 volumes of the version without accompaniment of Azkue's *Cancionero Popular Vasco*. He owned a copy of J. D. J. Sallaberry's *Chants populaires du Pays Basque*, a copy of Azkue's lecture *La música popular baskongada* delivered on 15th February 1901, and Charles Bordes' *Dix cantiques populaires du pays basque* as well.⁵⁵ Guridi used songs that were already published or that Azkue himself would share with the composer informally before the publication of the *Cancionero Popular Vasco*.

While Guridi was composing *Mirentxu* the musical sections were being rehearsed in *El Cuartito*. First they were heard by Echave then by the rest of the members (whom Arozamena calls the *santones*). Guridi himself taught the work to

⁵⁴ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 107.

⁵⁵ *Biblioteca de Jesús Guridi Procedente de su domicilio en Madrid, calle Sagasta, Enviado a ERESBIL el día 15-7-1988 INVENTARIO*. Eresbil, Fondo A 23.

the performers. The rehearsals of *Mirentxu* alternated with those of Usandizaga's *Mendi-Mendiyan*.

The relationship between Guridi and Usandizaga had always been cordial since their meeting in Paris. Arozamena states that Guridi did not miss one single rehearsal of *Mendi-Mendiyan*.⁵⁶ Guridi would make positive comments about this opera to Juan Carlos Gortazar: – *¡Qué música, y cómo suena!...* Gortazar in return would praise the music of *Mirentxu*. *Mirentxu* effectively fared well in comparison with *Mendi-Mendiyan* and the first performances of both works were successful. Arozamena stresses that their respective followers from Bilbao and San Sebastian would have liked to see competition between the two composers to no avail.

According to Arozamena the first performance of this opera was transcendental both as a musical and a theatrical work. Guridi's figure conducting the orchestra appeared with the authority of a maestro who made of each singer an instrument rather than a mere follower of the orchestral melody. The choruses were complex, states Arozamena. The newspapers in Bilbao praised the new work. Later Francisco Gascue, José Joaquín de Sautu, and Ignacio Zubialde presented analytical studies of this work.⁵⁷

Mirentxu was performed again on 28th August 1912 for the occasion of a conference on Otorhino-laryngology and on 29th August in a benefit event for the victims of a strong *galerna* (strong northwest wind) that had scourged the coast a few weeks earlier.⁵⁸ Arozamena identified the benefit event as being for a shipwreck in Bermeo. The King Alfonso XIII, who attended the second performance with the Queen consort, congratulated Guridi and asked him what he was writing at the moment. Guridi responded that he was working on another lyric drama entitled

⁵⁶ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 101.

⁵⁷ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 102-104.

⁵⁸ María Aldama et al. *La Sociedad Coral de Bilbao. 100 años de historia*. Bilbao: Diputación Foral de Bizkaia, n. d.

Amaya. The King promised they would attend its first performance.⁵⁹ These two performances of *Mirentxu*, were the only representations of the 1912 opera season.

On 25th January 1913 *Mirentxu* was produced with participation of the choirs of the *Sociedad Coral de Bilbao* at the *Teatro del Liceo* in Barcelona with great success.⁶⁰ This performance by the Orquesta Sinfónica de Barcelona was conducted by maestro Juan Lamote de Grignon. In July of the same year the opera was performed at the *Teatro Gayarre* in Pamplona. In 1915 it was given at the *Teatro de la Zarzuela* in Madrid. Despite some problems with the choirs of the theatre, which were not of the standard of the Sociedad Coral, the work was a success.

In an attempt of improvement, *Mirentxu*'s libretto was transformed by Guridi's collaborators in *El Caserío*, Federico Romero and Guillermo Fernández Shaw in 1934. Guridi himself transformed the score giving some luminosity to the otherwise lugubrious original version. The objective was to avoid the languid sections both in libretto and music, and to compensate for the stress on the choral parts of the first version. Seven performances of *Mirentxu* and five of *El Caserío* (see below) were given that year. In 1947 Guridi approached Arozamena for another revision of the libretto.⁶¹ Arozamena wrote the first complete version in Basque – in the earlier versions only the sung parts were in Basque – and one in Castilian. This version obtained the national theatre prize *Ruperto Chapí* in 1947.

Correspondence between Guridi and Usandizaga on the question of popular song

Arozamena records the correspondence between Guridi and Usandizaga during the time they were writing *Mirentxu* and *Mendi-Mendiyan*. In the first of these letters, of 27th October 1909, Guridi was responding to Usandizaga's desire to

⁵⁹ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 105.

⁶⁰ Pliego no. 38 (version of 1912 in Pliego's catalogue, p. 65).

⁶¹ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 122.

know what themes he would use in his pastoral. Guridi commented that if they both used the same themes the public would see how these are treated differently by different composers. He also expressed his anxiousness for not being able to find a march (in 6/8) for the return from a *romería*. Guridi's comment is that they were all horrible and some had already been used in the operas *Chantón*, *Amboto*, etc. Guridi, with a critical sense of humour, points to the poor orchestration, the lack of development, monotony of themes, etc. of operas such as *Amboto* and *Maitena* which he qualifies as "poultices". He feels that whatever their composers compose will be received well and that the only reason why audiences would not like them is because they are not Basque enough, and this shows how misled the audiences are:

Claro está que no me propondría desarrollarlas como el autor de esas obras lo ha hecho. Esa admirable orquestación, ese buen gusto, no me pertenecen. Yo *Amboto* no conozco, pues no tuve valor para ir, pero me han dicho que no hay idea de lo que es, por muy malo que uno se lo figure.

En cuanto la *Maitena* tan renombrada, no deja de ser otra perfecta cataplasma, que carece absolutamente de valor artístico: tiene, claro está, algunos temas populares bonitos, pero inmediatamente que se sale del tema y hace algo que quiere ser desarrollo, no se puede tolerar, y como además todos los temas son lo mismo, defecto que encuentro a los vasco-franceses, resulta de ahí una monotonía y una falta de contraste que verdaderamente se hace insoportable. De la orquestación, ni que hablar; de vez en cuando, y a lo mejor en medio de un melodrama, suena una trombonada desagradable, que pone los pelos de punta al más calvo.

Creo, pues, que lo que hagamos causará alguna impresión, aunque es la gente tan lerda y está tan mal acostumbrada que es capaz de encontrar lo que hagamos ¡poco vasco!, pues para que lo fuera necesitaríamos emplear la ridícula armonía que acredita a esos señores. No hagas caso y no concedas nada al público; haz música; haz música ante todo y riéte de lo demás. Yo estoy dispuesto a colocarles una serie de quintas aumentadas si se me ocurre.⁶²

⁶² Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 130.

Guridi finished his letter mentioning the poor quality of the orchestra – especially the string quartet – that was preparing the performance of *Mirentxu* in Bilbao. From this letter it becomes apparent that Guridi felt there were significant limitations to the Basque operatic movement that had preceded him, and that he was not interested in original popular melodies other than as sources of composition – mere tools in the hands of the composer rather than items of popular expression.

To this question Usandizaga responded on 30th October 1909 that he was trying to avoid the amounting of popular melodies which is what had been done in previous works and develop characters with particular musical motives. If needed, he would even make up a popular melody:

Lo que me propongo, ante todo, es evitar a toda costa el amontonamiento de una colección de cantos más o menos bonitos (que es lo que hasta ahora se ha hecho) y dar interés a cada personaje con su motivo característico.

En cuanto a la marcha que me pides, son tan malísimas las que conozco que no me atrevo a mandártelas. Cuando yo me veo en tu caso, meto un embuchado de mi propia cosecha y, aunque no sea más, tengo la seguridad de que no es de mal gusto.⁶³

Guridi responded with a letter on 23rd November 1909 in which he praised the themes Usandizaga had chosen for his *pastoral lírica Mendi-Mendiyan*. Guridi recognised one of the themes as having been used by Charles Bordes in his *Rapsodia Vasca*.⁶⁴

The interim between *Mirentxu* and *Amaya*

In 1909 Guridi received a gold medal at the *Exposición Regional de Valencia* for his symphonic poem *Égloga*, and for the *Fantasia para órgano*. Arozamena

⁶³ Quoted in Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 141. See Ch. IV, p. 222, for Guridi's practical application of the principle of inventing a popular melody in the theme *joy in feast* in *Amaya*.

⁶⁴ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 146-147.

added in his biography that Guridi received honours for *La Siembra – La saison de semailles*.⁶⁵

In June of 1912 Guridi was named director of the *Sociedad Coral*. This association had as its primary goals establishing a Basque opera. Guridi had already been assisting Aurelio Valle conducting the choir. Under Guridi's direction the *Sociedad Coral* went through the most glorious period – states Arozamena. On 29th May 1912 Guridi had *La saison des semailles*, with poem by Victor Hugo translated by Juan Carlos Gortázar, performed in a concert given in homage to Aureliano Valle. According to Urriza and as recorded by Pliego, Guridi orchestrated this work in 1908 when he was studying orchestration with Otto Neitzel. Usandizaga died on 5th October 1915.

In 1913 Guridi published a first series of the collection *Cantos Populares Vascos* which he dedicated to his predecessor at the *Sociedad Coral*, Aureliano Valle.⁶⁶ A third series was published in 1923,⁶⁷ and the second series published probably between 1913 and 1923 has been lost.⁶⁸ The first series consists of choral harmonizations of six songs: *Iru errege* (three kings), *Maitasun atsekabea*, *Goizian goizik*, *Beñat Mardoren* [Arozamena] (*Beñat Mardo abeslariya* [Pliego]), *Txori urretxindorra*. Some of these themes were used by the composer in *Amaya*.

Guridi also made contributions to two volumes with the title *Euskal Abestijak*, a collection of popular songs with piano accompaniment for the *Juventud Vasca*.⁶⁹ Pliego mentions a performance of five of these songs by Aga Lahowska (who would later take the role of Amagoya in the first performance of *Amaya*) accompanied by Manuel de Falla at the piano at the *Sociedad Filarmónica de Bilbao*.

⁶⁵ These three works are respectively Pliego no. 36 (p. 64), Pliego no. 26 (p. 59) (the organ fantasy composed in Brussels (see above)), and Pliego no. 40 (p. 70-71).

⁶⁶ Pliego no. 45a (p. 75-78). For the content of these series consult appendix 9.

⁶⁷ Pliego no. 64 (p. 92-96).

⁶⁸ Pliego no. 45b (p. 78). (Bilbao, Mar & Cía (AG: 19, ERB: 5)).

⁶⁹ Pliego nos. 41 & 42 (p. 71-74). (Original ms ERB: 4).

The songs were *Abestu biarr dogu*, *Zeuretzat bizija*, *Gabon gabean*, *Aberri maitiari*, and *San Juan de Portaletaña*.⁷⁰

On 19th May 1915 the *Orquesta Sinfónica de Barcelona* conducted by Juan Lamote de Griñón performed Guridi's first symphonic poem *Leyenda Vasca*.⁷¹ Julio Gómez, a student of the Madrid Conservatory at the time of the performance of Guridi's symphonic poem, collaborates with a piece about Guridi's *Leyenda Vasca* in Arozamena's biography. Gómez found revealing that Lamote de Grignon, a conductor with Wagnerian background, was Guridi's choice to conduct this work. Guridi – stated Gómez – was not for this reason a composer of symphonic music in the school of Richard Strauss; he was rather essentially and fundamentally a Basque composer. His Basque nature was being affirmed and became patent in this work.⁷²

Leyenda Vasca was the expression not of foreign influence of Strauss or Debussy, wrote Gómez, but rather of the composer's Basque nationalism: it was comparable to Smetana's tone poems in *My Country*. This work, along with *Una aventura de Don Quijote*, *En un barco fenicio*, and *Amaya*, constituted the expression of the composer's *Basqueness*. Gómez finishes his short contribution stating that in better circumstances the Spanish composer would have become the founder of the true Basque music.⁷³ Gómez's statement is difficult to interpret since he is writing this much after the fact. He could be advocating either radical nationalism of the sort expressed by Arana Goiri or just a colourful version of regionalism.

In 1915 Guridi obtained the second prize in a competition celebrating Cervantes' centenary at the *Círculo de Bellas Artes* with another symphonic poem:

⁷⁰ Pliego no. 41 (p. 71-72).

⁷¹ Pliego no. 46 (p. 79). (Original ms ONE: partituras sueltas; SGAE: AS-140b; ms orchestra parts SGAE: AS-140-B).

⁷² Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 166-169.

⁷³ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 166-169. Julio Gómez became member of the *Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*.

Una Aventura de Don Quijote. The first prize was declared null.⁷⁴ The symphonic poem was performed on 17th November 1916 at the *Teatro Circo Price* in Madrid by the *Orquesta Filarmónica de Madrid* conducted by Bartolomé Pérez Casas. This symphonic poem is inspired by chapters 8 and 9 of Cervantes' book, the battle of Don Quijote with the *Vizcaino*. The choice of subject for a symphonic poem at the time when he was composing *Amaya* and immediately after presenting *Leyenda Vasca* already shows in Guridi a tendency towards an eclecticism and certain ambivalence towards Basque nationalism. It is worth noting that, as an exception in this adventure, Cervantes' well-known character defeats the *Vizcaino*, and this would be a story far from exemplary for the writer of *Bizkaya por su Independencia*.

Guridi's activity as organist and composer of religious music represented an important part of his artistic life. On 22nd March 1918 Guridi was named organist at the Basilica of Santiago after the death of Aureliano Valle, continuing his grandfather's legacy. That same year he wrote a *Misa de Requiem* for men's choir (TTB) and organ in memory of his predecessor. There is also a version for voices and string quartet.⁷⁵ Guridi composed other masses: *Misa en honor de San Ignacio de Loyola* (1922), and *Misa en honor del arcángel San Gabriel* (1955).⁷⁶

Amaya

In 1910 Jesús Guridi starts working on his second opera also on a Basque theme: *Amaya*. In 1920 a pro-*Amaya* committee is formed from all political sides in order to cover the costs of its production. The *Diputación de Vizcaya* votes to support the project with 10,000 pesetas. *Amaya, drama lírico en tres actos y un epílogo*, extracted from the novel with homonymous title by Francisco Navarro

⁷⁴ Pliego no. 47 (p. 79-80). (Original ms BM (Biblioteca Municipal Circulante del Ayuntamiento de Madrid, UME (19990)).

⁷⁵ Pliego no. 55 (p. 83-84). (Original ms has not been located; UME (43661)). Arozamena dates this mass in 1921.

⁷⁶ Pliego nos. 61 (p. 91, Boileau & Bernasconi) and 143 (p. 182, UME 19075).

Villoslada with libretto in Castilian by José María Arroita-Jauregui and version in Basque by Friar José de Arrue, is first performed at the Coliseo Albia in Bilbao on 22nd May 1920. Musicians and singers are sought in Madrid and Barcelona and a professional cast is put together. Juan Lamote de Griñón is recruited to conduct the *Orquesta Sinfónica de Barcelona* and the *Sociedad Coral de Bilbao*. José Power signs the *mise en scène* and Eloy Garay the *décors*. The performance of 22nd May 1920 is extraordinarily successful. Four more performances are given on 25th, 27th, 29th, and 30th May. The *Diputación de Vizcaya* finances the edition of 2,000 copies of the opera in reduction for voice and piano. On 13th June Guridi is received and condecorated in Vitoria.⁷⁷

The *dramatis personae* and their interpreters in the first performance were:

Amaya	Ofelia Nieto	soprano
Amagoya	Aga Lahowska	contralto
Paula / Olalla	Carmen Neiva	soprano
Teodosio de Goñi	Isidoro Fagoaga	tenor
Miguel de Goñi	Gabriel Olaizola	bass
A messenger	Pío Iglesias	baritone
An elder of Navarra	José Castresana	bass
Uchín, a squire	Francisco Alorta	tenor
Another squire	Isidoro Guinea	
A shepherd	Pío Iglesias	baritone
Another shepherd	José Castresana	bass
Choirs and <i>espatadantzaris</i>		

The action takes place in Navarra during the 8th century. The lyric drama comprises three acts and an epilogue:

Act 1	Scenes I-IV (IV is the full moon ritual)
Act 2	Scenes I-IV (IV is the <i>espatadantza</i>)
Act 3	Scenes I-III (III is the parricide)
Epilogue	Scenes I & II

⁷⁷ Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque*, p. 379.

The work is dedicated to the *Excma. Diputación Provincial de Vizcaya*. The *Junta de Cultura Vasca* of the *Diputación de Vizcaya* agreed to cover the cost of the piano and voice version of the lyric drama. The piano reduction was printed by C. G. Röder in Leipzig in 1920. (It has 227 pages.)⁷⁸

Amaya's score

According to *La Sociedad Coral de Bilbao, 100 años de historia* it appears that six manuscript copies of the original score were made and that one of them was bound and deposited in the *Diputación*.⁷⁹ There is no confirmation that this information is accurate. One manuscript copy of the orchestral score with four piano reductions and orchestra parts is housed at the SGAE: AL-6525 and protected under copyright laws. This score is the only one that Victor Pliego was able to locate. On 20th December 2001 the score was housed at the SGAE in Calle Fernando VI no. 4. The score is in 4 volumes. The first volume contains act I (p. 1-209). The second contains act II (p. 1-211). The third contains act III (p. 1-140). The fourth contains the epilogue (p. 1-141). There are two types of paper (here labeled A and B) distributed in the different volumes.

The dimensions of paper A are 35.4 x 26 cm. The dimensions of paper type B are 40.4 x 28 cm. (Paper B is 5 cm taller and 2 cm wider than A.) Paper type A has black staves, paper B green staves.

Volume I has both types of paper: p. 1-120 are paper type A, p. 121-160 are paper type B, p. 161-209 (+3) are paper type A. In the crevices of paper type B it can be read "*sociedad española de autores líricos*" in green letters. The text is entirely in Castilian and everything (both text and music) is in black ink. P. 209 is signed:

⁷⁸ Pliego, p. 86-87.

⁷⁹ Aldama et al. *La Sociedad Coral de Bilbao*, p. 128. Victor Pliego was able to locate only the copy at the SGAE.

Copió C. Lopez (signature)
Bilbao de [Dbre]192[0]

The instrumentation in this score is as follows: 1st and 2nd flutes (two different staves), 1st and 2nd oboes (same staff), English horn, 1st and 2nd clarinets in B-flat (same staff), bass clarinet in B-flat, 1st and 2nd bassoons (same staff), 3rd bassoon, 1st and 2nd horns in F (same staff), 3rd and 4th horns in F (same staff), 1st and 2nd trumpets in B-flat (same staff), 3rd and 4th trumpets in B-flat (same staff), 1st and 2nd trombones (same staff), 3rd trombone (F-clef), tuba, timpani, harp, 1st and 2nd violins (two different staves), violas, celli, contrabassi.

Volume II is entirely composed of paper type A. It has the same instrumentation as volume I except with the addition of a piccolo flauto (*flautín*). The text of the whole act is in Castilian and all (text and music) is in black ink. P. 137 is in blank staves and bears the title:

Ezpata dantza
de la Opera
Amaya
por
Jesús Guridi

P. 138 has the flutes and piccolo by themselves. On p. 161 it is written: *fin del acto 2*.

Volume III is all composed of paper type A and the text is in Castilian. Everything is written in black ink. There is no date on the last page.

Volume IV corresponds to the epilogue. It is composed of paper type B with the text “*sociedad española de autores líricos*” in green ink in the crevices. Music and text are in black ink. Here the text is in Basque and added in ballpen pink ink in Castilian. There is no date. There are marks in blue and red pencil throughout the four volumes.

Volumes I, II, and III have the same type of cover: green carton with green cloth spine. Volume I is larger because of the size of the paper insertion (p. 121-160);

paper type B). Volumes II and III have the same size (paper type A). Volume IV is of the size of paper type B. The cover is green but the texture and tone is slightly different from the other volumes.

The original score seems to be now lost. The copy at the SGAE volume I (last page) was signed in December 1920, a few months after the first performance (22nd May 1920). A mecanographic sheet filed at Eresbil lists the dates when *Amaya* has been performed. On this sheet the following information is provided: On 28th June 1941 *Amaya* was performed at Prague National Theatre. According to this sheet when the war began in Europe the score of the lyric drama was lost.⁸⁰

From the description of the score it is reasonable to assume that paper type A was the original of this particular copy and paper type B a later insertion to replace possible lost parts. When this insertion was made the part that belonged to vol. I (act 1, p. 121-160) was copied again in Castilian. The copier of vol. IV (epilogue), after copying the middle section of vol. I, may have decided to write the Basque version.⁸¹

The libretto of *Amaya*

The libretto of Guridi's lyric drama was written by José María Arroita-Jauregui who on the year of the work's first performance relinquished the property rights of the work to the composer.⁸² The only copy of the libretto available is the 1930 edition from Buenos Aires which is completely in Castilian.⁸³ Arroita-Jauregui had translated the sung parts of Alfredo de Echave's Castilian libretto for *Mirentxu*

⁸⁰ "Representaciones de la ópera *Amaya* de Jesús Guridi." Eresbil Archivo de Compositores Vascos.

⁸¹ In order to conclude this with certainty the handwriting should be compared in order to determine if paper B had two different copiers or the same for volumes I and IV.

⁸² See the transcription of the manuscript note furnished by María Jesús Guridi in which Arroita-Jauregui relinquishes the property rights in appendix 6.

⁸³ A copy of the libretto was furnished to me by María Jesús Guridi in the Winter of 2001-2002: *Amaya, drama lírico en tres actos y epílogo sacado de la novela del mismo título de Don Francisco Navarro Villoslada, Música del maestro Guridi. Estrenada en el Coliseo Albia, de Bilbao, en mayo de 1920 y en el Teatro Real, de Madrid, en Mayo de 1923.* Buenos Aires, Sebastián de Amorrortu, 1930.

into Basque. He also translated from Basque into Castilian some of the songs published in the version with piano accompaniment of Azkue's *Cancionero Popular Vasco*.

In an opening warning Arroita-Jauregui states that the lyric drama should bear the title *Teodosio de Goñi* or *San Miguel de Excelsis* rather than *Amaya* because the story line is in essence that of the earlier legend.⁸⁴ This is true to a lesser extent of Navarro Villoslada's novel, which contains a narration of the legend of Teodosio de Goñi only within the framework of a complex historical novel.

The libretto of the lyric drama starts with a brief introduction about the background on which the drama itself develops.⁸⁵ The action takes place in the Iberian peninsula during the early 8th century. While the Visigoth empire in Spain is ready to confront the Arabs in Guadalete, the Basque people in Navarra wish to transform their society from the present tribal organization into a Christian kingdom. They choose Teodosio de Goñi as their king, for his courage as a warrior and for the veneration they have for his father, Miguel de Goñi, *primus inter pares* in the supreme committee of the elders of Navarra.⁸⁶

There is yet a family more venerable than the Goñis: the heirs of the legendary Basque patriarch Aitor. The patriarch's last descendant is Amaya, who will therefore have to be the future king's wife. Teodosio and Amaya fall in love. They have to keep the affair secret because Amaya is subject to her aunt Amagoya. While almost all the Basques already profess the Christian faith, the priestess Amagoya remains obstinately faithful to the beliefs of the primitive religion, and educates her niece, Amaya, according to them.

⁸⁴ See the opening *advertencia* (warning) in appendix 3.

⁸⁵ The following synopsis is an abstract of the booklet *Amaya, drama lírico en tres actos y epílogo sacado de de la novela del mismo título de D. Francisco Navarro Villoslada, música de Jesús Guridi, Argumento*. Bilbao: Imp., Lit. y Enc. Vda. E Hijos de Grijelmo, 1922.

⁸⁶ Both Arroita-Jauregui's libretto and Villoslada use Basque terms sporadically to refer to peculiar institutions in order to give the text some degree of legitimacy as a Basque text. Here, for instance, the committee of elders is called the *batzarre*.

One of the tenets of the ancient religion is the belief in a future liberator. This, in Amagoya's mind, ought to be Asier, a boy whom she herself had adopted and whom she sees as the only suitor for Amaya. Hence at the age of twelve the latter is betrothed albeit without her father's approval. A few years later, when Asier requests Amaya's hand, he is rejected because of his unrestrained ambition. Asier leaves in despair, but Amagoya will wait for his return. Amaya forgets her betrothal. Here starts the action of the lyric drama.

First act. Amaya laments Teodosio's prolonged absence. Amagoya on the other hand laments the absence of Asier. A messenger arrives and tells the women about Asier's conquests of riches and power, and of his desire to come back to the Basque country to claim Amaya. Meanwhile, followers of the pagan religion arrive for the celebration of the full moon ritual.

Amagoya as priestess presages new times of glory for the sacred house of the Basques, *Aitorechea*, and intones a hymn. Teodosio appears and Amagoya mistakes him for her son Asier. She presages that he will be king of the Basques. Teodosio and Amaya converse, yet she is disheartened by their religious difference. The solution, which Amaya accepts, would be her baptism. Amagoya takes the psaltery from Amaya's hands and damns all Basques who betray their traditions. Amaya asks Teodosio for his protection and they both flee as Asier arrives.

Second act. Amagoya and Asier arrive late for the wedding at *Jaureguía*, the house of the Goñis. Asier's hopes are shattered and he blames Amagoya for not defending his interests. She blames Teodosio and both breathe vengeance. At the wedding dinner Asier asks for justice publicly and demands Amaya as his wife. Teodosio is infuriated but Miguel offers to be the judge. Asier then questions Amaya herself who confesses that they were betrothed in their childhood but that she did this *in ignorance of mind*. As Amagoya protests, Amaya asks Asier to take her aunt away and in return he demands that they meet again in the future. Although she

rejects the demand, the brief encounter between the two awakens Teodosio's suspicions.

Miguel de Goñi gives his own conjugal bed to the newly married and hurries his son to march to Pamplona where his Basque troops are battling against the Visigoths. (At this time the *Ezpatadantza*, or dance of the sword, takes place.) Once more Asier, who had been waiting furtively asks Amaya to become his wife. When she proclaims her love for her husband Teodosio, Asier once more swears vengeance. Teodosio is about to leave when she sees Amaya and realizes that she has been with Asier. He asks her to swear her love. She says she has already done so in front of the altar. He leaves for Pamplona.

Third act. As Teodosio is walking, two of his squires sing the song of Lelo, a traditional Basque song that narrates the infidelity of Lelo's wife. Teodosio, despite some doubts, takes comfort in Amaya's virtue when an old hermit presents himself as God's messenger. The hermit tells Teodosio that his honour is in danger and induces him to walk back to his palace in *Jaureguía* and see for himself. Teodosio then curses Amaya resolving to kill the traitors if this is true.

Teodosio arrives and approaches the nuptial chamber. He listens behind the door and enters. He comes out with a bloody sword. At that moment Amaya appears from another door holding a lamp. When he asks who is sleeping in their bed, Amaya explains she let his parents stay in their former abode. Teodosio cries: *damnation!* and Amaya falls on her knees when she sees the dead couple in the bed.

Epilogue. On the summit of mount Aralar Teodosio is fulfilling the penance imposed by the pope upon him for murdering his own parents. Two women arrive covered. One of them tells Teodosio that the Arabs are now lords of Spain and that they menace the Basque country. They need a leader to fight the enemy but until the chain that is holding Teodosio breaks, he cannot go free.

Two shepherds bring an exhausted knight. Teodosio assists him in charity but the knight, Asier himself, says he is unworthy of clemency. Teodosio says that

he could not be as unworthy as a parricide such as himself. When Asier recognizes Teodosio he confesses that he was the hermit who incited him to commit the murder.

Teodosio becomes enraged but the silent woman intercedes. The dying Asier entreats him to receive baptism. Teodosio overcomes his own anger and administers the sacrament as Asier dies. At that moment there is a terrifying roar. They all kneel and Teodosio invokes St. Michael. The chain breaks and a choir sings: blessed he who forgives and returns good for evil. The silent woman now reveals herself to be Amaya and the reunited lovers promise to build a temple in memory of the miracle.

The composition of *Amaya*

The position of *Amaya* in Guridi's musical and artistic development cannot be overstated. Although it took only a few months for Guridi to write *Mirentxu*, *Amaya* required a much longer period of time. Arozamena says that during the years 1914-1920 Guridi's largest project was the score of *Amaya*.⁸⁷ Surrounded by the members of *El Cuartito* Guridi felt the obligation to achieve something, in words of Arozamena, transcendental, and Navarro Villoslada's novel *Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII* (1879) offered that opportunity. Sagardia points out that, besides *Una aventura de Don Quijote*, *Amaya* is the only significant work Guridi composed during the 1910 decade.⁸⁸

The difficulties with setting the story of *Amaya* for the stage, says Arozamena, lie in the process of reduction of the many events that would allow to create a dramatic action that could be set to music. José María Arroita-Jauregui was in charge of writing the libretto (see above, p. 82-83). *Amaya* is his last collaboration with Guridi and, Arozamena, who later became a librettist for Guridi,

⁸⁷ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 173. Pliego no. 59a (p. 86). Leipzig: C. G. Röder, 1920. The ms copy of the score with four piano reductions and orchestra parts is at the SGAE: AL: 330. An edition of the score would be desirable. For a description of the score see above (p. 77).

⁸⁸ Ángel Sagardia. *Jesús Guridi. Ensayo crítico de su vida y de sus obras*. Bilbao: Ediciones de Conferencias y Ensayos, n. d., p. 18.

states that Arroita-Jauregui, despite having translated the sung parts of *Mirentxu* into Basque, had little experience in the theatre and the result of *Amaya* was choppy and irregular (“*desmadejado y a saltos*”).⁸⁹

Guridi was conscious of his responsibility by undertaking the setting of a legend that had a strong literary background and his experience with Echave’s libretto for *Mirentxu* proved that it would be difficult to find a good librettist. The score of *Amaya* was thought note by note to its most minimal detail. A Basque version was produced by Fr. José de Arrúe, who eventually became Principal of the Franciscans. Questions about the translation are complicated by the fact that the original score may now be lost. Not only are the only extant translations into French and into Czech surrounded with uncertainty, but the details of the translation into Basque are now mysterious. It is prudent to assume that Guridi used primarily the Castilian text since he was not a fluent speaker of Basque.⁹⁰

Reception of *Amaya*: Bilbao

Information about the reception of *Amaya* is scattered and irregular. A whole volume of *Hermes, Revista del País Vasco* (1920 no. 60) was devoted to *Amaya*. There is little information from reviews of the first performance of the lyric drama in Madrid in 1923. The performances in Buenos Aires and Barcelona on the other hand are well documented.

In the review of the lyric drama in the newspaper *ABC*, Joaquín Adán stated that the composition was long and protracted, intense during certain periods and slow during others. The composer worked without much continuity, he was discouraged at times. He would interrupt his work in order to gain inspiration, at other times, when his colleagues heard sections they would react with enthusiasm.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 187.

⁹⁰ This has been corroborated by Jon Bagüés.

⁹¹ Quoted by Morel Borotra, p. 396-397, note 19.

The budget for the *mise-en-scène* of *Amaya* was high. The books of the *Sociedad Coral* estimated about 120,000 pesetas for the production. The choral society did not shy away from the project and several of its administrators went to Madrid and Barcelona to look for musicians. The singers Ofelia Nieto, Aga Lahowska, the Navarrese tenor Isidoro Fagoaga [or Pagoaga], and Celestino Aguirresarobe offered their participation. Luis de Aranguren travelled to Barcelona to recruit the 76 member Orquesta Sinfónica de Barcelona and maestro Lamote de Grignon, an old friend of the composer who – according to information provided by Arozamena and corroborated in a ms by Guridi – had conducted the composer’s *Leyenda Vasca* on 19th May 1915.⁹² Eloy Garay, author of the *décors*, had been sent to Paris for several days in order to learn the appropriate techniques.⁹³ Isidoro Guinea, one of the choir singers, took responsibility for the costumes.

Amaya was scheduled to be performed during the 1919 season of the *Sociedad Coral*. The ambitious program for that year included a celebration of Valle’s anniversary, two concerts with the Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid, the presentation of *Mendi-Mendiyan* in Madrid, and the first performance of *Amaya*. Only the first two events could be realized.⁹⁴ On 26th and 27th April 1919 *Maitena* was performed once more at the Coliseo with Guridi conducting. 1920 was the year of *Amaya*.⁹⁵

After the score was finished preparations for the first performance proved to be challenging. Guridi gave the singers their parts so they would have time to learn them. Ofelia Nieto was impressed by the quality of the music. Meanwhile the choirs were rehearsing in Bilbao.⁹⁶ The composer worked intensely. At the beginning of May the singers were arriving in Bilbao. Five days before the first performance

⁹² Pliego no. 46 (p. 79).

⁹³ Aldama et al. *La Sociedad Coral de Bilbao*, p. 131. It is not specified which opera theatre Eloy Garay attended.

⁹⁴ Aldama et al. *La Sociedad Coral de Bilbao*, p. 125.

⁹⁵ Aldama et al. *La Sociedad Coral de Bilbao*, p. 126.

⁹⁶ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 188-189.

Guridi was at the brink of collapse. The day of the first general rehearsal Juan Carlos Gortázar and Javier Arisqueta were in the last row of seats following in detail the orchestral development of the work. Guridi went back and forth between the different sections in the orchestra trying to fix a wrong note here and there.

José J. de Sautu published an *Análisis y guía temática de Amaya* in collaboration with the composer. Arozamena states that the composer himself guided Sautu's pen as the musical examples in this study are in Guridi's own handwriting.⁹⁷ Sautu would also write an introductory study of *Mirentxu* in the 1947 edition of this work.⁹⁸

On 22nd May the lyric drama was performed at the *Coliseo Albia* in Bilbao with absolute success. Four more performances followed on the 25th, 27th, 29th, and 30th of the same month. On 10th and 17th September 1922 acts II and IV of *Amaya* were represented in Guernica during the 3rd Congress of Basque Studies organized by *Eusko Ikaskuntza* (Basque Teaching). It rained during the production of the 10th so musicians and audience had to protect themselves under a roof. Taking advantage of the presence of the artists who had been hired for this partial production, two more performances were organized at the Coliseo Albia on 19th and 21st September.

Lamote de Grignon explains *Amaya* after its first performance and other reviews of this event

In June of 1920 Lamote de Grignon, the conductor of the first performances of the lyric drama in Bilbao, published an article in *Hermes, revista del País Vasco* which is revealing for the knowledge he had of the score of this and other works by

⁹⁷ *Hermes, revista del País Vasco*, año IV, no. 60, June 1920. Jon Bagüés suggested that Sautu's article may have been written in great part by Guridi. For the content of this analysis and the music of *Amaya* consult chapter IV of this dissertation.

⁹⁸ Jesús Guridi. *Mirentxu. Idilio lírico vasco en dos actos. Nueva versión en castellano y euzkera de la obra de A. Echave* [adapted and translated by Jesús María de Arozamena.] Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores de España, 1948. [Premio Nacional de Teatro Ruperto Chapí, 1947-48].

the composer.⁹⁹ The article explains that Luis de Aranguren had visited the conductor in Barcelona in order to request his help for the production of *Amaya*. Lamote de Grignon felt attracted to the project for its artistic and *patriotic* aspects.

Guridi – continued Lamote de Grignon – adopted the form of lyric drama (not opera, as has improperly been named) in a composition which was not looking for the easy applause. With confidence in his means and in the persuasive strength of his music, the composer launched himself to the realization of his ideal without reservations with a well thought out plan and without resorting to *tricks*. The public, stimulated by Guridi's strength of expression and intuition, gave itself as well without reservations.¹⁰⁰

According to Lamote de Grignon, the *dénouement* of the tragedy in the third act is narrated by the orchestra with absolute mastery. The mystery of the insisting and somber movement in the basses portrays admirably the perfidy of the hermit hiding under his habit the vengeful character of Asier. The insinuations of the unknown rival and the simple and sad *song of Lelo* begin dominating Teodosio's heart. The orchestral narration acquire a terrifying strength as the tragedy ends in the third act.

Amaya's narration, with her childhood theme, offers an effective contrast with the previous sordidness. The spectator is kept in suspense until he would realize the extent of the tragedy revealed in the next scene. The groans and howls from orchestra and horns reflect the terror of the action perpetrated by Teodosio when he knows himself to be a parricide. With this third act Guridi – states Lamote de Grignon – has established his reputation as a dramatic composer.¹⁰¹

As Lamote de Grignon notes, in the first act there are moments of intense musicality and vivid emotion, among which the scene of the *full moon ritual* with

⁹⁹ Juan Lamote de Grignon. "Alrededor de *Amaya*" in *Hermes, revista del País Vasco*, 1920 no. 60, p. 367.

¹⁰⁰ Lamote de Grignon, "Alrededor de *Amaya*", p. 368.

¹⁰¹ Lamote de Grignon, "Alrededor de *Amaya*", p. 368-369.

Amaya's song stood out. In the second act, he continues, Miguel's part was of moving lyricism. Amaya's candid narration and her duo with Teodosio were also remarkable. In the duo, very tender and of simple melodic construction, Guridi showed admirable compositional restraint. The exuberant moment of the *espatadantza* could raise from their seats the least sensitive public. This number offered a radiant, gleaming note of colour.¹⁰²

The expressive nuances of music and orchestration in the epilogue, continues Lamote de Grignon, reach great profundity and intense emotion. The prelude with its bucolic theme and remote voices prepares the appearance of the protagonist as a penitent and the shepherds bringing in the wounded Asier. The laboured shape of the accompaniment and the harmonization of the melody communicated a special charm to this scene. As Lamote de Grignon states, one theme appeared at the raising of the curtain: the theme of the faith (probably the theme *baptism*) which was used by Guridi very aptly to emphasize Asier's repentance as a dying man. Teodosio's struggle with himself, Asier's entreaty for pardon and baptism, found in Guridi's music the justest expression.¹⁰³

Lamote de Grignon saw in *Amaya* an admirable work for its unity and the degree of definition of the specific atmosphere of each act. The *leading motives* used by Guridi maintained the unity and balance of the score. Lamote de Grignon also noted the appropriateness of the orchestral colour, different in each act. The orchestra translated faithfully the poetic and dramatic meaning of each moment in the work, conveying thus an extraordinary richness of nuance. Every instrumental group had life and interest by themselves in a truly *polyphonic* fashion. The voices were well weaved without obscuring the passages. The hand of a master in the manipulation of sounds was manifest.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Lamote de Grignon, "Alrededor de *Amaya*", p. 369.

¹⁰³ Lamote de Grignon, "Alrededor de *Amaya*", p. 369.

¹⁰⁴ Lamote de Grignon, "Alrededor de *Amaya*", p. 370.

Lamote de Grignon expresses himself as a regionalist rather than a nationalist with respect to Basque music in the following comment, contrary to what Morel Borotra portrays. For Lamote de Grignon the performance of *Amaya* was a time of *épanouissement* for Spanish music, and a piece like this ought to be made known worldwide, not only in *our* most important theatres: the *Teatro Real* and the *Liceo*.

The element of Basque local colour is emphasized in the popular Basque dance of the *espatadantza* (dance of the sword) of the second act. Lamote de Grignon thought the group of *espatadantzaris* would have to be wherever *Amaya* is performed since nowhere else could any master of dance teach his or her pupils to feel the diabolic rhythms natural of that region.

When maestro Lamote de Grignon states that 22nd May was a glorious day for the campaign of the *Sociedad Coral de Bilbao* and for the national musical art, he means in the larger context of Spain.¹⁰⁵ Thus the maestro's position is closer to the theoretician of Basque opera Francisco de Gascue than to Arana Goiri's nationalism.

As Lamote de Grignon pointed out, the reception of *Amaya* in Bilbao could not be anything but enthusiastic. Fernando Martínez Zumeta (*Junior*) expresses an admiration that only the work of a genius could produce.¹⁰⁶ For this critic, the first act was a succession of themes and melodies with a marked religious character, most of them collected from the popular muse and adapted into a modern opera.

The religious element born out of the soul of the people was Martínez de Zumeta's emphasis. He stated that the music was of a grandiose severity, majesty, and quiet serenity. The religious character, born out of the rhythm, structure, development, instrumental intervention, could only be found in Wagner. Zumeta assigns some of the themes to the different characters of the drama and some of them he traces to popular songs, but not always accurately. For instance, he confounds the theme of Asier with the song of Lelo. Amagoya's theme – he states – had a religious character, “that of archaic Gregorian chant”.

¹⁰⁵ Lamote de Grignon, “Alrededor de *Amaya*”, p. 371.

¹⁰⁶ Fernando Martínez Zumeta. “Estreno de la ópera *Amaya* en Bilbao.” *Junior*, June 1920, p. 146.

Martinez Zumeta places emphasis on the elements of the ancient pagan Basque religion. Amagoya's full moon ritual had its own theme while Amaya's song of the traditions of Aitor was a delicate page of lush inspiration and supreme poetry that left a feeling of infinite peace, he states. The mystification of the first act ends with Amaya and Teodosio fleeing from Amagoya with Teodosio's vibrant musical theme.

According to Zumeta, the second act is more visually oriented than the first, more theatrical, and less profound and religious. The critic recognizes the popular theme "*Pranzisku galtza zareta*" (*Itxarkundia*) in the choir congratulating the newlyweds. The duo of Teodosio and Amaya, the nuptial scene, the choir full of tenderness and lyricism, the choir of congratulations, and the felt accents of the patriarch Miguel lead to the *espatadantza* introduced by the typical *txistu* and *tamboril*. Zumeta states that here the composer's technical prowess and polished taste could deliver the rhythm of that rude and savage dance.¹⁰⁷

Martínez Zumeta narrates in detail the tragedy of the parricide especially as it pertains to the third act. He points to the dark tonalities of Lelo's somber song which gripped with jealousy Teodosio's anguished soul, and to Asier's arrival under the false image of a hermit with the monorhythmic characteristic theme in the basses (theme *slander*). The orchestra seemed to participate in Teodosio's derangement with the violent dissonances of the brass when Teodosio realizes his horrendous crime, states Zumeta.¹⁰⁸

Martínez Zumeta points out the essentially religious and mystical character of the epilogue, and the parallel structure with the first act. Thus the theme of baptism

¹⁰⁷ Martínez Zumeta. "Estreno de la ópera *Amaya* en Bilbao", p. 147.

¹⁰⁸ Martínez Zumeta. "Estreno de la ópera *Amaya* en Bilbao", p. 148. Martínez Zumeta saw in this act a different musical character from the two previous acts: the melody, of a modernist *Debussyan* type [*factura*], languished reflecting the somber and tragic situations of the drama.

acquires maximum relief and greatness and the whole act is built on a succession of the work's themes.¹⁰⁹

Martínez Zumeta's criticism showed a thorough knowledge of the underlying themes of the lyric drama: from a musical point of view, the use of popular melodies [*Pranzisku*] as *Leit-motive* for the musical structure. From the literary point of view he showed a knowledge of the two main themes associated with Amaya. The primitive religion of the Basques, represented by Amagoia in the first act, was transformed in the epilogue into the new Christian religion at the defining moment of the pardon of Asier by Teodosio. The tragedy of the parricide had been transmitted as the legend of Don Theodosio de Goñi since the middle ages. Martínez Zumeta's emphasis lies on the popular origin of the melodies and the religious, almost sacred quality of the drama.

A reading of another article gives a slightly different image of the lyric drama. In an article of 23rd May 1920 *El Noticiero Bilbaino*, a critic who signs with the pseudonym Pharadi, gives a review of the first performance.¹¹⁰ The expectations of the public, which was comprised of all social classes, were enormous.

Pharadi points to the skillful use of the legend of Teodosio de Goñi in the work and to a languid libretto which lacks in action and emotional strength. The dramatic intensity is poorly accentuated and becomes secondary to the musical score. The inadequacy of the libretto had not been brought up by Zumeta.

¹⁰⁹ Martínez Zumeta. "Estreno de la ópera *Amaya* en Bilbao", p. 148 Martínez Zumeta's article finished with praise for the conductor, Juan Lamote de Grignon, who learnt the score to the most minimal detail, and the *Orquesta [Sinfónica] de Barcelona*. All the singers were praised as well: Ofelia Nieto, Aga Lahowska, and especially Fagoaga – a dramatic tenor with very pleasing timbre and great ease in the high registers – Sarobe, and Olaizola. The *décors* by Eloy Garay were admirable and the *atrezzo* did not lack a single detail within its typically Basque character. The choirs of the *Sociedad Coral de Bilbao* contributed efficiently to the success of the performance. Bilbao [the *Diputación Provincial de Vizcaya?*] had proved itself valiant with altruism when it facilitated Guridi the material support and moral stimulus without which *Amaya* would have remained unknown and we would have been deprived of the happiest moments of our interior / spiritual life.

¹¹⁰ See appendix 14 for a transcript of this review.

Notwithstanding, Pharadi states that the libretto had been well translated into a refined, elegant, and academic Basque by Fr. Arrue.¹¹¹

Pharadi points to the development of popular Basque songs such as *Ene arrerosteko* and *Eleixara juan* in a noble and complex contrapuntal work without sophisticated complications. The melodies used as *Leit-motiv* were always clear and perceptible despite their brilliant orchestral apparel and symbolized characters and events in small designs acquiring aesthetic expression at different stages of the drama.¹¹²

Pharadi admires the symphonic qualities of the first act, the *full moon ritual*, but criticizes the lack of brightness that could be expected from the hymn to the race sung by the rebel Amagoya. The second act, although beautiful and of great spirituality, was abruptly interrupted by the *ezpatadantza* without preparation for the dance or change in scenic situation.¹¹³

Pharadi thought the third act, in which the tragedy was developed, the most profound. Nevertheless the moment of the tragedy itself was disorienting in the way in which the scene had been conceived. The epilogue, the development of the religious melody throughout the whole work, and the moment of the miracle, were remarkable.

Pharadi wrote that the work as a whole was very interesting for its technical achievements and for its peculiar intensity, which never diminished. *Amaya* meant a very elevated step for the truly Basque art made by the young and brave maestro. Like Martínez Zumeta, Pharadi praised Eloy Garay as the scenographer *par excellence* of the Basque theatre. He had contributed with a *décor* in harmony with the libretto. His curtains were paintings extracted from the country. The epoch emerged as if lived by him. Pharadi complains that the depiction of Mount Aralar

¹¹¹ Pharadi. Review of *Amaya* in *El Noticiero Bilbaino*. 23rd May 1920. See above (p. 86-87) for Arozamena's critique.

¹¹² Pharadi. Review of *Amaya* in *El Noticiero Bilbaino*.

¹¹³ Pharadi. Review of *Amaya* in *El Noticiero Bilbaino*.

was perhaps overly fantastic.¹¹⁴ With respect to the costumes Pharadi pointed to the difficulty that entailed the adaptation of events in the 8th century.¹¹⁵

Another review from *El Liberal* pointed to the great expectation in the first performance of *Amaya*. The critic stated that the score was in accord with the modern musical schools, including those of Wagner, suppressing all the resources of the Italian schools. Musical themes of different character – love, religious, war, bucolic – were developed throughout the drama. For this critic the second act was not only more theatrical but also of higher inspiration: the music was mysterious and somber in character and the *espatadanza* had a magnificent effect. In general this critic is far more superficial in his assessment of the work and especially of the legend behind *Amaya*.¹¹⁶

A critic of one of the 1922 performances in *La Gaceta del Norte* also pointed to the brilliant character of the *espatadanza* but made few more remarks of consequence.¹¹⁷ Both articles from *El Liberal* and *La Gaceta del Norte* were much less involved than the articles by Martínez Zumeta and Pharadi.

Arozamena seems to think that the success in Bilbao was not echoed in the rest of the country and that, to his own disappointment, Madrid and Barcelona seemed to ignore the event. Three years later *Amaya* was represented at the *Teatro Real* and fourteen years later at Barcelona's *Liceo*.

A little over two years after the first performance of *Amaya*, on 7th July 1922, Guridi married Julia Ispuzua in the Sanctuary of Lezo in Guipuzcoa. The same year Guridi became professor of organ and harmony at the newly founded *Conservatorio Vizcaino*.

¹¹⁴ Pharadi. Review of *Amaya* in *El Noticiero Bilbaino*.

¹¹⁵ Pharadi. Review of *Amaya* in *El Noticiero Bilbaino*.

¹¹⁶ M. "La ópera de Guridi. El estreno de *Amaya* resultó un acontecimiento." *El Liberal*. Bilbao: 23rd May 1920.

¹¹⁷ "Amaya en Albia. Un gran éxito." *La Gaceta del Norte*. 20th September 1922.

***Suite de Amaya* in Madrid and the lyric drama *Amaya* at the Teatro Real**

In order to popularize the work Guridi wrote a *Suite de Amaya* with four fragments: *Plenilunio*, *Boda*, *Venganza*, and *Perdón*.¹¹⁸ This version was performed by the *Orquesta Filarmónica de Madrid* under the direction of Guridi at the *Teatro de Price* on 9th March 1923, just a little over two months before the first performance of the lyric drama at the Teatro Real. Adolfo Salazar in an article in *El Sol* described the music of Guridi on the occasion of the first performance of this suite. This article is worth reproducing as it gives an idea of how Guridi's music was received in Madrid for the lack of reviews of the lyric drama itself:

Una versión que, si bien incompleta, deja margen para apreciar con bastante certeza la totalidad de la obra... La producción total de Guridi podría dividirse en dos partes: las obras de carácter suave, blando, casi elegíaco, que son la mayor parte de su producción, y las obras fuertes, robustas, varoniles. El poema sinfónico *Una aventura de Don Quijote*, que fue lo último de él oído, es una de las obras más importantes de este grupo, y a él viene a añadirse la ópera *Amaya*, a pesar de los trozos idílicos que contiene. Ideas, construcción, tratamiento armónico y orquestal, sentido dramático, todo parece estar de acuerdo con ese concepto del arte de gran empaque y de amplias dimensiones. Quizá un deseo de entonar con la tradicional fortaleza de su raza, en un modo de expresión franco y neto, sin ambages ni rodeos, un poco rudo a veces, con esa rudeza de campesino vasco y a ratos el estudiante de composición alemán. Su popularismo participa asimismo del criterio de reproducción directa, y trozos como la espatadanza son claras trasposiciones del cuadro popular al del escenario. Cuánto agradece nuestro público ese procedimiento pudo comprobarse ayer en la audición de ese trozo, que tuvo que ser repetido. Algo menos sorprendido por la forma de expresión se mostró en el trozo denominado *La venganza*. En cambio, tras de *La boda*, los aplausos sonaron con viva satisfacción, que, tras la escena final, asumió un tono entusiástico, obligando a Guridi a un sinfín de reverencias ante un público que lo aclamaba calurosamente.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Pliego no. 59b (p. 89).

¹¹⁹ Adolfo Salazar, quoted in Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 199-200.

In 1922 the arrangements to take *Amaya* to Madrid were made. The Teatro Real was in the hands of *Bilbainos* and these guaranteed an exceptional production if the performances were done out of season. Three performances were scheduled preceded by two concerts by the *Sociedad Coral*. The city government of Madrid donated 5,000 pesetas after the first concert given on 15th May acknowledging thus the efforts made by the society. In return for the generous contribution, the Sociedad sang on 17th May accompanied by the Orquesta Municipal in Paseo de Rosales for the people of Madrid.¹²⁰

On 16th May 1923 *Amaya* was produced at the *Teatro Real*. Ofelia Nieto and Isidoro Fagoaga reprised their rôles as Amaya and Teodosio but the remainder of the cast was new.¹²¹ The *Sociedad Coral* had 140 members. There were 40 ballerinas from the *Teatro Real*, 20 Basque *espatadantzaris* were brought specifically for the performance. Eloy Garay was in charge of *décors* and Isidoro Guinea, a member of the choir, was in charge of the costumes. A one hundred-member orchestra was conducted by Saco del Valle.¹²²

On the night of 16th the *Teatro Real* was completely full and its public applauded the performance until two in the morning. King Alfonso XIII and Queen Doña Victoria Eugenia attended the first performance as they had promised when they attended the 1912 performance of *Mirentxu*.¹²³ The King congratulated Guridi during the first intermission; he had been particularly impressed with the *espatadantza*. The King and the Queen consort – said Arozamena – attended the three performances given at the *Teatro Real*. The authors of *La Sociedad Coral de Bilbao* state that the King heard the whole lyric drama again on the third

¹²⁰ Aldama et al. *La Sociedad Coral de Bilbao*, p. 130.

¹²¹ Elvira Casazza sang the rôle of Amagoya, Bienvenido [Benvenuto] Franci sang Miguel, and Gabriel Olaizola sang Asier.

¹²² Aldama et al. *La Sociedad Coral de Bilbao*, p. 131.

¹²³ See above, p. 72-73.

performance, but not on the second.¹²⁴ He invited the *Sociedad Coral* to sing the Sunday mass at the royal palace on the 19th and the 20th. Both the King and the Queen congratulated the singers and directors lavishly.¹²⁵

The result of the expedition could not have been more flattering. At the return to Bilbao the *junta directiva* of the *Sociedad Coral* agreed on offering Alfonso XIII the honorary presidency of the society, and the town government of Madrid and maestro Saco del Valle honorary memberships. This act prompted political campaigns which disrupted singers and members of the society. An extraordinary assembly summoned on 6th July 1923 made public the following resolution:

Se convoca a junta general extraordinaria... para someter a resolución:

1. Aprobación de la conducta de la Junta Directiva por ajustarse a los preceptos reglamentarios y a las normas establecidas por la Sociedad, al ofrecer a S. M. el Rey D. Alfonso XIII la Presidencia de Honor y nombrar Socio Honorario al Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Madrid y al Maestro D. Arturo Saco del Valle, ratificándose estos acuerdos.
2. Haber visto con desagrado el proceder de aquellos que, olvidando la consideración que debe guardarse a la Junta Directiva y dificultando la buena marcha de la Sociedad, llevaron su protesta a la prensa y sembraron la discordia, haciendo cuestión política de un acto claro, noble, sincero y caballeroso, de gratitud e hidalguía, cual es el de corresponder cortés y reglamentariamente, según tradicional costumbre, a la generosa protección que nos dispensara el Jefe del Estado, contribuyendo poderosamente al éxito de nuestras recientes jornadas.¹²⁶

During the meeting the president of the *Sociedad Coral* D. Emiliano de Uruñuela justified the motives of the *junta directiva* saying that they responded to a desire of the society to thank the King for his determined protection during the artistic journey to Madrid and for the special interest he had in giving their activities

¹²⁴ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 200. There is no record of the King attending the second performance besides Arozamena's comment.

¹²⁵ Aldama et al. *La Sociedad Coral de Bilbao*, p. 132.

¹²⁶ Aldama et al. *La Sociedad Coral de Bilbao*, p. 132.

more brilliance, attending spontaneously the performances of *Amaya*, as well as for the enthusiastic support he showed for the future activities of the society.¹²⁷

Uruñuela denied the accusation that the nomination was done for political reasons claiming that the goals of the *Sociedad Coral* were always artistic rather than political.¹²⁸ The resolution was approved after obtaining 142 votes in favour and 91 against. Uruñuela donated 9,134 pesetas of the 14,134 of the deficit incurred on the trip to Madrid to complement the donation of 5,000 pesetas by the president himself and the vocals of the *junta directiva*. The King was never actually named honorary president.¹²⁹

Both Arozamena and Sagardia reflected on the triumph that *Amaya* had attained in Madrid. Arozamena included comments from three reviews: *ABC*, *La Voz*, and *Informaciones*.¹³⁰ *ABC* commented on the clamorous success partly due to the Basque colony in Madrid attending the performance.

Arozamena's selection of the article by Juan del Brezo from *La Voz* stated that Guridi had responded to his nationalist yearning but that the composer was not allured by a narrow folkloric nationalism. The nationalist element – continued Brezo – burst in a frank and naturalist manner in the *espatadantza*, but only in a fleeting fashion.¹³¹

In all reviews, from Lamote de Grignon to Brezo, the *espatadantza* is mentioned. Brezo's review had the merit of bringing the nationalist or regionalist overtones of this dance, which would probably be taken for granted in Bilbao.

¹²⁷ Aldama et al. *La Sociedad Coral de Bilbao*, p. 133-134.

¹²⁸ Aldama et al. *La Sociedad Coral de Bilbao*, p. 134.

¹²⁹ Aldama et al. *La Sociedad Coral de Bilbao*, p. 135.

¹³⁰ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 200-201.

¹³¹ Juan del Brezo, quoted in Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 201. Arozamena does not make it clear what newspaper and year he extracted this article from. On p. 398-399 a list of reviews of *Amaya* gives not one single review in Madrid.

Amaya in Buenos Aires

In 1930 *Amaya* was brought to Buenos Aires. Guridi was received triumphantly in this city even before the performances of the lyric drama. A representation of the Basque colony had traveled to Montevideo to welcome the composer. In Buenos Aires he was treated like the saviour of Basque music.¹³² *El Caserío* (see below) had already been performed in this city. Hina Spani and Fagoaga were singing in the first performance of *Amaya*. The first night was a great success. The industrious tenacity of Isidoro Fagoaga – who sang in the role of Teodosio under Franco Paoloantonio’s baton – led to this performance.¹³³

The critics were cordial and praised the work moderately. Arozamena quotes a review which appeared in *La Nación*.¹³⁴ Another critic in *La Prensa* points to Guridi’s conservative musical language in this lyric drama: *el maestro vasco no es un avanzado*. *La Crítica* is the last newspaper quoted by Arozamena.

A review of the first performance in *El Mundo* of Buenos Aires published on 20th August 1930 and signed by L. A. G. is extremely critical of musical and dramatic aspects but does not find any serious flaw in Guridi’s work. He states that the music was superior to the libretto thus coinciding with the observations made by Pharadi in 1920.¹³⁵ The reviewer mistook Francisco Navarro Villoslada as the librettist – which shows a lack of awareness of the literary tradition behind the drama – and judged that the weak points were due to the author’s excessive concern with the recreation of the historical epoch. The critic also states that some dramatic situations showed a lack of movement despite the beauty of the musical score, but

¹³² Arozamena mentions the 1910 celebration of the centenary of independence was celebrated with Pedrell’s *Los Pirineos*, Chapí’s *Margarita la Tornera* and *Circe*, Serrano’s *La Maja sin Rumbo*, Bretón’s *Los Amantes de Teruel*.

¹³³ The other parts were sung by Hina Spani, Luisa Bertana, Tina de Bary, and Jorge Lanskoy.

¹³⁴ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 205-207.

¹³⁵ “Se estrenó en el Colón *Amaya*, obra que reúne notables valores musicales” in *El Mundo* 20th August 1930. Copy of article in the composer’s file (AG) recorded in Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 398. See appendix 10.

this comment points not so much to the limitations of the libretto as to the full moon ritual of the first act and sections of religious mysticism of the epilogue.

L. A. G. however cannot but admire Guridi's music. The music, he writes, was excellent and followed the drama with admirable exactitude. Popular Basque themes, liturgical sections, and regional dances developed in symphonic fashion avoiding excessive complexity that would have deformed the spirit of the work. For this critic the *ezpatadantza* is nothing more than a regional dance.

The composer showed an efficient application of modern orchestral resources in the harmonization of timbres, and a richness of nuances which fitted the scenery. He proved to be a master of choral harmonization. The only drawback was an excessive *Wagnerism* in some of the scenes.¹³⁶ The strong nationalist base of the work guaranteed its independence from symphonic characteristics which had been adopted forcibly (i. e. the Wagnerian precepts).

Despite the earlier criticism of lack of movement, L. A. G. finds that the music of *Amaya* has very beautiful moments of deep mystical suggestion that translates efficiently the liturgical gravity of the scene. The tragedy of the parricide is reduced to mere dramatic accents of struggle. It is not surprising that L. A. G. does not comment more specifically on the use of popular song or the origin of the legend, being so detached from traditions that were becoming foreign despite the Basque origin of the audience. It is worth noting the critic's observation that the strong nationalist character of the drama counteracts its obvious Wagnerist tendencies.¹³⁷

Other works by Guridi were given at the *Teatro Avenida* – a smaller venue – in Buenos Aires: *La Meiga*, a zarzuela on Galician themes with text by Guillermo Fernández Shaw and Federico Romero Sarachaga was performed nine days after

¹³⁶ The critic states: Mime and Parsifal are not characters that blend well in a Basque atmosphere.

¹³⁷ "Se estrenó en el Colón *Amaya*" in *El Mundo* 20th August 1930. The critic of *El Mundo* praised first of all Isidoro Fagoaga – the artificer of the performance in Buenos Aires – and most of the singers except for Hina Spani who was harshly criticized. The conductor and especially the orchestra were highly praised. So were the choirs.

Amaya.¹³⁸ On 6th September a revolution in Buenos Aires deposed president Irigoyen while Guridi was still in the city. On 11th September Guridi started his return voyage to Bilbao where he received a new homage.

Amaya in Barcelona

Amaya was performed on 12th April 1934 at the *Teatro del Liceo* in Barcelona with maestro Juan Lamote de Grignon conducting the orchestra.¹³⁹ The main roles were sung by Matilde and Josebe Zabalbeascoa, Cristóbal Altube, Pepita Embil, and Gabriel Olaizola.¹⁴⁰

The critic of *El Noticiero Universal* of Barcelona transcribes on 11th April 1934 an interview with Lamote de Grignon.¹⁴¹ Guridi had composed a grandiose poem – said Lamote de Grignon – one of the most important and solid musical works written in Spain during the last decades: had mastered melody, orchestral technique, and counterpoint. Lamote de Grignon points to the remarkable honesty of the composer as he restricted himself to follow the libretto and avoided all opportunity to indulge in empty effects.¹⁴²

Luis Gongora wrote a review of the performance at the *Liceo* in the newspaper *La Noche*.¹⁴³ This review stresses the parricide rather than the liturgical aspects of the first act and epilogue as L. A. G. did for the newspaper *El Mundo* in

¹³⁸ Pliego no. 71 (p. 106-110). See below. See also *El Caserío*, Pliego no. 68 (p. 97-105).

¹³⁹ *Representaciones de la ópera Amaya, de Jesús Guridi* (Eresbil).

¹⁴⁰ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 211-212.

¹⁴¹ Gran Teatro del Liceo. El estreno de la ópera *Amaya* in *El Noticiero Universal*. Barcelona, 11th April 1934. For *Mirentxu* see Pliego no. 38 (p. 65-70). Lamote de Grignon had also conducted the first performance of *Amaya* in 1920 (see above) and the second version of *Mirentxu* in 1912 in which Guridi added music to the spoken dialogues. This version was first performed on 25th January 1913 at the Teatro del Liceo in Barcelona. He had also conducted the symphonic poem *Leyenda vasca* in its first performance on 19th May 1915 with the Orquesta Sinfónica de Barcelona (Pliego no. 46 (p. 79)).

¹⁴² Gran Teatro del Liceo. El estreno de la ópera “*Amaya*” in *El Noticiero Universal*. Barcelona, 11th April 1934.

¹⁴³ Luis Gongora. “Gran Teatro del Liceo. Con un éxito enorme se estrenó la ópera vasca *Amaya*, del maestro Jesús de Guridi” in *La Noche*, 13th April 1934.

Buenos Aires. Gongora does not find fault with the libretto either although he mistakes the name of the librettist as Luis (rather than José María) Arroita-Jauregui. He states that the most intense and accomplished version was the Basque of Fr. José Arrue because of its adequate austerity and expressive efficiency. It is difficult to assess the reason for this statement since Gongora probably did not speak Basque but it points to the possibility that the lyric drama may have actually been sung in Basque in Barcelona.

Gongora points to more universal aspects of the libretto and states that an air of Greek tragedy fills the dialogic and plastic space. With this comparison the critic creates a distance from the local source of the legend with which he was obviously not familiar. Human emotion, states Gongora, emanates from Teodosio de Goñi's jealousy and involuntary parricide. The vengeful Asier fills the mind of Teodosio with suspicion, thus making him his unwilling instrument and inciting the murder of his own parents.

Gongora praises the score and states that the composer had restricted his music with austerity and efficiency. His music was solidly structured and rich in thematic fluidity. The Wagnerian procedures of the *Leit-Motiv* and the recitatives of the "infinite melody" were apparent in Guridi's score. Despite his obsession with orchestral density – continues the critic – the composer did not discard the expressive achievements of the Italian *verista* school. His themes, whether original or inspired by the spring of the Basque folklore, were developed with spontaneity and balanced deliberation.

Gongora also stresses that the public was enthusiastic about the intense rhythmic suggestion of the *espatadantza* passionately performed by the *espatadantzaris* who put in a note of *racial* enthusiasm and artistic fervour.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ Gongora reviewed the individual performances positively and stressed J. Lamote de Grignon's musical authority and enthusiasm in a perfect interpretation of *Amaya*. He was justly applauded with the composer after each act and especially at the end of the performance.

A review in *La Publicitat*, in Catalan, was also favourable.¹⁴⁵ The reviewer, obviously more *Catalanist* than Gongora, stressed at the outset that the composer developed the action – which took place in the 8th century during the Gothic empire – admirably. His highest achievement was to have been able to keep the unity of the atmosphere from beginning to end in the variegated situations of the drama. For this critic the music had a particular tone of nobility which became pervasive on the listener, the whole conception was balanced, the interest of the musical action grew gradually and was intensified in the last scene of the work.

The reviewer had words of praise for the choice of characters, musical treatment of the action, and specific sections such as Amaya's narration of her childhood and the scene of the parricide in the third act. Also worth mentioning for this reviewer, who had revealed nationalistic sympathies, were the dances of the second act, very well performed by the *espatadantzaris*, which had to be repeated due to the enthusiastic applause. Unlike Gongora this reviewer does not mention the composer's Wagnerian techniques. The critic does not find fault in the libretto, and neither the full moon ritual nor the legend of the parricide had any special resonance for him. Neither of the two made a connection with the legend of San Julián el Hospitalario as Navarro Villoslada does. (See chapter III, p. 136).

Prague and other performances of *Amaya*

In 1941, during the German occupation, *Amaya* was performed at the National Theatre in Prague. The libretto was translated into Czech by J. R. Slaby. The orchestra was conducted by Zdeněk Follprecht. L. Hradsky and J. F.

¹⁴⁵ "Liceu. Estrena de l'òpera basca *Amaia*, de Lluís Arroita Jauregui i R. P. Josep de Arrue, música de Jesús Guridi," in *La Publicitat*. Barcelona: 13th April 1934. For a transcript of this article see appendix 13. This critic also mistook the librettist's first name as Lluís. There was great expectation before the performance: "L'espectació desvetllada per aquest esdeveniment era molt gran."

Munclinger were in charge of the *mise en scène*. The choreographer was Zdenka Sabilová.¹⁴⁶ The score appears to have been lost in Prague because of the war.¹⁴⁷

In 1952 new performances were given in San Sebastián, in 1962 in Bilbao, during the 1963-1964 season at the *Liceo* in Barcelona, in 1965 at the *Teatro de la Zarzuela* in Madrid. Both Lamote de Grignon and Arozamena seemed to agree that *Amaya* remained one most important operas of the Spanish repertoire and that few operas had achieved the unique qualities of this lyric drama.

Euzko irudiak and XXII canciones del folklore vasco

At around the time Guridi was producing *Amaya* in Bilbao he composed another work for the stage on Basque themes but of a much different type: *Eusko Irudiak – Cuadros Vascos* (Basque *tableaux*)¹⁴⁸. The date of composition and first performance of this concert work for choir and orchestra on popular Basque themes are unknown. There was a version for wind-band by J. Franco from 1922, therefore Pliego assumes this as the latest possible date. *Eusko Irudiak* consisted of three *tableaux*: *lenengo*, *bigarren*, and *irugarren ikuskizuna* (first, second, and third spectacles). A staged production of this score was performed on 3rd February 1942 at the *Teatro Madrid* in Madrid. This piece contained the choir songs *Boga boga*, *Ator ator mutil*, and *Anton Aizkorri*.¹⁴⁹ This piece was probably composed at the same time the composer was working on *Amaya*.

Arozamena also includes the *XXII canciones del folklore vasco* in this period. Most of the melodies are taken from R. M. de Azkue's *Cancionero Popular Vasco*.

¹⁴⁶ Little else is known about the circumstances of this performance. Idoia Aguirre, at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid is researching this event.

¹⁴⁷ Information gathered from the leaf *Representaciones de la ópera Amaya, de Jesús Guridi*, Eresbil. Several informal sources seem to agree that the score was lost in Prague.

¹⁴⁸ Pliego no. 60 (p. 89-91). (Original ms choir/orchestra SGAE: AS-138; original ms for men's choir (TbB) and piano (incomplete) AG: 236).

¹⁴⁹ These are respectively Pliego no. 45b (p. 75-78) & 184, Pliego no. 64 (p. 92-96) & no. 225 (p. 219-222), and Pliego no. 42 (p. 73-74) & no. 43 (p. 74), cfr. Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 249.

From this collection Guridi took some of the musical examples with which he illustrated the opening conference at the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando.¹⁵⁰ Because of Fr. Donostia's critique quoted by Arozamena it is probable that they were composed in the 1920's. Eight of these songs (nos. 2, 4, 5, 8, 12, 13, 14, 16) were selected by Guridi for his composition of the *Diez Melodías Vascas* [see below].

Pliego also assigns the year 1922 to Guridi's *Misa en Honor de San Ignacio de Loyola* for men's choir (TTB) and organ which is based, according to Pliego, on the popular Basque march of San Ignacio.¹⁵¹

A different path: *El Caserío*

According to Arozamena, Guridi underwent a compositional impasse during the two years following *Amaya*. During these years Guridi wrote the symphonic poem *Un Barco Fenicio – Dans un vaisseau phenicien*, based on *Les aventures de Telemache* by Fenelon (François de Salignac). This symphonic poem was first performed on 30th December 1927 in Madrid by the *Orquesta Filarmónica de Madrid* (Sagardia 28) and was dedicated to the composer's friend Félix Valdés.¹⁵²

The members of *El cuartito* had zealously prevented Guridi from becoming *impure* by attending to music that was not symphonic, operistic, or choral. For the music amateurs of *El cuartito*, composers who devoted themselves to writing zarzuelas were collectors of easy and noisy melodies.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ Pliego gives as the source the Archivo Guridi as the best source (AG: 104, ERB: 4) and Fr. Bilbao located (AG: 404). Guridi used some songs from this collection as examples in his lecture of acceptance at the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando. *Catálogo de Obras de Jesús Guridi*, no. 255, p. 219-222.

¹⁵¹ Pliego no. 61 (p. 91). (Barcelona: Boileau & Bernasconi AG: 111a-b, 288; BN: Mp 1178/10; SD: G).

¹⁵² Pliego no. 66 (p. 97).

¹⁵³ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 217-218.

After attending a performance of Amadeo Vives' *Doña Francisquita* Guridi rethought his position towards the zarzuela. In the summer of 1924 he shared with Luis Urquijo, Marquis of Bolarque, his interest in Vives' piece. In January of 1925 Urquijo approached Federico Romero Sarachaga, one of the writers of the libretto. Gortazar, himself a member of *El Cuartito*, according to a letter by Romero, seems to have suggested to Guridi to compose for the theatre: he could do something of the caliber of *Doña Francisquita*.¹⁵⁴

One of the risks of having a zarzuela on a Basque theme written by non-Basques would be an artificial result and especially the rejection of the Basques themselves. Thus Romero – in an article written for Arozamena's book – explains that he had lived in Bilbao between the ages of 7 and 10 and had spent summers in San Sebastián, Zarauz, and Ondárroa. In order for him to become reacquainted with the Basque country he rented a flat in Ondárroa during the summer of 1925. He visited local places, met and conversed with as many people as he could. He read literature by Basque authors such as the *Cuadros vascos*, novels by Aranaz Castellanos, Arturo Campión, and Pío Baroja.¹⁵⁵

The inspiration for Romero Sarachaga came from the direct observation of fellows with picturesque individualities such as peasants, villagers, a tobacconist woman, etc. He would pay heed to a *romería*, or simply the holiday atmosphere in the typical town of Ondárroa. *El Caserío* in its entirety was inspired in a living reality – the critics of Bilbao later proclaimed. The critics in San Sebastián had more reservations – pointed out Romero. Not only in the Basque region but in the rest of the country this zarzuela was a complete success.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 218, 224.

¹⁵⁵ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 305-306.

¹⁵⁶ Federico Romero's collaboration in Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 305-307. Arozamena made the somewhat confusing statement that when Guridi approached the librettists they had already planned on producing a Basque zarzuela, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 224.

Reception of *El Caserío* in Bilbao

El Caserío was first performed at the *Teatro de la Zarzuela* in Madrid on 11th November 1926.¹⁵⁷ It became an instant success. The reviewer in *El Noticiero Bilbaino* stated that the whole Basque community in Madrid gathered to attend the performance of this piece in which the action took place in an imaginary village of the Basque country. The reviewer praised Fernández Shaw and Romero Sarachaga's work, two *Castilian* librettists, writing a drama on a Basque theme, for their accurate and faithful description of the Basque character.¹⁵⁸

Tipos y costumbres vascas, escenas de ambiente, danzas, procesión, etcétera. Han sido recogidos por los autores con un certero sentido sintético. [...] Han tenido, sobre todo, en cuenta, no ya el ambiente sino también el carácter, a la vez avisado e ingenioso de los aldeanos vascos.

El Caserío es típicamente vasco y si a ésto se añade la feliz realización plástica de colorido y ambiente, no hay duda de que nos encontramos ante una obra que aprobaría el más severo censor de las costumbres del país vasco.

No hay ningún trazo grueso de caricatura, ni se advierte en el transcurso de los tres largos actos ninguna nota que no responda al propósito de fidelidad y cariño a Vasconia.¹⁵⁹

There were represented in this zarzuela *espatadantzaris*, typical dances such as the *aurresku*, verse improvisers or *bertsolaris*. There were plenty of Basque themes with a few humorous musical statements. The public was elated hearing so many Basque subjects and the performance lasted four hours because of repetitions.¹⁶⁰

The major newspapers in Bilbao echoed the success. One of the critics stated that Guridi's zarzuela had been composed following the *verista* school – with

¹⁵⁷ Pliego no. 68 (p. 97-105).

¹⁵⁸ Romero Sarachaga was obviously Basque from his mother's side.

¹⁵⁹ "El estreno de la obra de Guridi, *El Caserío*, ha constituido en Madrid un gran éxito." Bilbao: *El noticiero bilbaino*, Friday, 12th November 1926. See appendix 15.

¹⁶⁰ "El estreno de la obra de Guridi, *El Caserío*" in *El noticiero bilbaino*, 12th November 1926.

sentimental episodes. On the other hand the naturalism of popular song and dance were presented without stylistic preoccupations. This duality, one critic said, was the main fault of the work: the popular element and the lyrical structure were juxtaposed without penetrating each other.¹⁶¹

Joaquín Turina, who had attended the *Schola Cantorum* after Guridi, wrote that this work reminded him of the great zarzuela composers: Barbieri, Chapí, Chueca, thus placing Guridi in that tradition. He praised the composition as simple but masterful, something that would appeal to the masses, as every zarzuela was intended, but also written with good technique and avoiding useless complications.¹⁶²

El Caserío in San Sebastián and the members of El Cuartito

In San Sebastián the reception of *El Caserío* was received with more scepticism. David Casares (Orfeo) of *La Voz de Guipúzcoa* criticized the librettists' use of grammatical twists that resulted from translating literally Basque expressions into Castilian.¹⁶³ This was an insensitive depiction of the Basque speech for a humorous effect.

The triumph of *El Caserío* was also interpreted differently in the inner musical circles that Guridi knew in Bilbao. As has been noted, the creation of *Mirentxu* had been very closely followed by the members of *El Cuartito*. The creation of the composer's first zarzuela meant a great disappointment for them.

Javier Arisqueta congratulated the composer for the success at the end of its first performance in Bilbao but he clearly stated his disappointment with the artistic quality of the work: "Enhorabuena, Jesús; enhorabuena por el éxito. En cuanto a la

¹⁶¹ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 228. Arozamena pointed out that Juan Carlos Gortazar died at the time the news about *El Caserío* arrived in Bilbao.

¹⁶² Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 230.

¹⁶³ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 234. For contrast with the reception of earlier Basque operas see Arozamena, p. 231.

música...”¹⁶⁴ In his mind Guridi had given up his artistic integrity – at least to some degree – in order to gain an immediate and easy triumph. Guridi was aware of this perception and thanked Arisqueta for his sincere and noble judgment when he qualified *El Caserío* in a speech given in 1957 for the acceptance of the title of adopted son of Bilbao:

Javier era un refinado, de gusto exquisito, que no podía transigir con las concesiones al público, y El Caserío las tiene. Yo le agradecí este juicio sincero y noble. Tenía perfecto derecho a manifestármelo, dada la amistad ilimitada que nos unía.¹⁶⁵

Guridi himself admitted that there were concessions to the public. The composition of this zarzuela meant a renunciation (*claudicación*) of higher goals in the view of the melomaniacs of *El Cuartito*. In the minds of its members Guridi had succumbed to the low exigencies of the public by writing a zarzuela in a sharp contrast with his uncompromising work in *Amaya*. All the reservations with respect to the zarzuela had as their main point of contention Guridi’s compromise of artistic aspirations. Nevertheless we should wonder how much of these reproaches point to what was an obvious abandonment of the attempt at establishing a Basque opera, if not just a simple treason of the national cause.

El Caserío brought fame and economic gain to Guridi and introduced him into the tradition of a genre which had developed within the national frame that Peña y Goñi was advocating in the 19th century. Fagoaga – an enthusiastic Basquist himself – quoted Guridi explaining the reasons why Guridi had abandoned the path opened with *Amaya*. Ten years of work invested in *Amaya* gained no profit for him, but writing *El Caserío* in just a few months he could give his children a decent education and spend the summer vacation in San Sebastián: it was worthwhile to pursue glory without missery:

¹⁶⁴ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 30.

¹⁶⁵ Quoted in Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 35. Arozamena found Arisqueta’s comment unfair.

Tu bien sabes, amigo Fagoaga, que para componer Amaya invertí diez años largos y que apenas gané para comprarme un chaleco. En cambio, escribí *El Caserío*, invirtiendo pocos meses, y los derechos de autor que me proporciona me permiten educar convenientemente a mis hijos y pasar los meses de descanso en este chalet de Donostia. La gloria está bien, pero sin miseria. Y los vascos, hasta los que buscamos, como dicen, inspiración en las nubes, tenemos, gracias a Dios, bien plantados los pies en el suelo.¹⁶⁶

Amaya had not provided a comfortable living status for Guridi. At the time of the composition of *El Caserío* the composer was living in the premises of the Coliseo Albia. That was the only retribution he received from the *Sociedad Coral*.¹⁶⁷

Arozamena, as if to justify Guridi's change of direction in the composition of *El Caserío*, somewhat suddenly joins the diatribe about Spanish opera, coinciding with the statements Peña y Goñi made in his publication of 1881, as he states that this genre has never existed except in the minds of those who wanted to dream it.¹⁶⁸

La Meiga and other works

The impresario who premiered *El Caserío* – a Galician himself – suggested to Fernando Romero and Guridi writing a zarzuela on a Galician theme. This was a practical attempt to project the regionalist ideology behind the making of *El Caserío* to other regions of Spain. Neither the librettist nor the composer had been in Galicia so each rented a house in the southern part of the region during the summer of 1927. They discovered three popular-song books, one by Casto Sanpedro, another by Sr. Jofre from El Ferrol, and another by a gentleman from Tuy whose name Romero did not remember, and set themselves to write.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ Quoted in Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 219.

¹⁶⁷ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 221-222.

¹⁶⁸ Antonio Peña y Goñi *La ópera española y la música dramática en España en el siglo XIX*. Madrid: Imprenta y estereotipia de El Liberal, 1881. Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 219.

¹⁶⁹ Federico Romero's collaboration in Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 308.

The first performance of *La Meiga* took place on 20th December 1928 at the Teatro de la Zarzuela in Madrid.¹⁷⁰ It is significant that this zarzuela was not nearly as successful as *El Caserío*. *La Meiga* was performed during Guridi's trip to Buenos Aires in September 1930, nine days after he presented *Amaya* at the *Teatro Colón* (see the section on *Amaya* in Buenos Aires above).

From this moment onward Guridi cultivated the genres associated with the various types of zarzuela not restricting himself to regionalist themes. At his return from America, he worked on the *poema lírico La Cautiva* on a text in Castilian written by Anselmo Cuadrado Carreño and Luis Fernández de Sevilla. The action took place "in the desert of Syria". It was first performed on 19th February 1931 at the Teatro Calderón in Madrid.

On 17th November 1934 Guridi gave the first performance of *Mandolinata* at the Teatro Calderón in Madrid. This was a *comedia lírica* recreating melodies from the Italian Renaissance on a book in Castilian by Arturo Cuyás de la Vega, with the action taking place in Rosania, capital of an imaginary Italian principate, during the year 1558.¹⁷¹

Guridi's high compositional standard had led him to reject the first string quartet which he had written in Brussels and premiered in Bilbao in 1907 (see above). On 15th December 1934 the new quartet Quartet no. 1 in G major was first performed by the Pro Arte String Quartet from Brussels. Guridi dedicated the work to its first interpreters.¹⁷²

Guridi returned to the theatre with another work on a Basque theme. He presented on 11th April 1936 the *zarzuela de costumbres vascas Mari-Eli* at the

¹⁷⁰ Pliego no. 71 (p. 106-110). (Incomplete ms AG: 261; complete version for voice and piano SGAE 1928, AG: 162; for other copies see Pliego.)

¹⁷¹ Pliego no. 81 (p. 115-116). (Original ms AG: 201-214 (including 205a & 205b, and 210a & 210b) and AG: 260; Pliego mentions a possible printed edition of a voice and piano reduction UME from 1939 (to which belongs no. 2B a *Soneto de Corrado*); voice and piano reduction and orchestra parts in ms at SGAE: AL-6129).

¹⁷² Pliego no. 80 (p. 114). (Original ms AG: 227; ms copy of the parts ERB: 8; Pliego does not list a ms copy at the Biblioteca del Conservatorio.) On 29th May 1936 this quartet was performed by the quartet Amis in Madrid.

Teatro Fontalba in Madrid. The text had been written in Castilian by Carlos Arniches Barrera and Eloy Garay Macua. Arozamena explained how the composer contacted the celebrated writer of comedies Arniches in El Escorial.¹⁷³ While *El Caserío* was a work with an inland theme, the theme of *Mari-Eli* was the sea. The music of this zarzuela was even simpler than his previous Basque zarzuela. In Arozamena's words this was the most amenable music to the general public taste that Guridi ever wrote for the theatre.¹⁷⁴ On 21st January 1966 *Mari-Eli* was performed again at the Teatro Arriaga in Bilbao.

On 3rd January 1938 *Nacimiento* was performed at the Teatro Victoria Eugenia in San Sebastián.¹⁷⁵ This was the composer's first collaboration with Arozamena. The third scene was the most emotional – according to Arozamena – for the strength of its Basque character in choirs and dances.

Guridi as an established writer of zarzuelas, film music, and other genres

After the Spanish civil war of 1936-1939 Guridi reaffirmed his trajectory as a zarzuela composer, and started composing music for films. *La Bengala*, a *sainete madrileño en tres actos*, with text in Castilian by José Huecas Pintado and Luis Tejedor Pérez, was performed on 12th January 1939 at the Teatro Argensola in Zaragoza. The action took place in Madrid around the year 1930.¹⁷⁶ This genre had illustrious cultivators among Spanish composers such as Moreno-Torroba and Pablo Sorozábal – incidentally a composer from San Sebastián.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷³ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 265-266.

¹⁷⁴ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 266.

¹⁷⁵ Pliego no. 88 (p. 120-121). Guridi collaborated for this project with Francisco Cotarelo, and [according to Arozamena Federico Moreno-Torroba] in the music, and Vicente Espinós, and Jesús María de Arozamena Berasategui wrote the text. Neither score nor libretto have been located.

¹⁷⁶ Pliego no. 92 (p. 122-124). (For ms parts see Pliego; a ms piano reduction and parts are at the SGAE: AL-6440).

¹⁷⁷ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 268-269.

In 1936 Guridi had been approached by the film producer Saturnino Ulargui to write the music of a film: *La Malquerida*. Guridi and the film director José López Rubio set themselves to collect popular songs in Candeleda (Avila) and other towns of Castile for *La Malquerida*. The production of this film had to be interrupted because of the war.

Guridi used the collected melodies in a set of songs first performed under the title *Seis canciones castellanas* on 26th November 1939 at the Coliseo Albia in Bilbao. Pliego mentions a collection of popular songs by Cesáreo García de la Navarra as the source of inspiration for Guridi's collection.¹⁷⁸ The *Seis Canciones Castellanas* received the first prize in the competition summoned by the *Delegación de Propaganda y Comisión de Festejos del Aniversario de la Liberación de Bilbao* in 1939.

Ulargui wanted Guridi to take the musical direction of his company Ufilms S.A. Guridi's wife, Julia, supported the decision of leaving Bilbao for Madrid.¹⁷⁹ In Madrid he finished composing the music for *La Malquerida*. This film – based on a drama by Jacinto Benavente – was premiered at the Cine Avenida in Madrid on 14th October 1940.¹⁸⁰ On 12th February 1940 the film *Los hijos de la noche*, produced by *Films Internacionales e Imperator* with music by Guridi and others, had been premiered at the Cine Rialto also in Madrid.¹⁸¹

Guridi did not abandon the composition of works on Basque themes but the character of these works is very different from his early compositions. On 12th December 1941 *Diez Melodías Vascas* for symphony orchestra was performed at the Monumental Cinema by the Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid conducted by Enrique

¹⁷⁸ Pliego no. 93 (p. 124). (Original ms under custody at the Diputación de Vizcaya, UME (17468). This remains an interesting point for further research on Guridi.

¹⁷⁹ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 269-270.

¹⁸⁰ For a complete list of compositions for films that Guridi produced see the specific entries in Pliego, *Catálogo de Obras de Guridi*.

¹⁸¹ Pliego no. 95 (p. 128-129). (Original ms could be [?] AG: 543).

Jordá, to whom they are dedicated.¹⁸² The popular themes were taken almost verbatim from Azkue's *Cancionero Popular Vasco*, except for no. 6 which came from Charles Bordes Basque songbook, and no. 10, taken from the collection *Euzkel-Abestijak* (Basque Songs) published by the *Juventud Vasca*. All except nos. 8 and 10 appear in piano version in the collection *XXII Canciones del Folklore Vasco* (see above, p. 106).¹⁸³

Arozamena saw in the *Diez Melodías Vascas* the clearest exponent of Guridi's musical thought and sensibility. Enrique Jordá stated that the composer would compare them to the *Eight Popular Russian Songs* by Liadow. The way in which the composer treated the popular melodies harmonically was derived from the melodies themselves. The orchestra was handled in a subtle way, more as a colouring tool than in his previous works, and through ingenuous combinations of sounds and timbres. Guridi succeeded finding the exact spirit of the melodies, their atmosphere, which evoked the atmosphere of the songs, while presenting them in an ideal succession which kept the unity of the work.¹⁸⁴

Déjame soñar, a *sainete lírico en dos actos* with libretto in Castilian by José Huecas Pintado and Luis Tejedor Pérez had its first performance on 27th May 1943 at the Teatro Arriaga in Bilbao. Arozamena notes that this piece, based on modern rhythms of *jazz*, was not received well by the audiences of Bilbao. The frivolity of the score was unforgivable from a musician of such high standards.¹⁸⁵ Luis Tejedor himself made the following revealing comment on this failure: except for *Amaya* everything else [related to the theatre] Guridi thought of little interest.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸² There is also a piano version of this work.

¹⁸³ Pliego no. 103 (p. 135). (Original ms AG:232; UME (18605), piano edition UME (20352)).

¹⁸⁴ Quoted in Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 277-278.

¹⁸⁵ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 296.

¹⁸⁶ Quoted in Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 298.

In 1944 Guridi attained the post of professor of Organ at the *Conservatorio de Madrid*. Arozamena states that he used to spend hours improvising, at the organs in Santa María in San Sebastián, and at San Manuel y San Benito in Madrid.¹⁸⁷

Peñamariana

On 16th November 1944 the *retablo popular en tres actos Peñamariana* with libretto in Castilian was first performed at the Teatro Real in Madrid.¹⁸⁸ From the first moment this was an ambitious work, as the composer was trying to make up for the failure of his previous experiment, the *sainete lírico Déjame soñar*. For the libretto he resorted once more to Guillermo Fernández Shaw and Federico Romero Sarachaga who wrote a play inspired by the religious farces celebrated yearly in the town of La Alberca (Salamanca).

Guridi wrote *Peñamariana* without interruption and considered it an essentially lyrical work. He showed particular gratitude to the librettists with whom he had already shared important successes.¹⁸⁹ Guridi set himself to match the aesthetic premises achieved twenty four years earlier with *Amaya* and perhaps to overcome the step taken with his first zarzuela, *El Caserío*. It meant an effort on the part of the composer to create a work of new standards. *Peñamariana* was well received as is reflected in a review by the composer Joaquín Rodrigo in the newspaper *El Pueblo* and by the music critic Antonio Fernández Cid in *Arriba*. Arozamena states: “*Peñamariana es la obra más considerable de Guridi en el mundo de la zarzuela.*”¹⁹⁰ At the same time Romero Sarachaga acknowledges the success

¹⁸⁷ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 327-336. Guridi’s career as an organist and his works for this instrument should be treated separately. See below his work *Tríptico del Buen Pastor*.

¹⁸⁸ Pliego no. 112 (p. 149). (For ms copies and selected numbers printed see Pliego.)

¹⁸⁹ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 303.

¹⁹⁰ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 304-305. Fr. Bilbao Aristegui also pointed this out in an interview held in January 2002.

that Guridi obtained with this work, he makes the ominous statement that the zarzuela as a genre is already in decay.¹⁹¹

A Sinfonía Pirenaica in three movements by Jesús Guridi was performed on 6th February 1946 by the Orquesta Municipal de Bilbao conducted by Jesús Arámbarri. Guridi's wife, Julia Ispuzua, was present in all the rehearsals that Arámbarri conducted in Madrid. Julia, who would always cut the newspaper reviews of her husband's works in order to show them to their children, died in 1947.

Guridi académico of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando

In 1947 Jesús Guridi was named *académico* of the *Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*. In his acceptance ceremony he delivered a lecture with the title *El canto popular como materia de composición musical*.¹⁹² This lecture is extremely revealing of the composer's aesthetic doctrine and of his approach, if only retroactive, to an important aspect of his compositional technique: the use of popular melodies. For that reason we shall give a brief summary.

Some of the musical examples that Guridi used for this lecture were from the collection *XXII canciones del folklore Vasco*.¹⁹³ On the last page of this publication Guridi states: "Las melodías de esta Colección están tomadas, en su mayor parte, del *Cancionero Popular Vasco* de D. Resurrección M. de Azkue."

Guridi states that he would not treat this subject as a musicologist but rather as a composer. He is not interested in the classification of melodies according to genre, text, or origin, he is rather interested in the aesthetic and emotional aspects of song as a source of beauty and as an element that the composer could use to create

¹⁹¹ Federico Romero's collaboration in Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 312-313.

¹⁹² Jesús Guridi. *El canto popular como materia de composición musical, discurso leído el día 9 de junio de 1947 en el acto de su recepción pública*. Madrid, 1947.

¹⁹³ Jesús Guridi. *XXII Canciones del Folk-Lore Vasco. Piano solo con texto euzkérico*, no date or place of print. Pliego no. 255 (p. 219-220).

his own musical goal.¹⁹⁴ Popular song – states Guridi – is not just an easy resource for the composer who lacks ideas but a tool to attain the ultimate goal which is to produce beauty.¹⁹⁵

According to Guridi, the composer discovers, appropriates, and recreates popular themes with a nuance, an expression, an amplitude that they did not have or that remained hidden in their original form, to make them live in the realm of artistic emotion. The seal of what is truly representative as popular music of a country or region, judging from an aesthetic valuation, ought to have been given by the composer. The popular melody by itself is a precious unpolished stone which needs the hand of the artist to give it shape – states Guridi. The racial character of the different peoples and nations is reflected in its composers, whether they use the melodies of their own countries or not.¹⁹⁶

According to Guridi, Andalusian music is the music called Spanish *par excellence* thanks to the great musicians who have cultivated it. Without these composers it would not have achieved the artistic rank they have. Andalusian music depends on different constituent elements – melodic gestures, intervals, rhythms – rather than on the themes themselves, for their popular song books are not as abundant in actual songs as in other regions. Notwithstanding, the robust characteristic elements and the strong personality which constitutes the Andalusian musical Orientalism, the captivating rhythm of the dance, united to the music seem to have been created for one another. Inimitable grace and poise, mysterious and tragic at times, makes of Andalusian music folkloric music *par excellence*.¹⁹⁷

But these dazzling features would allure composers away from the wealth of their own regional treasures. Ravel had scorned the themes of his country – the French Basque region – Albéniz and Granados abandoned Cataluña, to find

¹⁹⁴ Guridi. *El canto popular como materia de composición musical*, p. 6-7.

¹⁹⁵ Guridi. *El canto popular como materia de composición musical*, p. 7.

¹⁹⁶ Guridi. *El canto popular como materia de composición musical*, p. 7-8.

¹⁹⁷ Guridi. *El canto popular como materia de composición musical*, p. 8. The Orientalist implications of this statement could be discussed in great detail.

inspiration in Andalusian music or in the 18th-century tonadilla. Perhaps they thought the musical features of other regions were not as marked. But would not this be a vicious circle?— asked Guridi. Would the reason not be that those regional sources have not gone through the crucible of the composer?¹⁹⁸

It is necessary – exhorted Guridi – that *our* musicians are immersed in the national music, that they study their characteristics, and that they try to assimilate its essence, and to apply their art according to aesthetic principles.¹⁹⁹ Guridi presents several examples of popular songs from the Basque country. The Basques have had always a musical intuition; they are a singing people *par excellence*. Their culture of singing, not just individual but collective or choral songs, is rooted in tradition.²⁰⁰

Guridi argues that the character of many of the Basque melodies require constructive *verticality*, that is, spontaneous harmonization and polyphony. Some are well defined as a single melody with instrumental accompaniment of just monody. The latter kind date probably – Guridi states – from a remote epoch and their origin could possibly be traced, for their modality and rhythmic freedom, to Gregorian melodies. However, most of the contemporary Basque melodies in their present form could not be traced back beyond the 17th century.

Guridi admits that popular song, the same as language, is subject to the laws of evolution and that it suffers transformations without our notice. It is possible that songs that are being transmitted during the present generation would be considered popular a few generations from now.²⁰¹ Guridi states that instrumental and dance music require fixed structures that account for their slower rate of change.²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ Guridi. *El canto popular como materia de composición musical*, p. 8-9.

¹⁹⁹ Guridi. *El canto popular como materia de composición musical*, p. 9-10.

²⁰⁰ Guridi. *El canto popular como materia de composición musical*, p. 11.

²⁰¹ Guridi. *El canto popular como materia de composición musical*, p. 11. Guridi narrates the anecdote of an isolated shepherd in Gorbea who once sang to a folklorist “¿Dónde vas con mantón de Manila?” from Tomás Bretón’s *La Berbená de la Paloma*. If it were not for the text, nobody would have been able to recognize Breton’s melody, states Guridi.

²⁰² Guridi. *El canto popular como materia de composición musical*, p. 11-12.

Basque instrumental pieces and some songs – Guridi had observed – follow Classical patterns and are probably derived from compositions or improvisations by organists. There is a very rich organ tradition in the Basque country. The *txistu* could imitate the organ even in its polyphony although it could only play a diatonic scale. With the same sense of humour of his correspondence with Usandizaga, Guridi notes that some organists probably could not play chromatically either.²⁰³

Guridi follows Azkue's criterium in the classification of songs: *amorosas*, *báquicas (de bebedores)*, *cuneras*, *danzas*, etc. On his side, Azkue had proposed to follow the musicologist Oswald Koller's method of classification according to three principles: tone or mode of composition, rhythm, and melody. Nobody – points out Azkue – had followed this method but rather it had become generalized to classify songs according to their texts.²⁰⁴

In general – continues Guridi – the text of the songs does not correspond with the quality of the music: sometimes the text is in direct opposition to the spirit of the music. What interests Guridi from the popular songs is the intrinsic value of their music. Guridi observes that most Basque songs have simple structures: syllabic rather than melismatic, frequently in conjunct steps, or in intervals of fourth or fifth at most. They are simple also in expression which could be intense or serene, sweet or naïve; those classified as *expresivas* tend to be in minor modes.

Guridi then played four melodies to exemplify their simplicity. The fourth, “with its smooth contours and its call to the past,” the composer had used to describe a patriarchal scene in his lyric drama *Amaya*.²⁰⁵ Guridi pointed out that many of the Basque songs lend themselves easily to be treated in canon.

²⁰³ Guridi. *El canto popular como materia de composición musical*, p. 12.

²⁰⁴ Resurrección María de Azkue. *Cancionero Popular Vasco*, p. 54.

²⁰⁵ The actual musical examples are not inserted in the text but this particular one is probably *Aitonaren esana*, which appears as the parent's theme in the second act of *Amaya*.

Guridi shows the creative possibilities that popular songs yielded for harmonization. Another resource which Guridi points out is the combination of two or more popular melodies. He had used this technique in *Así cantan los chicos*.²⁰⁶

Guridi concludes that popular music is not sufficient to build a work of art. This would only emerge after the creating musician communicates his soul and emotional breath to the song. This corroborates the vision of the composer as the creator rather than a collector of popular song. It is clear that the two crafts are divided in two different characters. While the collector has to restrict himself to his scientific method, the composer is free to use whatever tools, including those provided by the folklorists to produce a work of art. On the other hand, the composer has the task of reflecting the racial character of his nation, whether or not he uses the melodies of his country. The composer has raised himself to the rank of singer of a nation.

In this lecture Guridi confirms the ideas he had exchanged in more informal circumstances with the composer José María Usandizaga. The popular song was a tool which could be used by the composer-as-artist who elevated its rank in his composition. This begs the following questions: What is the nation whose racial character Guridi is reflecting? What is the purpose of using popular song in Guridi's work? Is it just a tool for aesthetic recreation or does it have a function in the definition of a national character? In that case, to what extent is *Amaya* the reflection of a nation? And what would this nation be, a Basque nation or a Basque region within the Spanish nation? These questions will resurface in chapter III in the discussion of the literary content of *Amaya*.

Also on the occasion of acceptance of the chair of *académico de Bellas Artes* Guridi had the *Seis canciones infantiles* for children's choir and piano with text by Arozamena first performed at the *Academia de Bellas Artes* on 9th June 1947.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁶ Pliego no. 35.

²⁰⁷ Pliego no. 120 (p. 156-157). (Original ms AG:50, UME (18422)).

Guridi's late period

At this early stage of study of Guridi's work it seems premature to divide his works in periods. Nevertheless there are hallmarks that could hardly escape the attention of the music historian. Works such as *Así cantan los chicos* (1909), *Amaya* (1920), or *Peñamariana* (1944) could be considered definite turning points in his compositional career. Other works could be deemed as important for different reasons. Events such as the speech at the *Academia de Bellas Artes* could also be used as signposts of his compositional career.

After the speech of reception Guridi continued writing music with a marked Basque character at least in a regionalist sense. *Acuarelas Vascas: estampas líricas* for soloists, choir, and orchestra with text alternating Basque and Castilian by José Luis Campino and Julián Echevarría Sanmartín, was performed on 22nd December 1948 at the Teatro Ayala in Bilbao.²⁰⁸

The composer developed a stronger inclination toward aesthetically autonomous music during his late years. This was manifest in his predilection for the medium of the string quartet. The Quartet no. 2 in A minor was performed in Madrid on 14th May 1950 by the *Agrupación Nacional de Música de Cámara*. Arozamena states that it was performed on 16th January 1951 at the *Sociedad Filarmónica de Bilbao* as well.²⁰⁹

On 8th April 1950 the zarzuela *La Condesa de la Aguja y el Dedal*, a zarzuela with text by Jesús María Arozamena and Adolfo Torrado, was performed at the Teatro Madrid in Madrid. This work of meritorious music was liked by the public but the company that put it together failed to keep it in the program for more than two weeks.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ Pliego no. 127 (p. 162). (See Pliego for ms and printed sources). Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 339-340.

²⁰⁹ Pliego no. 128 (p. 167-168). (UME 1957 AG). Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 341.

²¹⁰ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 340.

On 14th August 1951 *Un Sombrero de Paja en Italia*, a comedy with sung parts by Eugène Labiche and Marc Michel, with sung parts and illustrations by Jesús Guridi, was performed in Paris. It was translated into Spanish by Luis Fernando de Igoa. This version was performed at the Teatro Español in Madrid on 11th December 1953.²¹¹

In 1952 a film was produced by Eloy Hurtado de Sarache for Producciones Cinematográficas Hudesá, based on the novel by Francisco Navarro Villoslada and the lyrical drama by José María Arroita-Jauregui, with music for orchestra by Jesús Guridi.²¹² Guridi based this score on the lyric drama *Amaya* and in the *Síntesis de Amaya*.²¹³ During the same year a performance of the lyric drama *Amaya* was realized at the *Teatro Victoria Eugenia* in San Sebastián.

The study of this film is an unavoidable sequel to the present work. This and the reception of the performances of *Amaya* after the Spanish civil war of 1936 should give light to another trend of nationalism present in the Basque country and Navarra: the *Carlist* ideology and its support for Franco's regime. It will give light as well to the changes of nationalist ideologies in musical manifestations during the mid 20th century in Spain.

Pliego assigns the date 1951 to the *Escuela Española de Órgano*. This was a pedagogical work which included twenty brief compositions classified as easy or intermediate.²¹⁴ On 20th January 1954 Guridi himself performed the *Tríptico del*

²¹¹ Pliego no. 140 (p. 179). (See Pliego for ms and printed sources).

²¹² Pliego no. 136 (p. 175). (Original ms AG: 558).

²¹³ Pliego no. 133 (p. 173). (Original ms SGAE: AS-136).

²¹⁴ Pliego no. 135 (p. 173-175). (Original ms AG: 106a, UME (18643)) Guridi's work for organ cannot be treated in fairness here. His first composition for organ seems to be a *Fantasia para Gran Órgano* written in Brussels in and first performed for the *Sociedad Filarmónica* in Bilbao on 29th October 1907, Pliego no. 26 (p. 59-60). (Original ms AG: 79, 406). Other works for organ in the chronological section of Pliego's catalogue are nos. 37, 49, 51, 53, 57, 61, 121b, 126, 131, 135, 139, 143, 144, 155, 159. Similarly the work for piano solo, piano and voice, piano and violin, piano and cello, choir, choir and piano, choir and organ, and other combinations, cannot be treated here in detail. These works will need further historical and analytical study.

Buen Pastor for organ at a morning concert at the Cathedral of the *Buen Pastor* in San Sebastián.²¹⁵ This same year he published *Ocho apuntes para piano*.

A Mass in honour of the Archangel Saint Gabriel, for three-voice choir (STB) and organ, was first performed at the Church of El Buen Suceso in Madrid on 24th March 1955, festivity of the Archangel Saint Gabriel.²¹⁶ On 30th March 1956 Guridi was named director of the *Real Conservatorio Superior de Música de Madrid*. The same year he was named professor of organ at the *Escuela Superior de Música Sacra*. The post at the conservatory gave Guridi, who disliked bureaucracy, few satisfactions.²¹⁷

Guridi wrote a *Fantasia homenaje a Walt Disney* for piano and orchestra. It was performed by Pilar Bayona at the piano and the Orquesta Municipal de Barcelona conducted by Eduardo Toldrá on 3rd October 1956. With this piece Guridi obtained the *Premio nacional de música* “Oscal Esplá” in Alicante in 1956. This was in words of Xavier Montsalvatge an attempt by the composer to tackle the symphonic genre liberated from the constraint of popular melodies that imbued a good amount of the composer’s output.²¹⁸

On 27th January 1959 *Lamento e Imprecación de Agar* for piano was first performed at the *Sociedad Filarmónica de Bilbao* by Conchita Rodríguez. It was inspired by Juan Crisóstomo de Arriaga’s oratorio *Agar* for voice and orchestra. It was commissioned by Ángel Sagardía in commemoration of Arriaga’s 153rd birthday. This was the last of a long series of piano compositions by Guridi.²¹⁹

Guridi wrote a hymn to the *Santa Cruz del Valle de los Caídos* for voice and organ. Many short pieces have been omitted in this biographical sketch. Especially single harmonizations of popular songs or religious pieces for either

²¹⁵ Pliego no. 139 (p. 178). (UME (18925)).

²¹⁶ Pliego no. 143 (p. 182). (UME (19075)).

²¹⁷ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 367.

²¹⁸ Pliego no. 147 (p. 185). (UME (19372)). Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 346-347.

²¹⁹ Pliego no. 153 (p. 190). Guridi’s piano production is vast and for this reason it should be treated separately. Works for piano: Pliego nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 39, 54, 65, 78, 94, 97, 103, 141, 153.

piano, organ, choir, voice and piano, or other combinations – which are very abundant in Guridi’s output – have been omitted. Also many titles of films after *La Malquerida* have been omitted.

When Guridi was named adopted son of Bilbao, during his last years, he remembered this as the city where he spent the most important part of his life. There he followed his musical vocation, he founded a family, and his children were born. Most of his music had also been conceived in Bilbao.²²⁰

Jesús Guridi Bidaola died in Madrid on 7th April 1961.

Throughout this biographic sketch it has become clear that *Amaya* not only was a turning point in Guridi’s compositional career but that its effect was pervasive on the latter as a whole. For instance, after Guridi’s experiment *Dejame soñar* the composer realized that none of the pieces he wrote after *Amaya* could match the aesthetic achievement of his lyric drama. *Peñamariana* was an attempt by the composer to overcome the overwhelming position of his previous work.

Not only was *Amaya* a turning point in Guridi’s career but it also came at a time when the movement of *Basque opera* had already been exhausted after the 1910 opera season of the *Sociedad Coral de Bilbao*. In order to understand its wider political significance it is necessary to study the content of *Amaya* with respect to its literary sources which belong to the 19th-century *fuerrista* movement.

²²⁰ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 369.

Chapter III

Origin of the libretto for *Amaya*

As we have seen in the last two chapters, the movement of *Basque* opera culminates and ends with Jesús Guridi's *Amaya*, first performed at the *Coliseo Albia* in Bilbao on 22nd May 1920. An assessment of the literary sources of this lyric drama will give light to its position within the cultural movements studied so far.

There are two literary sources for José María Arroita-Jauregui's libretto for *Amaya*: the medieval legend of the voluntary parricide of Don Theodosio de Goñi, and Francisco Navarro Villoslada's historical novel *Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII*. The legend of Don Theodosio de Goñi has been recorded in several chronicles and is known mostly from a book published in 1774 by the Capuchin Friar Thomas de Burgui. This legend is itself embedded as part of the story line in Navarro Villoslada's novel.¹

The involuntary parricide of Don Theodosio de Goñi (or Teodosio as is spelled by Villoslada) constitutes the main dramatic development of the second and third acts of the lyric drama. The chapter of repentance, also recorded by Burgui, is narrated in the epilogue. The first act of the opera develops a prehistory around the notion of a primitive religion of the Basques as it would have been imagined by Villoslada and his precursor, the Suletin writer Joseph Augustin de Chaho. The background and the events described in this act, as well as the characters of Amaya, Amagoia, Asier, and Olalla, are taken directly from the novel. Although the character of Amaya gives the name to both the novel and the lyric drama, she is not the principal *dramatis persona* any more than the other characters. Villoslada's novel attempts to become an epic of a people and as such not one single character takes the absolute role of the protagonist.

¹ For a summary and discussion of the legend see Julio Caro Baroja, *La leyenda de don Teodosio de Goñi*, Pamplona: Institución Príncipe de Viana, 1969. (See also footnote 3 in this chapter.)

Fray Thomas de Burgui: The legend of Don Theodosio de Goñi

Although the title of the lyric drama suggests its immediate model is Villoslada's novel *Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII*, its main story line, as the librettist Arroita-Jauregui points out, is the legend of Teodosio de Goñi's involuntary parricide and subsequent purge and expiation.² This is a Christian account of the legend that elaborates on the narration of a parricide in a local geographical context of the northwestern region of Navarra that took place, according to most previous sources, during the early eighth century.

The best known record of this legend was written by the Navarrese Capuchin Friar Thomas de Burgui in the second volume, second part of a book in two volumes entitled *San Miguel de Excelsis representado como Príncipe Supremo de todo el reyno de Dios en Cielo, y Tierra, y como protector excelso aparecido, y adorado en el Reyno de Navarra*.³ Caro Baroja points out that this is one of many pious books written in 17th- and 18th-century Spain about lives of Saints and their miracles. This

² Burgui spells the name *Theodosio* while Villoslada *Teodosio*.

³ Several copies of this book are available. One is conserved at the Diputación foral de Navarra. After the desamortización by Mendizábal the Capuchins in Navarra are left only with secondary copies. The book is described in Caro Baroja's article *La leyenda de don Teodosio de Goñi*. Pamplona: separata de la revista *Cuadernos de Etnología y Etnografía de Navarra*, número 3, Institución Príncipe de Viana, 1969. Caro Baroja provides a summary of the argument. The title of the first volume is: "San Miguel / de Excelsis / representado / como Príncipe Supremo / de todo el reyno de Dios en Cielo, y Tierra, / y como protector excelso / aparecido, y adorado en el reyno de Navarra. / Libro primero, / en que se representan / las perfecciones de su Ministerio Divino; y las maravillas de su Patrocinio pro- / digioso; con las glorias de su admirable Dig- / nidad, y las gracias de su amable Dignación. / Para aumento de la devoción del mismo Glorioso San Miguel, y con / ella para mayor gloria de Dios Nuestro Señor; de cuyos misterios, / y verdades católicas se da copiosa doctrina, para provecho / de las Almas. Por el P. Fr. Thomas de Burgui; ex-lector de Theolo- / gía, de la Provincia de Capuchinos de Navarra, y Cantabria. / Año 1774. // en Pamplona: en la Oficina de Josef Miguel de Ezquerro, / Impresor de los Rs. Tribunales de su Mag., y sus Reales Tablas, 1." The second volume has the title: "Libro segundo, / en que se representan / su aparición, y culto, su protección, y / Maravillas, en la cumbre del Monte Aralár del Reyno de Navarra; con los sucesos de su favorecido / devoto don Theodosio de Goñi; y con / las excelencias de su Imagen, y / Templo de Excelsis. / Se añade una representación histórica / en que se demuestra su especialissimo Patrocinio, á favor de España, acredita- / do en todos tiempos con la conservación, defensa, y victorias / de la Fe Divina en la Nación Española, y Principal- / mente en Navarra, y demás regiones / de la Cantabria. / Por el P. Fr. Thomas de Burgui; ex-lector de Theolo- / gía, de la Provincia de Capuchinos de Navarra, y Cantabria. / Año 1774. Con las licencias necesarias que van al principio / del primer libro / ... //"

type of work has particular interest not only as a historical document but also for the information it yields about popular religion, or even, as J. Caro Baroja suggests, as a source for the study of folklore.⁴

The legend in its historical context

The legend takes place in the 8th century when documents for the history of Spain are scarce. Caro Baroja has written about the historical accuracy of characters and events in friar Burgui's account. It seems that the involuntary parricide takes place during the Visigoth kingdom of Witiza and during the papacy of John VII. The actual King Witiza, as we gather from Navarro Villoslada and Caro Baroja, has held a rather poor reputation and is known to history for his "vices and scandalous perfidy."⁵ The beginning of the legend takes place in the year 707, immediately before the Arab conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. Caro Baroja confirms that at the time the Arabs began the invasion the *Vascones* were at odds with both Goths and Franks, and that in the year 711, at the very moment of the Saracen invasion, don Rodrigo was struggling against the *Vascones*.

Caro Baroja points out that the historical accuracy of the legend and character of Don Theodosio is problematic. Although there might have been Gothic garrisons in the Navarrese towns of Pamplona and Olite, it seems unlikely that Don Theodosio would be a member of Witiza's *entourage*. The title of *Don* was not applied to his name until a few centuries later, probably at the time of Friar Thomas de Burgui, and possibly by the Friar himself.⁶

According to Caro Baroja, the name of Goñi is taken either from his father or assigned according to his place of origin. The protagonist is therefore a local figure.

⁴ The following details of the story line of Burgui's narration are taken from J. Caro Baroja's article. The historical period coincides narrowly with that of the novel.

⁵ Caro Baroja (*La leyenda de don Teodosio de Goñi*, p. 298) cites S. Huici and V. Juaristi among the authors who speak about Witiza.

⁶ Caro Baroja, *La leyenda de don Teodosio de Goñi*, p. 298-299.

Caro Baroja also states that his wife's names, Doña Constanza de Butrón y Viandra, are not plausible names for a woman of the 8th century, and were probably given to this character during the 16th or even as late as the 18th century. Most of the sources however tend to coincide in the details. It seems probable that after their marriage Don Theodosio became head of his wife's household – which Caro Baroja identifies as *Larrañaren Echea* – in the same town of Goñi.⁷

The chronological accuracy of the legend becomes questionable as it is narrated to take place in different time periods according to two different sources. Burgui cites the two previous accounts that point to a chronological discrepancy. The first account is contained in the *Chronica de los reyes de Navarra* written in 1534 by the Licenciado Mossen Diego Ramírez de Abalos de la Piscina.⁸ Burgui points out that, according to Ramírez de Abalos the events surrounding the miracle take place during the time when the King Don Ramiro lost the kingdom of Navarra to his uncle Don Ramón, King of Aragon, by means of treason. But Don Ramón occupied Navarra for sixty years at the end of the 9th century, not during the early 8th century.

Another chronicler confirms that the event took place during the early 8th century. This is Don Esteban de Garibay y Zamalloa, native inhabitant of Mondragón, who writes the legend in the third volume of a *Compendio historial de las chronicas y vniversal historia de todos los reynos d'España, donde se escriven las vidas de los Reyes de Navarra...* published in Antwerp in 1571.⁹ According to this account, the sanctuary of *San Miguel de Excelsis*, close to the town of Huarte Araquil, is one of the oldest churches in Navarra, and in some old *memoirs* it is written that the Archangel St. Michael appeared to a knight of the Navarrese town of

⁷ Caro Baroja, *La leyenda de don Teodosio de Goñi*, p. 299. Caro Baroja gives other details about the historical fate of the house which became palace during the kingdom of Charles V. The name Constanza de Butron (or Butrón) of the legend is taken by Villoslada as the Christian name for Amaya.

⁸ See Appendix 4.

⁹ Cited by Caro Baroja, *La leyenda de don Teodosio de Goñi*, 308-309. See appendix 5 for the text of this account.

Goñi, the year when the Moors made their first entrance in Spain. In a manuscript that was available to Burgui, *Relación de la antigüedad y nobleza de los palacios de Eraso y Murguingueta que perteneció al Consejero don Alonso de Eraso*, Garibay ascribes the construction of the sanctuary to Don Theodosio. Fray Burgui's date agrees with the date given by Garibay y Zamalloa. There is no strong indication why this date should be accepted rather than Ramírez de Abalos' as it is probable that in the earlier source the time may have been transferred to the beginning years of the Arab invasion with the purpose of adding a more dramatic background to the legend.

Involuntary parricide in Fray Thomas de Burgui's account

Perhaps more interesting than the mere accuracy of historical chronology is the main subject of the story: the narration of an involuntary parricide.¹⁰ In Burgui's account Don Theodosio is campaigning against the Arabs in Northern Africa. At his return to the town of Goñi the diabolical treachery that leads to the parricide begins. Theodosio's parents had come to live with their daughter-in-law for two reasons: so they would be taken care of in their old age, and to avoid any possible harm to the honour of their house.¹¹ Doña Constanza puts them in her own bed and goes to church, perhaps for a pious act such as the praying of the rosary. Meanwhile a venerable and ascetic figure appears to Don Theodosio. This venerable figure is the devil himself disguised as a holy hermit who tells Don Theodosio that his wife is dishonouring his house by committing adultery with one of the servants:

entre zeloso de su honor y compassivo de su mal, le declaró, que le estaba haciendo trayción afrentosa su Muger, siendo un Criado suyo el vil profanador del decoro de su casa, con su complicitad en la culpa.¹²

¹⁰ See Caro Baroja *La leyenda de don Teodosio de Goñi*. Caro Baroja reproduces the engravings with the parricide scenes from Burgui's book.

¹¹ Caro Baroja, *La leyenda de don Teodosio de Goñi*, p. 301.

¹² Cited by Caro Baroja, *La leyenda de don Teodosio de Goñi*, p. 301.

In the next chapter Don Theodosio, blinded with rage, enters his house and his own chamber and, in the darkness sees a man and a woman in his own bed. Sure now of the dishonour committed against him, he kills them and leaves the house. Soon afterwards he encounters his wife as she is leaving the church and, when she explains who were in their bed, he realizes the horror of his own act and feels a sharp pang of remorse.

The next chapter narrates Don Theodosio's repentance and expiation, his pilgrimage to Rome in order to obtain pardon from the Pope, and his acceptance of the penance imposed on him. As a historical note, Friar Burgui adds that all this occurred at the time when San Marcial was bishop of Pamplona. Caro Baroja adds the commentary that San Marcial became a Christian martyr in the hands of the Arabs on 30th June 718 thus adding evidence to the historical frame of the early 8th century. Navarro Villoslada mentions the bishop in *Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII* in order to add to the historicity of his own novel.

Don Theodosio carries a cross on his shoulder, a ring around his neck, and thick chains which would only be broken by divine decision. After some time at the Mount Ayedo one of the links breaks. This does not lead to Don Theodosio's complete liberation but he decides to build a temple at the site.¹³ From there the penitent goes to the Mount Aralar. After seven years of penance here, Don Theodosio enters a cave where he is attacked by a dragon – in this case also representing the devil. Don Theodosio invokes the Archangel St. Michael. At that moment a great light appears and when the villagers from the vicinity arrive they see the knight embracing Christ's cross and St. Michael.

Don Theodosio returns to Goñi where he tells the events to his wife and relatives. He comes back to *Aralar*, where he consecrates the rest of his life to the cult of St. Michael. Burgui's narration is not without interruption since much of Friar Burgui's story is interpolated with pious or moralizing invectives.

¹³ Both temples in *Ayedo* and *Aralar* are extant to this day.

There are some differences between this account and that of the lyric drama. Besides the change and addition of characters – Constanza de Butron takes the name of Amaya in the opera, the character of Amagoya does not exist in the earlier legend – more significant is the addition of the character of Asier, who in Burgui’s account is a mythical figure who takes the place of the devil-disguised-as-a-hermit. Although both the devil and Asier take the disguise of a venerable hermit, both in the opera and in its 19th-century precursor, the devil no longer plays a direct role in the latter. We shall revisit the figure of Asier when we study Villoslada’s novel. A study of Burgui’s work is essential to understand the undertones of the legend as it was known in the 18th century. At this point we turn to the subject of the involuntary parricide.

Excursus: the subject of the involuntary parricide in Greek literature: *Oedipus*

There are other notable occurrences of the theme of the involuntary parricide in literature. A well known case was first recorded in Homer’s *Odyssey* as Odysseus narrates:

“And I saw the mother of Oedipodes, fair Epicaste who wrought a monstrous deed in ignorance of mind, in that she wedded her own son, and he, when he had slain his own father, wedded her, and straightway the gods made these things known among men.”¹⁴

Oedipus’ involuntary parricide is aggravated by the incest with his mother Epicaste. In Sophocles’ *Oedipus* cycle there is an elaboration of this myth. In the tragedy *Oedipus at Colonus* it becomes clear that the parricide is not a lesser crime than the incest, as the hero has to suffer the exile imposed by his own sons for reason of the parricide:

¹⁴ *Homeri Odyssea edidit Guilielmus Dindorf*. Lipsiae: in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, MCMVI (book XI, 271-274).

I was driven from my country by my own offspring, and I can never return, because I killed my father.¹⁵

Both crimes are equally grave as Oedipus explains to Creon, who is asking him to leave Athens in order to return to Thebes, that he would not be received in Thebes for reason of both crimes: parricide and incest:

I knew too that they would not receive a parricide and a man impure, nor one in whose company were found the children of an unholy marriage.¹⁶

Sophocles repeatedly stresses that Oedipus commits the crime in ignorance of mind. This becomes a crucial aspect of the crime related in the myth. The fact that his crime is an involuntary act diminishes Oedipus' sense of guilt although it does not relieve him from adverse fate and its subsequent expiation. In Sophocles' last play of the Theban trilogy, Oedipus requests that the gods pity him and grant him fulfillment and closure to the course of his life.¹⁷ A few verses later Oedipus requests pity from the men of Athens.¹⁸ The pardon constitutes a central part of the tragedy as Oedipus' guilt lies in his suffering rather than in his doing. And repeatedly his claim to pardon, in the face of the chorus of old men, nobles of Athens, is that his parricide and incest were involuntary actions.¹⁹ In verses 521-522 Oedipus states again his lack of knowledge:

I endured evil, strangers, I endured it, by my own will, let the god be witness! But none of these things was my own choice!²⁰

In verses 960 and following Oedipus puts forward again a lengthy explanation of his innocence in order to attain exculpation.²¹ All these recurring passages throw weight into the involuntary character of Oedipus' crime. The crime

¹⁵ Sophocles. *Oedipus at Colonus*. Hugh Lloyd-Jones, ed. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994. Verses 599-601.

¹⁶ Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus*, verses 944-946.

¹⁷ Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus*, verses 113-122.

¹⁸ Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus*, verses 255-268.

¹⁹ Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus*, verses 266-274.

²⁰ Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus*, verses 522-527.

²¹ Especially verses 962-964, 974-977.

might have occurred because the gods were angry against his people of old – that is, because it was thus dictated by fate. By the end of the tragedy the wretched old man finds relief: Theseus and the men of Athens are able to liberate Oedipus' daughters from Creon's hands and return them to their father. Oedipus finally finds piety towards the gods in Athens, human feeling and no hypocrisy.²²

The differences between the two stories are apparent, but there are notable similarities as well. Both Don Theodosio, lord of Goñi, and Oedipus, king of Thebes, commit a crime of parricide, with the only difference being that Oedipus' crime is worsened by the consequent incest. Oedipus has to expiate his own sin in exile, Don Theodosio has to fulfill a harsh penance in a secluded mountain. Don Theodosio, like Oedipus after he realizes the nature of his crime, suffers sharp remorse. Oedipus in exile finds consolation first with his daughters, then in his own death. When Don Theodosio is forgiven after he summons Saint Michael, he also finds consolation in his wife, who has forgiven him. At the end Oedipus is taken by Zeus in order to end the expiation for his involuntary sin. Don Theodosio is saved from the dragon by St. Michael and this marks the end of the penance.

There is one aspect that they share in common which is even more crucial: the involuntary character of the crime. This is the most pervading feature throughout Sophocles' tragedy. Oedipus' involuntariness does not exculpate the criminal completely from the expiation he needs to undergo, but instead puts the weight of the action on fate. The unavoidability of the action makes of Oedipus a tragic figure, and so does subsequently of Don Theodosio. This will be seen more clearly in a parallel account of an involuntary parricide.

²² Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus*, verses 1125-1127.

Involuntary parricide in medieval Christian literature:

San Julian el Hospitalario

The legend of San Julian el Hospitalario also narrates a parricide. Navarro Villoslada, in *Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII*, identifies this legend as taking place in Cataluña and repeating the narrated events – with almost identical circumstances – of Don Theodosio’s legend.²³ Villoslada cites a play published among the works of Lope de Vega which offers an account of the story: *El animal profeta y dichoso parricida San Julián*.²⁴ This is just one account since, according to Caro Baroja, this legend became particularly popular on the route to Santiago during the late Middle Ages.²⁵

The themes of Lope de Vega’s play have striking parallels with those of the Oedipus myth. Unlike Oedipus, for whom fate is a dominant force, in Lope de Vega’s play there is a brief consideration of the freedom of the will as the protagonist’s father tries to deter his son from going hunting (p. 187):

Es verdad, hijo; mas piensa
que Dios ha dado a los hombres
libre albedrío...²⁶

Julián disregards his father’s advice. During the hunting excursion he hears a voice in the forest. It is the voice of a wounded deer foretelling that he will take away his parents’ lives. As the deer forecasts Julián’s parricide, the protagonist

²³ Francisco Navarro Villoslada. *Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII. Novela histórica*. Madrid: Librería Católica de San José, 1879, vol. III, p. 258-259.

²⁴ The attribution of this play to Félix Lope de Vega (1562-1635) is problematic as Caro Baroja points out (p. 320), since it has also been attributed to Antonio Mira de Mescua (or Amescua, a Basque name) (1577-1644). Both Lope de Vega and Mira de Mescua cultivated plays in which the subject is the life of saints with equal success, but we shall look beyond the diatribe of authorship to the legend itself especially since Navarro Villoslada mentions it as the same story as Teodosio de Goñi’s. The play consulted for this dissertation is in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles. Obras de Lope de Vega X. Comedias de vidas de santos*. Madrid: Atlas, 1965, p. 179-224.

²⁵ Caro Baroja, p. 320, cites Luis L. Cortes Vazquez on the association of this legend to the pilgrims’ route to Santiago.

²⁶ Félix Lope de Vega. *El animal profeta y dichoso parricida San Julián*. In *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles. Obras de Lope de Vega. X: Comedias de vidas de santos*. Madrid: Atlas, 1965, p. 187.

realizes that, like Oedipus, whose father was foretold by oracles that he would be killed by the hand of his own son,²⁷ he is a victim of fate:

Pronóstico es riguroso,
sin duda, que compelerme
tiene algún día, y ponerme
en acto tan lastimoso;
pero si es astro furioso,
y el hombre sabio atropella,
abate, deshace y huella
sus afectos, yo seré
sabio, y ahora venceré
los efectos de mi estrella.²⁸

Julián is confident that he will dodge the effects of fate. For the rest of the play free will is forgotten and the possibility of it playing any part is put in suspense. Julián's squire expresses doubt that his master will escape fate:

Pero si del cielo está
Que hayas de ser parricida...²⁹

Lope de Vega narrates the action in such a way that there is no room for reflection, to the effect that fate seems unavoidable in a rapid sequence of events. In a futile attempt to evade his fate Julián departs for Italy, leaving behind in his country Albania his own parents and fiancée who lament his departure and for which they blame each other. In the exchange of imprecations the idea of the parricide as fatal destiny is reintroduced as his fiancée entreats God that his parents be killed by their own son. There is another parallel with the Oedipus legend in Julián's fleeing in order to evade fate. When Oedipus hears from the oracle at Pytho that he is doomed to be his father's murderer he flees from Corinth somewhere where he would not see the oracle fulfilled.³⁰

²⁷ Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus*, verses 969-970.

²⁸ Lope de Vega, *El animal profeta y dichoso parricida San Julián*, p. 187.

²⁹ Lope de Vega, *El animal profeta y dichoso parricida San Julián*, p. 196.

³⁰ Sophocles. *Fabulae, Oedipus Tyrannus*, Oxonii: E Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1971, verses 787-797.

In his new adopted country, Julián marries another woman although he is warned by his own squire of the dangers of jealousy which take an important role in the rest of the play:

Casar faltando la hacienda,
causa es de muchos desvelos,
y sobreviniendo celos,
fuerte y pesada contienda
en casados;³¹

There are slight variations from one story to another. For instance, in Lope de Vega's play the role of the devil disguised as hermit is performed by Don Federico, the competitor for San Julián's wife. In both cases jealousy plays a part in the change of mind of the protagonists. Especially in Lope de Vega's play, but also in the legend of Don Theodosio, fate plays an essential role at the time of the parricide. Lope de Vega develops this aspect by creating a situation of intrigue where husband and suitor outplay their opponent.

In both Don Theodosio's and Julian's stories, the perpetrator's ignorance about who is in the nuptial chamber is tainted by jealousy and desire for revenge. But both Julián and Don Theodosio fail to restrain their instincts and thus become the executors of fate. If for a moment the protagonists think that they can avoid fate, this proves an impossibility early in the story. This is a feature they share with Oedipus, who also attempts to evade his fate by leaving Corinth.

Assessment of the subject of the parricide in different contexts

The coincidences between the three stories are too evident to dismiss. Fate in the three accounts takes over the protagonists' will despite their attempts to escape it. In the three legends the object of the parricide is unknown and the crime is committed in ignorance of mind. In the three stories the protagonists commit

³¹ Lope de Vega, *El animal profeta y dichoso parricida San Julián*, p. 196.

homicides led by instinctual impulses either for jealousy or for a sense of vengeance. In one case fate is pronounced by the oracle, in another by a dying deer. Only in Don Theodosio's legend this is not revealed explicitly.

Parricide as paradigm of nationalism?

Beyond mere geographical coincidences it is not clear how the story of an involuntary parricide and its Christian expiation by its perpetrator contributes to the cultural *fuerrista* movement since in all the versions previous to Navarro Villoslada's novel the ethnic origin of the protagonists or the foundation of a new nation is irrelevant. It seems difficult to understand how this legend contributes to the advancement of a national consciousness as it could hardly be paradigmatic in a moral sense. This is even more troubling as we find very close parallel stories in such disparate authors as Lope de Vega, who narrates a legend which became popular in the late middle ages, or in Sophocles, who elaborates on an Ancient Greek myth. How does this subject become the subject of a novel about the Basques in the 8th century? How does it become the central theme of such significant work of both the *fuerrista* literary movement and the movement of Basque opera?

Joseph Augustin de Chaho

Joseph Augustin de Chaho (1811-1858) exerted an important influence on the background of Villoslada's *Amaya*. Both Chaho and Villoslada elaborated an *epos* of the Basque people that became, if not the precedent, a model for other writers of the *fuerrista* movement. The idea of a primitive religion of the Basques, to whom Chaho gives the epithet of *voyants* for instance, is one of the elements elaborated in this *epos*.³² The ritual of the full moon, which Chaho associates with the assemblies

³² There is a dearth of studies on the very interesting personality and character of Chaho.

of the Basques is a direct model for the scene of the full moon ritual in act I of Guridi's lyric drama through Villoslada's novel.³³

Chaho's "defence de la cause sainte de ces homes libres qui sont mes frères" is imbued by a revolutionary and Romantic spirit that makes his statement both original and eccentric.³⁴ Chaho has frequently been dismissed for his eccentricity. Miguel de Unamuno denounces Chaho's imaginary constructions as the precursor of many inventors of spurious Basque legends. Jon Juaristi has identified him as the precursor of the whole *fuerrista* movement.

Chaho's most personal book is arguably the *Voyage en Navarre pendant l'insurrection des Basques* (1835). This sort of Romantic travel book was written during a journey in the Basque country at the time of the first *Carlist* war.³⁵ Its title suggests parallels with travel books such as the different *Voyage en Orient* written by Alphonse de Lamartine (1835), Gérard de Nerval (1843-1851), and Gustave Flaubert (1849-1851). Travel books of this sort became frequent among French literary writers of post Napoleonic times and a class by itself. There are similarities in the narrative style and, to a certain extent, there are some similarities in what Edward Said calls *Orientalist* structures as well. Chaho himself a student of Oriental languages and religions, describes the Iberian Peninsula in the preface as a land outside or beyond the limits of civilization, an impoverished land ruled by priests.

This book set the first impulse for the revival of Basque themes and the *fuerrista* literary movement. We shall expound on the content Chaho's discourse in order to elucidate the fantastic origin of his conception of *basquitude*. One of the fundamental premises on which Chaho bases his history is that the Basques are the

³³ Navarro Villoslada. *Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII*, vol I p. 352, ff. The title of the chapter is: "Donde sin probarse que Amagoia fuese astróloga, resulta materialmente demostrado que tenía ribetes de astrología."

³⁴ Chaho. *Voyage en Navarre pendant l'insurrection des Basques (1830-1835)*, p. 7, or *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 36. Although the original version was consulted for this dissertation most of the quotes are from the Spanish translation. Juaristi denies that this is a travel book in the strict sense since Chaho spent just a few days during the *Carlist* insurrection in the Basque country.

³⁵ For this subject see John F. Coverdale, John F. *The Basque phase of Spain's first Carlist war*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984.

heirs of the ancient Iberians.³⁶ In Chaho's cosmogony, the Basques, heirs to their civilization, see in the central fire of the earth the principle of creation and the renovating agent of the earth: they assign to it the name *Suge*, which translates as fire or serpent. They still name this serpent *Leheren* (*Lehen-heren* (first-last)). The children of the Sun had understood the regularity of the geological movements of the earth before modern scientific discoveries.

The Basque cosmogony – according to Chaho – has the *Leheren Suge* at its center. It slept curled around itself, in the interior lake of the earth, in the fire pond. In this cosmogony narrated by Chaho, the destruction of the earth and a deluge take place although there is no mention of a human provocation of the ire of the Basque God *IAO*. The men and women who hid in the mountains suffered a metamorphosis that lasted ten centuries after which they were converted into their initial form by the divine song of a luminous bird. Their posterity populated during the first period Africa, Spain, Italy, and Gaul; disseminated its colonies towards the Orient and Persia, which received from them its primitive name of Iran. The western patriarchs were called *eúskaros*. The barbarians call them the race of the Sun and of the Lamb. They recognize Aïtor, first born of the *voyants* as their sublime ancestor.³⁷

According to Chaho, much earlier than the formation of the Jewish people and the shameful servitudes which this community of fugitive slaves used to expiate in order to gain nationality, the surname of *People of God* was applied originally and exclusively to the patriarchs of the south: this reminds us, writes Chaho, of the theism which the ancient Basques used to profess, without symbols, or sacrifices, cults, or prayers. Certainly the general tradition testifies that the natural religion, the pure *mentalism* expressed harmonically through the expression of the verb, was the moral element of sociability of the first men and of their political union in the

³⁶ J. Augustin de Chaho. *Viaje a Navarra durante la insurreccion de los Vascos*. Xavier Mendiguren, translator. San Sebastián: Editorial Txertoa, 1976, p 142.

³⁷ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 143-145.

federated republics, by the progressive multiplication of the tribes.³⁸ This vision of a natural religion of the primitive Basques, who because of their privileged status as visionaries receive the epithet of *voyants*, is a constant in Chaho's writings.

Chaho continues with his vividly imaginative description of the Basque cosmogony stating that the astronomical language of the Basques reflects with poetry the simple and rude customs of this pastoral people. The title of *Children of the Lamb* which history assigns to them is explained by the word *Xurien* (white) which is common to the dialects of India, Persia, and the Spanish Iberia. The Indus name the sun *Argi*, a word which in the Iberian dialect is used to denote "light". The star which is source of all light – continues Chaho – is named *Egi* by the Iberians, which in a moral sense means civilization and truth. This is in reference to the natural harmony realized in the development of their society. In memory of the divine truth virginally incarnated in their improvised verb is why the *eúskaros*, the people of *IAO*, born during the first epoch under the bright sky of the south, called themselves justly *Children of the light* and *of the Lamb*.³⁹

According to Chaho, the Basques established themselves in Spain twenty centuries before the irruption of the Celts and Tartars into this peninsula. They crossed Hercules' strait with light canoes as was narrated by Strabo.

In Chaho's imaginary cosmogony the Basques have their origin in the patriarch Aïtor. Every free man of the *Cantabric* race (the Basque race) is considered a nobleman, *Aïtoren seme* or son of Aïtor. The name Aïtor means – according to Chaho – universal father, sublime, and was imagined by the ancestors of the Basques in order to remember the original nobility and the great antiquity of their race. These ancestors were *voyants* (visionaries) and lettered. They had a multitude of diviners and prophets. The Iberians had repopulated Spain, Gaul, and Italy after the great deluge.⁴⁰

³⁸ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 145.

³⁹ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 146.

⁴⁰ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 77.

The Basque influence was widespread, as Seneca wrote, according to Chaho, that the Corsicans wore Basque costumes and that they spoke the primitive Iberian language mixed with Greek and Ligurian. Their influence went as far as the Caucasus where the Iberians founded a flourishing Asiatic colonial empire, in which *Arghiri*, *Arthanize*, and *Aphanize* were the main cities. The Iber and the Araxes rivers, names which are conserved among the Basques in the Pyrenees, watered the lands of the eastern Iberians.⁴¹ These far fetched hypotheses of Chaho were well received by the *fuerrista* generation. Although these and other attempts at making connections between the Basques and the ancient Orient have repeatedly been disproved.

Language and speech are essential elements of the Basque idiosyncrasy in Chaho's scheme and a constant in future claims of independence. The patriarchs, when they formed their *solar* republic inspired by God, improvised the Basque language in which every sound is harmony and every word is truth.⁴² The Cantabric poetry deprived of the resource of writing – continues Chaho – did not have other means of propagation than the bards' uncultivated improvisation and their fleeting songs, soon forgotten. The Basques even lost the intelligence of their language.

Chaho blames this loss of the language on the loss of the original natural religion. This darkening of the social light brought by the loss of the language favoured the establishment of polytheism, a degenerate religious manifestation according to Chaho's illuminist scheme. For that reason the Catholic faith – which although monotheistic is an imperfect religion – is professed nowadays by the Basques as a lesser remedy against the errors of polytheism. The sun of the *voyants* – the original visionaries – was extinguished in their horizon during the age of blood and darkness. The influence of an *evil genie* debilitated the links of the primitive fraternity of the Basques, changed the conditions of duty, isolated the abnegation

⁴¹ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 149-150.

⁴² Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 76.

(self-denial) and exiled love from their societies.⁴³ Chaho makes the remark, which is actually accurate, that the Basques do not have a national literature. Basque writers have had to use Latin, Castilian, or French.

Chaho laments that the foreigners have not been initiated into the secrets of Iberian thought and have not been illuminated by the magic reflections of the pantheistic poetry where the profound science of our ancient diviners and the rich inspirations of the Orient are omnipresent. Why – asks Chaho – is the primitive Basque language consigned to oblivion from the children of the sun? The resurrection of the Iberian literature will constitute the triumph of the *voyants*.⁴⁴

Chaho stresses that the Basques could not deprive themselves of the preeminence which derives from their origin and hereditary independence. They remained superior, says Chaho, to the peoples of the Celtic race for their laws, customs, uses which they conserved from nature, and wisdom that inspired them in their practical affairs. Their civilization was far more advanced than those of the Gauls and Celt-Iberians. Chaho credits the Basques for being the only western people nowadays who unite the primitive civilization of the southern patriarchs and the warrior genie of the northern barbarians.⁴⁵

Chaho takes elements from disparate sources. The term *verb*, with characteristic divine connotations in the Christian sacred scriptures, recurs in his discourse pointing to the divine nature of the Basque language. Thus the Basques, different from all other western peoples, because of their knowledge of the divine verb, call themselves *eúskaros, eskualdun*. They assign the term *erdara* to the imperfect verb, the semi-languages, the mixed dialects, the sinister jargons of the foreign peoples, including the modern Spanish and French languages.⁴⁶

⁴³ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 163.

⁴⁴ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 192.

⁴⁵ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 164.

⁴⁶ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 77.

In Chaho's peculiar version of history, then came the invasion of the people from the north and of the Tartars which ended the golden age and began for humanity the age of blood and darkness and of the *evil genie*. The barbarians dispossessed the Basques of their beautiful territory and destroyed in all of Iberia the oaks of the federated republics. Since that time the Basque country, which in its primitive stages had occupied all of the Iberian peninsula and Gaul, was restricted to the present seven provinces of the western Pyrenees.

In Chaho's sequence of events, after the invasion of the Hyperboreans came the invasions of the Celt-Iberians, the Phoenicians, the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Goths, and the Moors. During over thirty centuries of struggle Chaho's Basque federation, entrenched in its mountains, has defended against the barbaric hordes the original independence of its republics, its language, and the glory of its ancient nationality. For Chaho, the civilization of the great empires that emerged from the invasions of the North is nothing but refined barbarism. In contrast with all these foreign invaders, Chaho's man of a primitively free society is the only *voyant* who lives in the true *law*.⁴⁷

In Chaho's interpretation of history, after the Celtic invasion of the Iberian peninsula the two peoples – Celts and Iberians – signed a peace treaty and merged in a new race. The province inhabited by this population – Chaho continues – was called Celt-Iberia and the pure Basques gave their Semitic dialect the name *Erdarada* (evidently related to the term *erdara*, the sinister imperfect verb of the foreign peoples) which means “imperfect and mixed language.”⁴⁸ For Chaho, the Vizcayans and Navarrese in contrast with this Semitic people enjoy a fortiori the privileges of their noble origin both in France and Spain. (Somehow Chaho has assimilated the Celt-Iberians with Semitic races.)

For Chaho, the populations of Castile carry the disgrace of vassalage and servitude; he even considers the Castilian nobility unworthy of alliance because of

⁴⁷ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 77, 163, 245.

⁴⁸ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 148-149.

their past mixture with the Jews. The Cantabrian (the Basque), before yielding his daughter to the man of the Castilian plain, pays careful attention to the titles which testify to the illustrious (non-Jewish) origin of the suitor.⁴⁹

Chaho states that no Basque has ever taken the office of executioner. The Basques used to precipitate their culprits down a precipice and the parricides used to be dillapidated by the people. It is striking that among all crimes Chaho that of parricide deserves unique mention. Perhaps he knew the legend of Don Theodosio de Goñi.⁵⁰

In Chaho's vision of the singer of the fatherland, the Basque bards would recite *Heroides* celebrating its glories, or deploring its misfortunes with biblical elevation. The dignity of the patriarchal customs – Chaho states – sealed in their sublime improvisations of the bards elevates the native poetry of the Iberian language.⁵¹ In an implicit reference to the language of the Basques as *voyants*, Chaho states that the vocabulary of the Basque language has no rival in extension and richness, since each Basque root, like a powerful seed, develops a series of ramifications that testify to the primitive verb of the Iberians a divine philosophy and a lucid profundity of inspiration. Chaho then cites these roots observing that some of them are found in liturgical Sanskrit. This leads Chaho to proclaim that Basque language only has common roots with Sanskrit and dialects of south-west India.⁵² Later philological studies have disclaimed this conclusion.

The Basque language is so natural – Chaho states – that Basques are the only western people among whom it has been observed that deafs from birth can and do speak. This phenomenon which has been reproduced in the Basque language for over sixty centuries proves the natural expressivity of the Basque language, the living magic of this primitive *verb*. On the other hand – according to Chaho's

⁴⁹ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 187.

⁵⁰ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 225.

⁵¹ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 106.

⁵² Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 218. The link of Basque and Sanskrit has been disproven widely.

observations – among those peoples who have mixed and barbaric dialects, the deafs from birth remain deaf for life although their phonic organs may be well developed.⁵³

In Chaho's history the Goths followed the same path as the Celts. At their arrival they found a mixture of old Celts, Phoenicians, Persians, and Greeks which the Romans had tied under the same servitude. Although the presence of Persians in the Iberian Peninsula has not ever been mentioned by historians, Chaho states that the perfidy and cruelty of the Scythians were contagious for the Iberians.

The vices of the *agotes* – continues Chaho – have polluted the ancient virtues of the Basques. The *agote* was an inhabitant of the Basque country who arrived from Gothic Spain fleeing the Arab occupation and was allowed to live in the mountains but isolated from the natives. (See below.) Always from the north came the invasion, tyranny, war, death, *babelisme* in language, and darkness of the spirit, yet for Chaho the Basque is the Iberian patriarch dressed under the armour of the barbarian since the northern invasions. Silius Italicus – continues Chaho – portrayed a Basque, oldest son of Iberia, whom neither hunger, nor thirst, nor the heat of the summer, nor the dew of the winter can bring down, and for whom works and dangers become occasion for glory.⁵⁴

Chaho narrates a passage which occurs during Christian times in order to illustrate the ancient religion. When the Gothic king Leovigildo was threatening invasion and the senate of the province of Alava surrendered in the town of Amaya, an event narrated by the abbot of Biclán can give an idea of what might have been the religion of the primitive Basques according to Chaho.

In Chaho's narration an old man covered with a wolf skin presents himself at the assembly. Everybody recognizes the Christian Saint Emiliano. Leaning on his long crook his mere presence raises a murmur in the assembly (the *Bilzaar* points

⁵³ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 133-134. This obvious exaggeration on Chaho's part shows the kind of idealizations to which the enthusiasm for the subject of the language can lead.

⁵⁴ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 167.

Chaho). Chaho continues his narration: the hermit's bald forehead was wrinkled with age-old lines; his beard, white as the snow, reached his waist; the dream of wisdom seemed to have closed his eyes and an inspiration slipped as a peaceful dream; the silence grew; Saint Emiliano was about to speak. Perhaps he was bringing news about the freedom of the Alaveses, perhaps he would reveal by heavenly inspiration Leovigildo's projects. It was not so. Saint Emiliano came to reproach – according to Chaho's version of the story – the Basque chiefs for their sins and the law that allowed the Basque priests to maintain a *barragana*, a servant – or *gelhari*.

Chaho continues: the Alavese senators laughed at his sermon and at him. One of them, by name Andeka, abruptly invited him to retreat saying that his old age had debilitated his reason. The hermit in an irate state struck the ground with his cane, raised his head with energy and his eyes lit up. – “Anathema!” he cried with a terrifying voice which made his white beard waver. Andeka paled at this cry, he swayed, and was struck dead.⁵⁵

It is revealing that, despite the reminiscences of this story to others such as the reception of the priest Chryses by Agamemnon in the first book of the *Iliad* or the passage of Ananias and Sapphira in the book of the *Acts of the Apostles*, and of its Christian content, Chaho uses it as an example to understand the otherwise completely unknown primitive Basque religion.

In Chaho's linear history, after the Goths came the Arab Moors, whom the Basques expelled from Spain. Chaho explains that the representatives of the late Goths in the Basque country are the *agotes*, who fled from the Arab invasion into the valleys of the Pyrenees. This is a caste to whom the Basques offered a disdainful hospitality, writes Chaho; a Pariah who was allowed to build his abode in remote and uninhabited places.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 83-84.

⁵⁶ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 232-233. The *agote* is an interesting figure in Basque folklore. The fact that this caste remained isolated from the rest of society is certainly worth studying.

Chaho insists in building a racial differentiation when he states that the Basque colonies in the repopulated provinces remained free and distinct until they were mixed with the vassal population of the Castilians. In this population Chaho sees the servants of the Visigoths, slaves under the Moors, the nationality of the Castilians which is just a fiction of a despotic government. At this moment Chaho's sentences could very well have been pronounced by Arana Goiri. The Castilians, continues Chaho, are a herd of men grazed in uncultivated territories around the town of Madrid. And Chaho asks himself: do these degenerate *agotes* dare to present their liberators (from the Moors) from the mountains a ridiculous yoke forged by sophists?⁵⁷

Chaho thinks that today the Basques are defending their independence, the individuality of their race, primitive and solar, under the command of a chief freely elected – Zumalacárregui – and under the flag of a lord and king – Don Carlos – against the Castilians. Chaho denounces the Castilian hordes which have irrupted in Vizcaye: the venerable oak at the foot of which the assemblies of the republic were celebrated for three thousand years has been felled. At the place where the Iberian tree stood, states Chaho, the *agotes* have written in the new language the inscription: “here stood Guernica”. The oak of the *Bilzaar* (assembly) in the Labort suffered an even worse fate as it cannot be precisely located.⁵⁸ Chaho quotes Zumalacárregui, the man of the big sword, lifting defiantly his hand to the sky and saying:

Look at the moon shining above our heads: thus illuminated in other times the nocturnal feasts of the eternal *IAO*, and the religious dances of the Cantabrians, our ancestors. Before the heavenly body of the tombs (*Ilargia*) has reached two fourths, you will receive the order of leaving Navarra.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 236-237.

⁵⁸ This is a peculiar view of the Carlist war only formulated by Chaho, since some Basques fought against Don Carlos while some Castilians fought on his side. His vision of the Carlist war is particularly clear in the episode of the Petit Navarraise (chapter V) of his *Voyage en Navarre*..

⁵⁹ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 248. The ritual of the fool moon plays a central part in the story line of the lyric drama *Amaya*.

Chaho states that the time has arrived when the struggles of independence have returned for the children of Aitor. This is the time when the people of the *voyants*, the warriors of the valleys, have been weakened by the sable of the *agotes*, wander around the rocky mountains where their ancestors used to hide in time of the barbarians.⁶⁰

The *agote* takes now a wider meaning for Chaho. In the voice of the Carlists it may just mean a partisan of the regent Queen.⁶¹ Chaho is not satisfied with finding links between the Basques and the ancient Oriental religions but he also finds links between the Basque language and American languages such as the Inca. Thus the *red man* – as Chaho calls him – gave the Basque a trust which was denied to the other Spanish. The ingenious myths of the Aztecs, like the pantheistic cult of the Brahma and the religion of the magicians, sectarians of the Mithra, summarize with inspiration the high poetry of the primitive civilizations.⁶²

Chaho points to the unworthy example of Espoz y Mina, a Navarrese who fought against Napoleon's invasion, but who has now forgotten the race of men who grow in the shadow of the valleys to join the Queen María Cristina's army. Chaho states that his cruelties and vain threats dishonour him and irritate the Basques.⁶³ The reason for the Carlist war is the jealousy of the Castilians – Chaho continues – who could not suffer seeing the Basque provinces govern and administer themselves in complete independence while Vizcayans and Navarrese occupied in Castile multiple civil and military posts.⁶⁴ In a somewhat contradictory statement Chaho writes that Cristina's officers are Basque and that the Castilians, who are so zealous

⁶⁰ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 172.

⁶¹ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 246.

⁶² Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 181.

⁶³ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 118, p. 244. Espoz y Mina, as Chaho points out, fought and defeated Napoleon's army led by general Harispe (also a Basque) in the Napoleonic war in the mountains.

⁶⁴ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 119.

of their privileges obey chiefs of our race such as Iriarte, Gurrea, Oraá, Jáuregui, and Mina.⁶⁵

With respect to the history of the Basques, Chaho points that it has never been written by themselves but that all the references come from their neighbouring peoples. These are, of course, the Basques' enemies. One celebrated diatribe which Chaho brings up is the claim that it was not Castilians or Gascons who won the battle of Roncesvalles but the Basques.⁶⁶ Incidentally, Chaho mentions the successor of the Basque Duke Amando, a Lobo – Ochoa, López – to be Eudon or Eudes, name of one of the protagonists in Villoslada's novel who also responds to the name Asier.

Chaho provides in his *Voyage en Navarre* a vivid and imaginative cosmogony of the Basques. It is not surprising that many 19th-century writers found inspiration in his fantastic discourse to praise the Basque race and it is not surprising that a feverishly imaginative literature would spring from this model. Navarro Villoslada, whose particular view of religion contrasts starkly with Chaho's, took from him many of these elements when he composed *Amaya*. (The character that gives title to the novel is herself granddaughter of the Basque patriarch.)

Chaho's anticlericalism is evident in the introduction of his *Voyage en Navarre* in which he describes the Spanish countryside as backward and ruled by priests. His anticlericalism and particular view of religion are in strong contrast with Villoslada's Catholic conservative positions. It seems surprising that he would become such an important influence in the writing of *Amaya*. This influence is however very clear in the narration of the full moon ritual.

Chaho's Aïtor, *Légende cantabre*

Chaho formulates in the article *Aïtor, Légende cantabre* published in 1843 in the republican newspaper *L'Ariel* of Bayonne which he himself directed, the myth

⁶⁵ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 120.

⁶⁶ Chaho, *Viaje a Navarra*, p. 87-88.

which supports Villoslada's *Amaya*. In this article, translated into Spanish by the prominent *fuerrista* Arturo Campión in 1909, Chaho gives life to the legend of the Basque patriarch, a popular source of inspiration among the *fuerristas*. The author expands this article to include it in his book *Philosophie des religions comparées* (1848) under the chapter heading "Race occidentale. Les Ibères. Aïtor, Légende primitive."

In this article Chaho identifies the Basques with the Vardules of the poet of the Punic wars Silius Italicus. At the end of the wars the hero of the campaign and bard Lara is invited to sing the legend. After peace is reached, during the three-day long feast of the full moon the elders allow Lara, in an extraordinary suspension of the common practice, to declaim during the first night, excluding all other bards, the legend of his own composition entitled *Aïtor*:

La conclusion de la paix fut célébrée chez les Montagnards pendant la fête de la pleine lune, qui durait trois jours /.../ Par une dérogation à l'usage pratiqué, les vieillards de la tribu accordèrent à Lara une distinction aussi flatteuse que méritée, en le chargeant d'occuper seul l'assemblée durant la première nuit, à l'exclusion de tous les autres bardes, et de déclamer une légende de sa composition, intitulée *Aïtor*.⁶⁷

Lara, "prêt à évoquer sur l'Océan des âges, les générations englouties et les siècles accumulés dans les profondeurs de l'oubli," sings during the full-moon ritual the legend of Aïtor, "le grand ancêtre, le patriarche, le père de la race Indo-Atlantide et le premier né des Euskariens."⁶⁸ The gist of the legend is a cosmogony derived from specific words of the Basque lexicon in which the Basque man is praised for his virtues as an individual belonging to an idealized race.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Chaho, *Philosophie des religions comparées*, p. 216.

⁶⁸ Chaho, *Philosophie des religions comparées*. Paris, 1848, p.218: Lara, ready to evoke over the Ocean of ages the sunk generations and the centuries accumulated in the depths of forgetfulness...

⁶⁹ Chaho's philological associations have frequently been criticized, even by scholars who agree with Chaho's proto-socialist ideology. See in this respect the introduction by Xavier Mendiguren of *Viaje a Navarra durante la Insurrección de los Vascos*. San Sebastián: Editorial Txertoa, 1976.

Philosophie des religions comparées: voyants, croyants, and other categories

Chaho creates a peculiar system throughout his writings. In the rest of his *Philosophie des religions comparées*, he presents a theosophy in a solemn literary style. This literary style is different from that of *Voyage en Navarre*: he attempts at a systematic presentation of religions for which such language as that of his earlier book may not seem appropriate. He explains, in an unusual statement of humility, that the portrait he makes of himself in his works as a *voyant* is a mere literary device, a figure of language, a literary fiction, a tool to explain the role of the founders of religions and whose rhetoric he has felt free to imitate and not something on which certain knowledge can be achieved:

Quant à nous, il est bon de le déclarer pour ceux qui auraient quelque curiosité de le savoir: nous n'avons aucune espèce de vocation pour le métier d'illuminé. Le ton inspiré, les allures de révélateur prophétique ne sont et n'ont jamais été de notre part qu'une figure de langage, une fiction littéraire; et c'est seulement pour mieux expliquer le rôle des fondateurs de religions que nous avons pris la liberté grande d'imiter leur rhétorique quelquefois.⁷⁰

This literary style, Chaho continues, is primitive rather than *Oriental*. With this statement he is trying to find a common ground with the principles presented in the cosmogony of the *Voyage en Navarre*, but with this comment shows the dignity which Chaho associates with the term primitive in contrast with the *Oriental*. While the primitive is worthy of admiration, the Oriental is exotic, undisciplined, unbound, undefined. Chaho states that his literary style, born with the synthetic [?] languages, has the advantage of a vivid expression and the evocation of certain grand images which belonged to the founders of primitive religions. Thus he searches for a language that would validate his statements in his earlier work or at least that would not disregard them as simply unscientific.

⁷⁰ Chaho, *Philosophie des religions comparées*. Paris, 1848, p. viij.

This primitive style – admits Chaho – disregards details in favour of broad generalizations across different religions. But despite this lack of detail, Chaho claims to follow the scientific method inaugurated by Descartes and Bacon rather than a method based on the obscurantist basis of religion. Chaho finds himself in a struggle between the vivid imagination displayed in his earlier work and an attempt to create the effect of a method, and tries to find unusual points of agreement with his philosophical models. For instance, he points out that according to Bacon antiquity is a time of creation, of vitality (*sève-sap*), of youth, and greenness. In no instance does Chaho discuss Bacon's philosophy of scientific method. Rather he points to Bacon's polytheistic error.⁷¹

Nevertheless the *Philosophie des religions primitives* is Chaho's highest intellectual achievement. As he himself explains it consists of the summary of twenty years of methodical readings etc.:

Il est le résumé de vingt années de lectures méthodiquement dirigées: les souvenirs de l'enfant, les inspirations de l'adolescence, les méditations d'un âge plus mûr et tout ce que l'étude non interrompue des grands maîtres a pu nous révéler des secrets du style et de l'art s'y trouvent réunis.⁷²

Most importantly Chaho tries to justify his concept of the *voyants*, which in his earlier writings he associated with the Basques in their pristine state of natural religion. Thus Chaho finds it fit to propose four human types: the visionaries (*voyants*), the believers (*croyants*), the sceptics (*Pyrrhoniens et les sceptiques*), and the atheists (*les athées*). The characteristics of each type are not difficult to determine, but for his explanation of previous theories the most original distinction is between the first two. The highest category in Chaho's classification, that of the *voyants*, is constituted by a class of enlightened and religious men whose faith is knowledgeable and intelligent, and whose convictions have evidence as their base. Evidence is a necessary condition for all certainty. Truth, states Chaho, shines in

⁷¹ Chaho, *Philosophie des religions comparées*. Paris, 1848, p. xv.

⁷² Chaho, *Philosophie des religions comparées*. Paris, 1848, p. xviii.

front of the *voyant* without clouds and his interior eye is enraptured and captivated with its divine splendour.

The next group, Chaho's *croyants*, believe on account of an authority who teaches them. The number of *voyants* is much smaller than the number of *croyants* who are followers and therefore the majority of the human individuals. The sceptics believe that everything is in motion, therefore there is no absolute truth. The atheists simply do not believe.⁷³

Chaho explains that an original natural religion appeared freely, spontaneously, in parallel with the foundation of the first human societies. It was the inspiring blow, the divine spirit whose marvelous action gave birth to the primitive order, to an epoch in which man was gifted with grace, intelligence, and goodness. The natural religion was God's first revelation, which was, during a long sequence of centuries, and during what Chaho imagines as the age of the patriarchs, the only light of society, the only consecration of laws and customs.⁷⁴ As Chaho explained in his *Voyage en Navarre*, also in his philosophical explanation he states that the religion and the civilization of the patriarchs has been stopped violently from its peaceful development. Notwithstanding, the primitive religion has kept its pristine character:

It est tout clair que des magnificences de cette civilisation divine on eût vu sortir un culte public digne, par sa splendeur et par sa convenance, des sublimes vérités, des lois sages, des moeurs saintes, auxquelles la religion extérieure aurait imprimé le sceau immortel de sa consécration.⁷⁵

Tradition according to Chaho

What Chaho had established in his previous work for the race of the Basques he states of himself who, as a *voyant*, has been initiated into a natural religion superior to the other positive religions: this is the religion of the Iberians, Indus, and

⁷³ Chaho, *Philosophie des religions comparées*. Paris, 1848, p. 6-10.

⁷⁴ Chaho, *Philosophie des religions comparées*. Paris, 1848, p. 11.

⁷⁵ Chaho, *Philosophie des religions comparées*. Paris, 1848, p. 14.

Iranians.⁷⁶ Descendant of the old *Indoustanique* race, states Chaho, the Basques have remained faithful to a primitive revelation, which the barbarians and the Semites have corrupted. The initiation into this religion consists of the belief in a primordial, primitive, and universal tradition: the doctrine of an original fall of the souls and the hope for a future regeneration and reintegration of man. Chaho sustains that the primitive revelation has endured among the Basques thanks to this tradition that became extensively known by the whole people through a popular mythology. The Basques have thus become *voyants* themselves.

Objections to Chaho's doctrines

Chaho's writing cannot be easily classified, as different categories conflate with one another. His writing is bright and imaginative but has also been described as unmethodical. Miguel de Unamuno was particularly troubled by Chaho's lack of method concerning the classification of languages. He accused Chaho of making comparisons between languages in non-analogous conditions. For instance, he compared a living agglutinant ergative language such as *euskera* (Basque) to an unknown agglutinant precursor of the Aryan languages. Unamuno points to an abundance of nonsense when Chaho mentions the relation between Basque and Sanskrit, which Chaho calls at times Industan Basque, *erdara*, Oriental Celt-Iberian, or dialect of the Tartars:

Este es el error de los que han pretendido hacer entrar el idioma vasco entre los arios. Prescindiendo de Augustin de Chaho [...] que pretendía ser el primero en haber señalado las relaciones supuestas entre el euskera y el sánscrito, al cual llama unas veces euskara indostánico; otras *erdara*; otras celtibérico del Oriente, dialecto de los

⁷⁶ Chaho, *Voyage en Navarre, Viaje a Navarra durante la insurrección de los vascos*. Xavier Mendiguren, trans. San Sebastián: Txertoa, 1976, p.112.

tártaros y mil otros despropósitos, y cuyas doctrinas merecen poca fe por proceder más de un poeta que de un hombre de ciencia.⁷⁷

That the relation between Basque and Sanskrit is unfounded and gratuitous has been proven by later linguistic studies. In other instances Unamuno points to Chaho's lack of method of empirical demonstration and abundance of poetic inventiveness in search for the fantastic and the obscure. Unamuno compares Chaho to McPherson: he attributes to the Basque bards what the former had attributed to Ossian. Chaho's declaration of the origin of the Basque tribes in the Genesis and in God's bosom was another example of Chaho's outrageous statements, states Unamuno.⁷⁸

Unamuno accuses Chaho of inventing traditions and legends which never existed and attributing them to the primitive Basques. Unamuno points out one of these legends in particular that has taken roots among Basque writers: the legend of the patriarch Aïtor, first born of the *voyants*. Unamuno observes that Chaho took the terms *aitoren semiá* and *aitoren alabá* from a text by Oihenart, who translates them as *hidalgo* and *hidalga*. A better interpretation – according to Unamuno – was: *aitoren semeak* < *aitonen semeak* < *aita onen semeak*, which translates as “children of good parents”. Chaho reads it as *aitor-en semeak*, and translates it as “children of Aïtor”. Thus he derives from the common noun *aita* (parent) the proper noun *Aïtor* and casts his new invented character into the imagination of future writers.⁷⁹

Other authors have pointed to different aspects of Chaho's system. Jon Juaristi finds in Chaho's writing traits of the illuminist and theosophist writers. Juaristi criticizes Chaho's literary style as esoteric and obscure to the extent that it becomes incomprehensible to the reader who is not familiarized with theosophist

⁷⁷ Miguel de Unamuno. *El problema del origen de la raza vasca. Obras completas*, IV, p. 99. There have been attempts to relate Basque to other Oriental languages. Such is the case of the connection with Sumerian dismissed by Adam Fankelstein. (See *The Near East: the early civilizations*, Jean Bottero et al. ed. London: Weinfeld & Nicolson, 1967, p. 41.)

⁷⁸ Unamuno, *El problema del origen de la raza vasca*, p. 103-104.

⁷⁹ Unamuno, *El problema del origen de la raza vasca*, p. 110. See also the introduction by Javier Quintana to Chaho's *Viaje a Navarra durante la insurrección de los vascos* p.22.

literature.⁸⁰ Juaristi states that Chaho's ideas of an original revelation common to all humanity and of a religion that preceded all positive religions is a topic which he takes from the illuminist sects and which the traditionalists (the Carlists), and hence the *fuéristas*, inherit from him. Features of his theosophism with illuminist tendencies are found, according to Juaristi, in his belief in a primordial, primitive, and universal tradition whose meaning is only revealed to some initiates (namely the Basques) in the Gnostic doctrine of the fall of the souls, in the hope for a future regeneration of man to his original state, and in the institution of a scale of intermediary types between man and divinity.⁸¹

Juaristi also states that most of the cosmogony that constitutes Chaho's primitive religion are his own inventions modeled after ancient Orphic and Gnostic myths and concepts gathered from the comparative history of Indo-European religions. Thus the *Leheren Suge*, the serpent of fire that lives curled up in the centre of the planet and that will break up its crust does not have its origin in Basque folk legends, states Juaristi, but in Ophion, the primeval serpent of the Pelasgians.⁸²

Juaristi also points to Chaho's anti-Semitism, a kind that negates the Hebraic origins of Europeans.⁸³ Chaho's hypotheses were generated from comparisons and confluences between Indo-European – non-Semitic – religions which do little to establish a reliable empirical knowledge of the original Basque religion.⁸⁴

Despite the anti-Semitism to which Juaristi alludes, Chaho does refer to Judeo-Christian elements in his explanations. The beliefs of the primitive religion of the Indus were conserved, according to Chaho, by the Buddhist-Samaneans in Asia, in Judea by the Christian zealots, and in Europe in *Cantabrie*, by the Catholic-*voyants* –

⁸⁰ Jon Juaristi. *El linaje de Aitor. La invención de la tradición vasca*, p. 80.

⁸¹ Juaristi, *El linaje de Aitor*, p. 81.

⁸² Juaristi, *El linaje de Aitor*, p. 82.

⁸³ Juaristi, *El linaje de Aitor*, p. 79.

⁸⁴ On this ground Chaho invents a new tradition and is given the title of precursor of the *fuérista* movement by Juaristi.

the civilized Iberians.⁸⁵ In his narrative Chaho applies a *mélange* of different elements, mostly Indo-European, toward the construction of a cosmogony, which he applies in his legend of Aitor to words of the Basque vocabulary. Doctrines obtained from ancient Oriental mythologies, including the Jewish and Christian traditions, and terms used in everyday life are confounded into the single idea of the primitive natural religion of the *voyants*.⁸⁶

Chaho was well received by the *fuéristas* as a supporter of either the Carlist or the Basque cause. His eccentric theories on religion and on the origin of the Basques, more problematic in the surface for his anticlerical stance, were compatible with the ideologies of many of the *fuéristas*, and particularly with Villoslada's. For instance, with respect to fundamental religious principles, Chaho maintains that some of the Catholic dogmas have their origin in the religion of the *voyants*. He manages to describe in his personal theogony an original monotheistic religion where the knowledge of an architect of the world is a natural event and where Nature is the daughter of God.⁸⁷

Ces vérités fondamentales, ces idées sur Dieu, la création, l'univers, que nous découvrons dans leur évidence, l'homme primitive a dû les concevoir comme nous; elles ont été la base de la religion naturelle, durant l'âge des patriarches: leur obscurcissement, et par suite, leur négation enfanta l'erreur du Polytheisme.⁸⁸

Perhaps the mutual influence between Villoslada and Chaho led the latter to explain the Christian dogmas of a single God and a Trinity as something belonging to the original natural religion. Through the voice of an imaginary Brahmin, Chaho

⁸⁵ Chaho, *Philosophie des religions comparées*, p. 146.

⁸⁶ Chaho, *Philosophie des religions comparées*. Paris, 1848, *au lecteur*, ix-x.

⁸⁷ Chaho, *Philosophie des religions comparées*. Chapitre premier: des vérités éternelles, de Dieu et de la Trinité, p. 136.

⁸⁸ Chaho, *Philosophie des religions comparées*, p. 139.

presents the doctrine of the Trinity as natural a doctrine that precedes the establishment of the Roman Christian dogma of the Trinity.⁸⁹

Chaho explains the personification of this trinity as *IAO*, infinite, eternal, high. Chaho argues that the word *IAO* has been preserved by the Basques in the word *IAO-on-Goicoa*.⁹⁰ Villoslada, on the other hand, associated the theme of the Trinity with *Jaungoicoa* as he described the guttural cry of the Basque shepherds known as the *irrinzi* in his novel *Amaya*. This is the cry of the inhabitants of the mountains (the Basques) which are heard nowadays in the *romerías* and at times of popular enthusiasm. In this cry some bascophiles discover the root of the Basque name of God, repeated thrice as if in honour of the holy Trinity. It seems as if the voice of the mountains acclaim the name of *Jaungoicoa*:

Era el clamor de los montañeses que todavía resuena en las romerías del país y en momentos de entusiasmo popular; famoso grito que algunos vascófilos descubren hasta la raíz del nombre éuscaro de Dios, tres veces repetido, como en honor de la beatísima Trinidad. Diríasele la voz de las montañas que se eleva al cielo para aclamar a *Jaungoicoa*.⁹¹

The *irrinzi* is in this context a symbol of the unity among the Basques in their common beliefs. Villoslada points out that this cry is never heard by itself, it is always responded by somebody. National song, antiquity, and tradition are the

⁸⁹ Chaho, in *Philosophie des religions comparées*, p. 151-152 gives the following explanation worth reproducing here:

Le dogme de la Trinité de Dieu se trouve aujourd'hui conservé dans la Mythologie des Catholiques-Romains; mais il a précédé de deux Ages la formation de cette école sacerdotale qui date de l'invasion des Goths en Occident.

Bien des siècle avant la promulgation du symbole de Nicée, l'image olympique d'un vieillard à longue barbe, tenant un globe dans sa main droite, symbolisait, dans les temples de l'Égypte, la vie de Dieu.

La personne du Père était connue dans la Mythologie du second Age.

La personne du Fils avait pour mythe l'homme solaire, Phoebus, Apollon, le Christ.

La personne de l'Esprit avait pour emblème dans toutes les cosmogonies anciennes, en Égypte, en Perse, dans l'Inde et l'Ibérie, une blanche colombe ou un ramier...

En principe, la révélation de la Trinité n'a pu venir que de la nature et de Dieu lui-même.

⁹⁰ Chaho, *Philosophie des religions comparées* p. 157. The Basques effectively use the term Jaun.

For a possible explanation of the connection of *IAO* to the Basque word *Jaun* see Juaristi, *El linaje de Aitor*, p. 84.

⁹¹ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 1, p. 64.

themes that define the peculiar nation of the Basques. The *irrinzi* is an external symbol of their profound faith in *Jaungoicoa*. This cry, which is heard at the beginning of the third act of the lyric drama *Amaya*, has become a peculiar unique symbol in the formation of a national consciousness.⁹²

Navarro Villoslada and his novel *Amaya*

The immediate model for the title of Guridi's *Amaya* is Francisco Navarro Villoslada's novel, *Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII*⁹³. This novel was published from 1877 until 1879 in different issues of *La Ciencia Cristiana*. In 1879 it was published as a novel in three volumes by the *Librería Católica San José*. Villoslada had already written many literary works and several successful novels which were received with relative enthusiasm. Two of these were also historical: *Blanca de Navarra*, published in 1847, and *Doña Urraca de Castilla*, in 1849. His career as a narrative writer is summarized accurately by Francisco Blanco García:

Se hicieron traducciones [of his historical novels] á varias lenguas. Todas las prendas que solicita el género, lo verídico de la narración, el conocimiento y dibujo de las figuras, y sobre todo aquel acomodarse á las costumbres de remotos siglos y civilizaciones, haciéndolas sentir en vez de analizarlas friamente, descubre al novelista de raza, que no lo es, como tantos otros, por capricho ó por afición estéril. Allí se ve la edad media tal como fué, sin velos ni reticencias, con su carácter idealista y aventurero, sus luchas sangrientas entre raza y raza, entre instituciones e instituciones, sus grandezas, crímenes y desigualdades... todo aparece al natural gracias al estudio reflexivo y á la perspicacia propia del verdadero ingenio. Sin ser aparatosamente conmovedores y extraños, guardan los incidentes un orden inalterable,

⁹² For the question of Chaho's paradoxical support of the Carlist cause see Juaristi, *El linaje de Aitor*, p. 84 and ff.

⁹³ Navarro Villoslada, Francisco. *Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII, novela histórica por D. F. Navarro Villoslada*. Madrid: *Librería Católica de San José*, 1879. This copy, now in the Biblioteca Nacional, belonged to the author's daughter Petra Navarro Villoslada. The copy consulted and the references for this study (owned by the Perry Castañeda Library at the University of Texas at Austin) are from the edition *Amaya... por D. F. Navarro Villoslada*. Madrid: *Administración del Apostolado de la Prensa* of 1914.

obedecen á impulsos y pasiones de verdad, sucediéndose con rapidez, pero sin violencias de ninguna clase.⁹⁴

Blanco García admits that Villoslada's last novel is the author's masterpiece. It becomes evident from the reading of these novels that *Amaya* is the more mature and accomplished work. This could be explained by the event that, as Beatrice Cornish states, after twenty-eight years since the publication of *Doña Urraca de Castilla*, "he [Villoslada] enriched his visions by pictures of the past, gave them nobler interpretations, evolved from them a greater richness and depth and in 1877 *Amaya* arises triumphantly."⁹⁵

The legend of Don Theodosio de Goñi is only a nuclear story around which the author offers a full fledged history (or pseudo-history as some authors would argue) of the Basques at the time of the Arab invasion of Spain. The scope of the novel is much more extensive than the medieval legend, although the latter has a crucial function in the overall narrative of the novel. With *Amaya* Navarro Villoslada contributes with an ideological component that is peculiar to the late nineteenth century *Carlist* ideology and to a literary movement which has been named by Jon Juaristi the *fuerrista* movement. The latter is a literary and artistic precursor of the political movement of Basque nationalism.⁹⁶

Although the term *fuerrista* is helpful to group together several authors who identified themselves in one way or another with the project of exalting all things Basque – particularly the *fueros* or privileges of the Basque region during the *Ancien Régime* – it applies to authors of different ideological backgrounds who might not all agree on the conditions by which they belong to this group. For the purpose of this study, Villoslada and Chaho are figures of such significance with respect to this

⁹⁴ Fr. Francisco Blanco García. *La literatura española en el siglo XIX. Tercera edición*. Madrid: Sáenz de Jubera Editores, 1910, p. 272-273. [Madrid: Sainz Jubera Hermanos, 1891, vol. II].

⁹⁵ Beatrice Cornish. *Francisco Navarro Villoslada. University of California Publications in Modern Philology*. Vol. 7 no. 1, pp. 1-85.

⁹⁶ Jon Juaristi. *El linaje de Aitor, la invención de la tradición vasca*. Madrid: Taurus, 1987, 124

movement that it seems justified to associate them with the *fuerristas* in general terms.

Some biographical information about Navarro Villoslada

Some biographical information about Villoslada would help understanding the ideological background of the subject of *Amaya*. Villoslada attended the University of Santiago de Compostela where he read Latin and Philosophy. In Santiago he was educated under the constant and rigorous charge of two uncles of his who were canons of the Church. At the age of fourteen he received minor orders. When the University closed for political reasons in June 1832 he transferred to the *Seminario del Campo de Santa Susana* in Mondragón where he studied Theology until March 1836.⁹⁷ His mother did not consider that he had a religious call, so preparation for the priesthood ended. In 1836 he served in General Espartero's army to control the advance of the Carlists who, under General Miguel Gómez, were trying to spread Don Carlos' cause beyond the Basque provinces and Navarra. Espartero reorganized the army and prepared to raise the siege of Bilbao which was being planned by the Carlists. Three of Villoslada's uncles were allegedly assassinated by the Carlists and his youthful spirit turned against war. This was manifest in a poem to his disappeared uncle Nazario.⁹⁸

In his childhood, as well as in Santiago and in Mondragón, he cultivated several literary genres, poetry in particular. In later years he befriended the popular Spanish liberal Romantic poet José de Espronceda. Some of Villoslada's early poetic work is based on religious themes inspired by the Spanish mystic writers of the 16th-century.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Beatrice Cornish. *Francisco Navarro Villoslada*, in *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, p. 8. This article gives an informative and fair portrayal of the author's life.

⁹⁸ Cornish. *Francisco Navarro Villoslada*, p. 10-12.

⁹⁹ Cornish. *Francisco Navarro Villoslada*, p. 16-17.

Villoslada was an active participant in the literary and political life during the period spanning between the two Carlist wars.¹⁰⁰ During the first civil war he wrote and dedicated to General Espartero – the liberator of Bilbao against the Carlists – the epic poem *Luchana*. Later he was affiliated with the Moderate Party, but in his late years, undoubtedly because of religious convictions, he supported and accepted the post of secretary to the pretender to the throne, the traditionalist Carlos VII, at a time of great trials for his cause. Villoslada was active as a representative in the parliament throughout most of his life, and all along was active as a journalist. He participated intensive and extensively in the literary circles of the nation.

Villoslada's parents had raised him within strict Christian norms. As a consequence, religious subjects are prevalent throughout his work. Villoslada even founded a short lived journal with the title *El Arpa del Creyente* in 1842 in which some relevant writers made contributions and in which he published the article "Influencia del cristianismo en la civilización". He participated in many journals of Catholic ideology. When he became director of the *Semanario Pintoresco Español* in 1845 he stated in an editorial the purposes of this publication: the spirit ought to be Christian and eminently social.¹⁰¹ Villoslada's voice as a journalist had a concrete agenda, both political and religious. In Cornish' words he

"had been reared in the bosom of the Catholic Church, and was eminently fitted to wage its battles. It was a period when the church in Spain was in sore need of such a leader – when liberalistic tendencies were sweeping aside conservatism and tradition."¹⁰²

The Catholic cause was a constant element in Villoslada's life and he did not waver from its positions. This brought him to detest, as Cornish writes, "the liberalistic views which were gradually eating to the heart of Spain, and contaminating, as he said, the youth of the land."¹⁰³ His religious zeal and

¹⁰⁰ Cornish, *Francisco Navarro Villoslada*, p. 18.

¹⁰¹ Cornish, *Francisco Navarro Villoslada*, p. 33.

¹⁰² Cornish, *Francisco Navarro Villoslada*, p. 59.

¹⁰³ Cornish, *Francisco Navarro Villoslada*, p. 61.

opposition to any kind of liberalism became an obstacle to the advancement of his literary career as only those who agreed with his positions were likely to read his work regularly. A consequence of his open militancy was the silencing of his literary production in the liberal press. However, Villoslada was well received by a group of sympathizers and co-religionaries of the traditionalist cause who, although in the minority, formed a significant political group with a strong presence in the Basque country among other regions.¹⁰⁴

Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII

Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII is Villoslada's late *magnum opus*. The gestation of this novel was slow as the author kept adding new elements to the work, enlarging it considerably. Mata Induráin attributes the largest influence on the creation of the novel to two personalities. The first was Pedro de Egaña, a moderate Carlist from Alava who became deputy in the Parliament and coeditor with Villoslada of the newspaper *La España*. The second was Joseph Augustin de Chaho, a Souletin (Basque-French) subject and philologist of eastern languages educated in Paris. (See the subchapter on Chaho above.)¹⁰⁵

Chaho met Villoslada several times between 1846 and 1853 in Vitoria and had a decisive influence in the elaboration of ideas that would constitute part of his later novel. In a letter of 1852 Villoslada confided to Chaho the difficulties of literary creativity which he was undergoing.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ See Coverdale, John F. *The Basque phase of Spain's first Carlist war*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984.

¹⁰⁵ Mata Induráin, Carlos. *Francisco Navarro Villoslada (1818-1895) y sus novelas históricas*. Gobierno de Navarra: Institución Príncipe de Viana, 1995, p. 256. Pedro de Egaña was perhaps the liaison between Chaho and Villoslada.

¹⁰⁶ Juaristi, *El linaje de Aitor*, p. 118.

Primitive religion as a symbol of tradition in Villoslada's novel: Amagoya

The introduction of Lara in the *full moon* ritual in Chaho's *Aïtor, légende cantabre* is taken up by Villoslada in part 1, book 2, chapter 9 of his novel *Amaya y los vascos en el siglo VIII* as the model for the full moon ritual. The title of the chapter where this is narrated is: "Donde sin probarse que Amagoya era astróloga, resulta materialmente demostrado que tenía ribetes de astrología."¹⁰⁷ In this chapter Amagoya, heir of the traditions of Aïtor, celebrates a ritual that resembles very closely Chaho's introduction of Lara's declamation of the legend of *Aïtor*. In this case it is the priestess Amagoya, a character of Villoslada's invention, who sings the glories of the patriarch, instead of Chaho's bard Lara. Amagoya incarnates throughout the novel the notion of an ancient religion, a notion which is closely inspired by Chaho's primitive religion of the *voyants*. In the absence of an empirical foundation of a primitive Basque religion, Chaho's doctrine is accepted implicitly by Villoslada.¹⁰⁸

Villoslada's greatest challenge is to conciliate this primitive religion, pagan in origin, with his own deeply rooted Christianity. The struggle between the continuity of the original religion, and the orthodoxy of Villoslada's Christianity underlie the narrative of the full moon ritual.

The conversion of the Basques to Christianity is credited to the house of Goñi, and means, in contrast with Chaho's anticlerical position, a positive development in Villoslada's account.¹⁰⁹ The house of *Aïtor*, on the other hand, is the symbol of the primitive religion that had been handed down through tradition but that is falling in stagnation under the fanaticism of the priestess Amagoya. Mata

¹⁰⁷ Navarro Villoslada. *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 366. This and other titles of the novel are modeled after titles in Cervantes' *Don Quijote de la Mancha*. For the influence of Cervantes, irony and humor in the titles of chapters in the novel, and other rhetorical devices see Mata Induráin, p. 417-420.

¹⁰⁸ Juaristi, *El linaje de Aitor*. Juaristi extends this critique to other writers of the *fuerrista* movement as they follow Chaho's Romantic assumptions without examination. In this respect Juaristi argues that Chaho becomes the precursor of the movement.

¹⁰⁹ Navarro Villoslada. *Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII*, vol. 3, p. 267.

Induráin describes Amagoya as a monument to the ancient traditions of the Basques. These traditions were no longer in full force at the time: “She loved what was past, what had been lost.”¹¹⁰ Amagoya’s zeal for keeping pure the treasure of the ancient traditions and customs leads her to reject what she sees as the degeneration of those who abandon them and adopt the Christian religion.

Villoslada conflates the concepts of tradition and of primitive religion into a single idea. He admires the sacred primitive religion insofar as it is a symbol of tradition, that is, everything that is worth preserving from the pristine past of the patriarchs. This pristine past and tradition are in Villoslada symbolic of a lost past but devoid of actual content. With respect to this supposed tradition, Villoslada needs to arrive at a solution by which the content of a fundamentally erroneous primitive religion becomes the precursor of the true and definitive Christian religion.

Villoslada could not adopt Chaho’s division between a religion of the *voyants* and a religion of the *croyants* since he always adhered to the hierarchical order of the Catholic Church. Villoslada’s sympathy for his own created figure of Amagoya, the oldest descendant of Aïtor’s lineage, is a sympathy for the lost symbols of the ancient order. When Amagoya celebrates the full moon ritual she incarnates, as Mata Induráin states, the genius of the Basque people.¹¹¹ But this pagan genius eventually needs to convert to Christianity. As most Basques are converting to Christianity Amagoya remains isolated in her own superstitions repeating rituals which have become empty of meaning:

Conforme se iba disminuyendo la grey de los antiguos creyentes, íbase acrecentando en aquélla [Amagoya] el afán de oponer ritos a ritos; y lo que no era fiesta religiosa ni culto propiamente dicho, porque la antigua religión natural no admitía superstición alguna, tomaba en la solemnidad de que la revestía Amagoya cierta apariencia de religión, como para retener con ella a los que se obstinaban en rechazar el bautismo.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Mata Induráin, *Francisco Navarro Villoslada (1818-1895) y sus novelas históricas*, p. 355-356.

¹¹¹ Mata Induráin, *Francisco Navarro Villoslada (1818-1895) y sus novelas históricas*, p. 357.

¹¹² Navarro Villoslada. *Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII*, vol. 1, p. 369.

The physical portrait of the priestess shows not only the magnificent costume but also the unpleasant astrological signs which symbolize what are for Villoslada superstitious remnants of the old religion. The epithet *grosero* clashes with the solemnity of signs and figures in her ornaments. It points to a negative aspect of what otherwise would be a formidable portrait of the priestess. The superstition is symbolized by the celestial bodies:

... una mujer vestida de blanco, con traje semejante al de las antiguas romanas. La túnica, sujeta con cinturón de oro, y los broches del manto del mismo metal, completaban la semejanza. Los adornos de la fimbria eran, sin embargo, de diferente gusto, y en medio de su grosero dibujo estaban destinados a infundir cierto respeto por lo misterioso de los signos y figuras evidentemente alusivas a los cuerpos celestes.¹¹³

The description of Amagoya continues with a disturbing mixture of favourable and unfavourable epithets. The adjective *grosera* occurs again applied to the musical instrument as Amagoya plays the hymn to the full moon as the planet emerges from behind the clouds that are casting darkness. The clouds, darkness, and the intermittent apparition of the moon play with the symbolic ambivalence of the ritual. The figure of the priestess and the religion she represents – Chaho's religion of the *voyants* – constitute the gist of the Basque traditions that step from the natural primitive religion into the new light of Christianity. Christianity cannot be fundamentally different from its pagan predecessor. For a brief moment the image of Amagoya is again depicted favourably:

Recostada sobre un pico de espaldas al Occidente, esperando con ansia el momento crítico del plenilunio y la salida del astro, que se había ocultado tras negros nubarrones, dejando la tierra sumergida en tinieblas, con un arpa grosera y de pocas cuerdas a sus pies, si no figura alabastrina, parecía el genio de las montañas, la musa éuscara

¹¹³ Navarro Villoslada. *Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII*, vol. 1, p. 370.

remontada a la cumbre prominente del valle para acercarse al cielo, fuente de toda inspiración.¹¹⁴

Villoslada's justification of these superstitious signs in the light of Christianity is that heaven is the source of all inspiration, even for the rites of the pagan priestess Amagoya. Insofar as this primitive religion is the precursor of the Christian religion, it contains an element of truth. However, after Teodosio succeeds in the conversion of the rest of the house of Aitor, the ancient religion has no justification and Amagoya finds herself isolated in her own fanaticism.¹¹⁵

The two faiths interact as Amagoya, symbol of the old religion, mistakes Teodosio, the carrier of the new religion for the Basques, for Asier, and foresees that he will fulfill God's designs for the Basque race, Chaho's promise of redemption.¹¹⁶ The forecast is accepted by Teodosio in silence as the power of Amagoya's prayers prevent him from disclosing his true personality. Teodosio, a Christian, is foretold by Amagoya by mistake that he would become the promised liberator of the Basques. By this misunderstanding Amagoya prophesies unknowingly by the power of divination bestowed by the ancient religion that the liberator ought to bring the new religion to the Basques. Thus the old religion seems to be sanctioned as a source for the validity of the new religion. It also seems that the priestess, by not recognizing the identity of the future liberator of the Basques whom the moon had brought to the site of the ritual, has inherited the external aspects of the old religion but lost all other divine powers.

Teodosio, a Christian, becomes the depository of the treasure of traditions which have been in peril since the corruption of the original tribes. In Villoslada's account, when *Jaungoicoa* takes Amagoya away, Teodosio will become the heir of those traditions and will transmit them to the Basque tribes so that they remain pure until the end of time.

¹¹⁴ Navarro Villoslada. *Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII*, vol. 1, p. 370.

¹¹⁵ Navarro Villoslada. *Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII*, vol. 3, p. 141.

¹¹⁶ Navarro Villoslada. *Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII*, vol. 3, p. 374.

Teodosio asks himself about the meaning of all this. Who is Amagoya? A mad woman or a foreteller, a priestess in constant communication with the infernal spirits? As these doubts grow in Teodosio's mind he feels seduced by the inexplicable mystery of having become Amagoya's protégé. Teodosio kneels and asks Amagoya to sing. He has understood that he has become the one who would fulfill the designs of the Christian God with respect to the Basque race.

When the diviner reappears for the wedding in part 2, book 3, chapter 1, the error of her superstitions has hardened her character further. She inspires, as Villoslada states, superstitious fear rather than veneration.¹¹⁷

Amagoya's prophecy, however, is proven to be flawed as Teodosio's parricide would make him unfit to rule the Basques. After the parricide, Amaya – now with the Christian name Constanza de Butron – lets the prophets talk through her and deny the prophecy that the liberator would be Teodosio:

-”¿A quién te compararé...? ¿Con quién te igualaré y cómo te consolaré, reina destronada sin ocupar el trono? Grande como la mar es tu quebranto; quién te remediará?
“Tus profetas te anunciaron falsas profecías...”¹¹⁸

Villoslada stresses the vague evocation of the primitive traditions. Such is the case of the *Gau-illa* which, according to Villoslada, was not a custom born in the valleys of the Pyrenees but brought by the patriarchs from the Orient prior to the times of the patriarch Aitor himself. This custom was somewhat altered by the Christians, but conserved its primitive character and solemn gravity.¹¹⁹

Villoslada's sympathy towards Amagoya shows the author's adherence to a tradition that was worth preserving but whose content was not well defined. Tradition is a constant element in Villoslada's writing despite its elusive meaning. Among the Basque people memories were never extinguished, he states, because this

¹¹⁷ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 148.

¹¹⁸ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 271.

¹¹⁹ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 280.

race would stop existing if it lost its traditions.¹²⁰ In Blanco García's opinion these beliefs of the Basques, half primitive, half superstitious, produce, an effect similar to that of Greek and Roman mythology because of their distance and fabulous antiquity.¹²¹

The characters in the parricide in Villoslada's novel: Teodosio

Besides the chapter of the full-moon ritual (part 1, book 2, chapter 9), part 2, book 3, chapter 5 is the other main source for the drama in the operatic libretto.¹²² This section of *Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII* narrates the involuntary parricide of Teodosio de Goñi. Villoslada stops the narration to comment on the sources of the story. In part 2, book 3, chapter 5, Villoslada points out in a footnote that his own narration follows very closely Burgui's account and that he himself adds little to the story:

El fondo, y con frecuencia las frases mismas de este relato, están tomadas de una antiquísima Memoria del suceso, a la cual siguen el P. Fr. Tomás Burgui y los demás historiadores. El novelista ha puesto aquí muy poco de su cosecha.¹²³

At this point in the story line of Villoslada's novel the hermit has already misled Teodosio to think that his wife is being unfaithful. But it is necessary to read this section (part 2, book 3, chapter 5) in order to comprehend the remarkable development of the psychological character of Teodosio. Although psychological portraits abound throughout the novel, those of Teodosio and Asier are elaborated to high degrees of conflict and contradiction. Teodosio particularly displays a continued struggle between two principles, one of virtue and restraint, the other irascible and passionate. Teodosio has achieved public recognition. He has

¹²⁰ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 1, p. 60.

¹²¹ Blanco García, P. Francisco. *La Literatura Española en el siglo XIX*, p. 277.

¹²² In the edition in three volumes from 1914.

¹²³ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 239.

inherited his father's fame in the council of the Basques, has succeeded in converting Amaya from the ancient pagan religion to Christianity, and is about to gain the throne of the Basques as Amagoia herself had presaged during the full-moon ritual.

Despite these attributes given to him by Villoslada, Teodosio's personality is torn between positive moral traits, such as his love for Amaya, and negative ones, such as his ambition to become king of the Basques. He has realized the power of Aitor's prophecy in the promised liberator and sees this occasion as an opportunity for his own advantage. He is firm, persevering, and resolute; he pursues his end and avoids anything that could be distracting. He is heir to the veneration inspired by his own father, and to the glory of his own brothers fallen in the struggle against the Goths. He has built his own reputation with courage as a warrior, with the love of the daughter of Lartaun, Amaya, of the house of Aitor, and with the conversion to Christianity of the latter's parents and vassals.¹²⁴

He has thus become the moral heir of the Basque land (*escualerra*). While his dedication and determination gain him admiration, the twelve elders of the council are about to name him head of the committee as rightful heir to his father. The nomination by the council of elders is expected to occur after his wedding to Amaya.

Villoslada develops the character of Teodosio as ambitious, and the only limit to this ambition is his unwillingness to sacrifice his own faith to satisfy Amagoia's stern adherence to the ancient religion. At times, his ambition has a contrary effect and tarnishes his commendable efforts to convert the house of Aitor to Christianity because they are done just for political advancement:

Grande falta la de convertir la religión en mero instrumento de terrenales grandezas, falta cuyo castigo debía temer Teodosio. Pero lejos de ello, viendo que todo marchaba a son y a compás de sus deseos, se desvaneció hasta el punto de considerarse, no ya como

¹²⁴ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 140.

superior a los demás, sino como escogido por la Providencia y favorecido por ella en sus miras y empresas y planes ambiciosos.¹²⁵

Villoslada shows Teodosio's ambition to become intertwined in a struggle with Asier, his competitor for Amaya's hand. This turns into a constant struggle with himself as it causes the anxiety of having to choose between his duty as husband and soldier, and the implications of the suspicions kindled by his enemy's intrigues. Teodosio succumbs to these temptations repeatedly and ultimately becomes the almost passive victim of his own unrestrained anger and desire for vengeance.

As Teodosio is the perpetrator of a crime narrated by traditional accounts, Villoslada is constrained to portray his character negatively. This requires from its author an extraordinary psychological elaboration which ultimately adds to his tragic character.

Part 2, book 3, chapter 1 of Villoslada's *Amaya* bears the title *En que Teodosio de Goñi hace llorar a su padre*. The protagonist hears about the arrival of Amagoia and Asier, the suitor to Amaya's hand. This news, says Villoslada, which would have terrified anyone other than Teodosio, he receives with apparent calmness.¹²⁶ Teodosio is placed in direct contrast with his own father, a venerable elder in the committee of the Basques. In a conversation between the two, Teodosio comments on the possible presence of Amagoia and Asier. While his father offers them hospitality, Teodosio thinks of them as enemies, since Asier is the competitor for the throne of the Basques. Teodosio's *ressentiment* leads him to think of them also as members of the house of the patriarch Aitor, in his mind a family of thieves and assassins because of an association with a crime committed time immemorial by Amagoia's husband Basurde.

Miguel dislikes the lack of respect that his son shows for the house of the patriarch, as Teodosio's suspicions about the motives for Amagoia and Asier's

¹²⁵ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 138.

¹²⁶ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 147, 148, etc.

arrival come to the surface. But for Teodosio, Asier, also named Eudon, should be treated as the competitor for the throne, and therefore as an enemy. Miguel realizes the wrong ambitions of his son and presages with tears in his eyes that he will not become king of the Basques. From this point on Villoslada elaborates on Teodosio as a personality full of suspicion and already presages his fateful outcome.

Villoslada makes Teodosio's irrational impulses dominate his personality throughout his competition with Asier. Even after the wedding has already been celebrated and the blessings have been given, Teodosio is full of suspicion. Asier devises tricks to disconcert Teodosio. He disguises himself as the *Basa Jaun* (lord of the forest) – a legendary Romantic figure used frequently by the *fuerrista* writers – in order to trap Teodosio in a cave. When a few pages later Petronila manages to liberate him, she realizes the wrong motives that underlie his ambition as she compares him to García, also a competitor for the future throne of the Basques:

Necio de veras, que siempre estás pensando en ser rey, y nunca en merecerlo. ... Te pesa de que García sea grande y bueno... hasta que te domes y venzas tu soberbia, no se quebrantarán las cadenas con que el demonio te arrastra.¹²⁷

There are moments in which Villoslada stops the action for commentary or reflection on the events. At the moment when Teodosio is about to commit the crime the author stops the narration again in order to prepare his audience:

¿Seguiremos la relación, a que la pluma se niega horrorizada? Lo exige la historia, y hasta el reconocimiento de la falibilidad de los juicios humanos, pues de los sucesos mismos nos aterran, la divina Providencia sacó resultados de suma trascendencia para aquellos pueblos. Por mal que nos veamos, siempre será el mayor de los crímenes perder la esperanza en Dios.¹²⁸

This comment assumes the author's and the audience's previous knowledge. Up to this point in the novel Teodosio has made the wrong choice. When Teodosio

¹²⁷ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 232.

¹²⁸ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 255.

realizes that the bed is occupied and that the criminals have not fled, he becomes engulfed in a sinister happiness. Nevertheless, Villoslada's character hesitates, as he still doubts even next to the nuptial bed that Amaya is guilty of the crime of adultery. During a momentary reflection he thinks that Amaya may perhaps be faithful and they could continue their path as if all his suspicions had never occurred. According to Villoslada's Christian beliefs it is an act of divine inspiration at the very moment of the crime that prompts these thoughts. In the end this intervention of God would not stop him:

Aunque entregado a sus pasiones, aunque presa de Satanás, tenía fe, y vió que iba a perder dos almas para siempre, por toda la eternidad. Ultima inspiración de gracia, postrer auxilio de Dios para arrancarlo de la culpa. Teodosio lo rechazó también.¹²⁹

The rest of the story is very close to Burgui's account and to the story of San Julian. One stroke is enough to execute the couple who are staying in his own bed. The protagonist's steps outside the chamber are full of remorse mixed with a proud satisfaction of vengeance. At that point Amaya (Constanza) makes her appearance from another abode.

Villoslada stops the narration and turns at the end of this crucial chapter to a reference of Burgui's book. The event narrated by the legend, he says, cannot be left out of the history of the Basques in the 8th century. This is a traditional story constantly referred to by the authors who narrate the apparition of the archangel St. Michael in Navarra, supported by medieval manuscripts, monuments, and reproduced in books, paintings, and prints. With respect to the chronological frame of the event, Villoslada claims to follow the opinion of the only two historians of the apparition who place it in the dismal times when Spain was lost to the Saracens.

Villoslada finds surprising that the same event happened with the same circumstances in Cataluña, where the festivity of San Julián is celebrated during the

¹²⁹ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 257.

month of August. This saint perpetrated the involuntary parricide because of unfounded jealousy of his spouse.¹³⁰ Villoslada excuses himself for presenting this event in a book such as *Amaya* and lists two reasons for doing so: because he could not discard this source of factual information about a period when there is a dearth of documents, and because the tradition of Goñi characterizes well the century in which the event took place. He ends the quote mentioning Lope de Vega's *El dichoso parricida San Julián, o el animal profeta*. (See above.)

Villoslada does not elaborate on the fatalistic aspect as other sources of the same or similar legends do, but at the end of the *Gau-illa*, the night of the dead, Amaya states, in front of all the guests, the involuntary character of the parricide in order to defend Teodosio from Amagoia's accusations:

“Suponed que el matador fuese el hijo de Miguel y Plácida; pues tenéis que seguir buscando los verdaderos autores del infame atentado: el parricidio sería involuntario, y contra la voluntad del ejecutor.”¹³¹

This rare event in Villoslada's novel is a significant remnant of the theme of involuntary action by the perpetrator. Villoslada, unlike the other sources, has in the lengthier genre of the novel greater possibilities of psychological development. These interspersed with divine interventions in his mind add to the epic character of the novel. Teodosio is led by his own instincts which ultimately he cannot dominate. Villoslada develops Teodosio's multiple reflections to the extreme of exhaustion but at the end he has to turn to the version of the original legend in which the protagonist fails to repress his destructive instincts. This hesitation makes Teodosio appear even more helpless in front of his own destiny to the extent that he is not to blame alone for the parricide. Villoslada transfers part of the blame to the character of Asier who uses Teodosio as the means for his horrendous plan.

¹³⁰ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 258-259.

¹³¹ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 276.

Asier

Villoslada depicts Asier, although not as much as he does Teodosio, with a wealth of psychological traits. He is an ambitious man who returns to the Basque country to claim Amaya. He boasts having earned the crown for the Gothic king Rodrigo. He is Count of the *Notarios* and of the treasure, an expert in the arts of government and fecund in resources. He has a large fortune, is governor of the Goths, and duke of the vast province of *Cantabria*. He may have been baptized in secret in order to obtain high ranks.¹³²

This character of Villoslada's novel also is a covetous man of uncertain origin, perhaps Oriental or Byzantine, who answers to different names such as Eudon or Asier. He arrives late at the wedding as the Duke of the Cantabrians in order to reclaim Amaya's hand for himself, with a "gentile and sepulchral air" as Villoslada depicts him,¹³³ when Miguel offers to be the judge of the trial. At that time a young girl, Olalla, reveals in an unusual manifestation of youthful wisdom, his true identity:

¿Sabéis quién es ese hombre que ni se llama Eudon, ni Asier, ni es vasco, ni godo, ni franco, ni romano? El hijo de un judío.

/.../

Era su sentencia de muerte; aun peor, era el hierro candente con que a sí propio se marcaba el rostro con perpetua infamia; pero ni su voz temblaba, ni su mano se estremecía. Es imposible pintar el horror y el desprecio que inspiraba.¹³⁴

The mere fact that Eudon is a Jew condemns him. The few Jews in the novel portray and symbolize the whole race (and religion) in negative terms. Even the critic Blanco García, in his review of the novel, stresses this aspect when he points to the perfidious and treacherous ambition of the Israelites in reference to Asier's claims, "the significance of the Jews among the Visigoths, their cabalas, their

¹³² Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 150.

¹³³ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 148.

¹³⁴ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 199.

cunning, and surreptitious actions, are personified in Abraham Aben Ezra and his son Eudon.”¹³⁵

The anti-Semitic slant of the novel is particularly evident at the dramatic point when the author indicates that Asier’s crime is neither in claiming Amaya, who was betrothed to him in their childhood, nor his covetousness or any specific negative feature, but the fact alone that he is a Jew. Memory of negative stereotypical connotations of the Jew that Villoslada has been accumulating throughout the novel come to a crucial point in this scene. Asier is presented throughout the novel as an ambitious man whose only goal is in material possessions and political power.

Teodosio’s squire, who is secretly serving Asier – and is therefore a Jew – surreptitiously steals the sword with which Teodosio has committed the parricide: while Constanza is talking to the abbot about the crime “el judío Joziz Aben Joseph, sectario de los astrólogos a las órdenes del infame Abraham Aben Hezra, se apoderó de la espada, y se marchó con ella por la escalera escusada.”¹³⁶ Again a Jew is presented committing a despicable act.

When Teodosio is not found at the time of the funeral (*Gau-illa*) the first suspect of the crime is Asier, and the Jews are to blame once more: “Aquí anda la mano de los judíos.”¹³⁷ Those who do not know the hand of the actual perpetrator, Pedro de Butron, and those surrounding the bodies of the deceased, blame a Jew:

Ningún vasco, ningún cristiano, es capaz de este crimen; sólo un judío puede concebirlo y perpetrarlo.

—
– ¡Eudon, Eudon es el matador! – exclamaron a un tiempo mil voces.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Blanco García, *La Literatura Española en el siglo XIX*, p. 277.

¹³⁶ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 264.

¹³⁷ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 266.

¹³⁸ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 270.

This is true in Villoslada's story line, in which Asier is ultimately responsible for the horrendous crime. Teodosio is exonerated from his own unconscious act which is attributed to Asier's conscious machinations. Asier is not only responsible for the death of Teodosio's parents, he is also Pacomio's son, a Jew and a Christian renegade, a sectarian, in Villoslada's words. Father and son – Abraham Aben Hezra (with pseudonym Pacomio) and Asier, and their squire Joziz Aben Joseph (with pseudonym Uchin) possess in the narrative all the despicable traits imputed by Villoslada to the Jewish race as they represent it in its entirety.¹³⁹

Petronila declares that Amagoia's husband Basurde was not of a pure Basque race. He had entered the sect of the astrologers and became a slave of Pacomio, whose real name was Abraham Aben Hezra, head of the conspirators who had called the Saracens to hand them Spain. With Spain Pacomio handed the Arabs the children of Aitor. Asier, Amagoia's adopted son, is in truth Aser, son of the rabbi, a Jew. Amagoia's fantasy had led her to think otherwise in her misled hatred for anything Christian. Her husband took Aitor's secret to the sectarians who forged the perdition of Spain. She received that secret and in turn she transmitted it to Asier who revealed it to Pacomio, his father and rabbi.¹⁴⁰

The plot to have Teodosio assassinate his own parents is concocted by Abraham Aben Hezra who sets the squire Joziz Aben Joseph to lead Teodosio to the nuptial bed where his parents are sleeping and convinces Asier to follow his plans. Since Asier has been discovered to be a Jew he can no longer claim the throne of the Basques. His only option is to call in the Muslims who, in return for handing them the kingdom of the Basques, would give him political power. After Teodosio has committed the crime of parricide, Asier's only competitors are García who is fighting in Pamplona, and the "filthy reptiles" (in words of Villoslada) Abraham Aben Hezra and Joziz Aben Joseph. The moral character of the Jews leads them to commit heinous acts against each other. When they are confronted by the Basques

¹³⁹ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 278-279.

¹⁴⁰ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 280-282.

the rabbi Abraham blames the squire Joziz for the crime. The latter stabs the rabbi and they both kill each other in a cave victims of their own ambition.¹⁴¹

Villoslada gives Asier more favourable traits as he would have been content to get rid of Teodosio imprisoning him in a cave without escape instead of inducing him to commit the crime of parricide. It is his father, Abraham Aben Hezra, who suggests prompting Teodosio to commit the murder. Even Asier feels at first the horror of the plan, but this ought to last only a short lapse of time.¹⁴²

This type of anti-Semitism is an ideological one for Villoslada himself who probably never met a Jew. It comes from a religious conviction mixed perhaps with a political anti-Semitism. According to Juaristi an anti-Semitism of the Spanish right, concentrated almost exclusively in the obsession for a Judeo-Masonic conspiracy, acquires great proportions in the last quarter of the 19th century. Juaristi also points out that the political accusation that the Jews made a secret alliance with the Muslims in order to facilitate the conquest of Spain by the latter could be traced back to medieval chroniclers.¹⁴³ Mata Induráin states that this may be historically accurate since the Andalusian Jews may have helped the Muslim invaders, namely Tarik and Muza, in their military enterprise. According to certain sources, the Jews then denied their gold to the Goths so they cannot travel to the Baetica to stop the invasion.¹⁴⁴

References to Islam in *Amaya*

The position of Villoslada towards Islam is slightly different since this religion is not represented by any particular character. Islam is presented in opposition to Christianity and to Christian nations as a fierce and fanatical

¹⁴¹ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 284 & ff.

¹⁴² Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 284.

¹⁴³ Juaristi, *El linaje de Aitor*, p. 133.

¹⁴⁴ Mata Induráin, *Francisco Navarro Villoslada y sus Novelas Históricas*, p.290-292.

religion.¹⁴⁵ According to Villoslada, its followers form hordes of faithless and pagan enemies of the true religion against whom the race of Christianity is advancing. The Christian religion is in contrast “soul, life, and anchor of salvation of the human lineage and of the European civilization of the Middle Ages.” The founders of the mosque of Omar, states Villoslada, are presented as the defilers and desecrators of the holy sepulcher. Christianity is a religion but Islam is fanaticism.¹⁴⁶

The Basques were united, in Villoslada’s words, with the city of Rome and with the world under the maternal wings of the Church. The conversion of the house of Aitor to Christianity is not only a clever manoeuvre on the part of Teodosio to win the hearts of the Basques,¹⁴⁷ but a symbolic event of the future of this people. As the sympathy towards the character of Amagoya reveals Villoslada’s respect for an ancient religion (see above), the desire to have a king like all other nations is explained as a necessity in the face of the Saracen invasion. Christianity, in Villoslada’s scheme, is necessary in order to counteract Islam as the Basque’s goal is to avoid seeing their mountains tread by the feet of Christ’s enemies:¹⁴⁸ Those mountains, states Villoslada, are beating with the unction of piety and feel the fervor of the faith which has been received by them more ardently and firmly than by any other nation.

Villoslada’s exalted rhetoric of opposition between Islam and Christianity has political resonances in his Carlist affiliation. The reference to Islam is historical rather than contemporary. The Arabs who invaded the Iberian Peninsula in the eighth century were far from being a threat in 1879. This is a distant nation about whose leaders, campaigns, or social structures little information is given by Villoslada. The Arab is a distant and powerful enemy which allows Villoslada to build the epic background for the novel. Islam is a symbolic enemy, against which

¹⁴⁵ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 135.

¹⁴⁶ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 136.

¹⁴⁷ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 138.

¹⁴⁸ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 3, p. 140.

Villoslada construes an apology for the Christian religion. This religion is necessary to build the unity of Spain.

Beyond the mere establishment of a new nation on the base of religion, Villoslada seems to be projecting the historical images of the novel onto his own political present. If this is the case, Islam could be interpreted as the threat to his own concept of a contemporary Catholic Spain which the Basques are ready to defend while keeping the *foral* traditions and privileges of the old regime.¹⁴⁹ While for Judaism Villoslada provides personal human portraits, the Arab is a distant and terrible enemy, one to be admired for its might. The Jew seems to be for Villoslada an internal enemy, one that fights from within his own social and political structures in insidious ways.

Questions of genre

Although Navarro Villoslada cultivated a wide variety of genres he is better known as an author of historic novels.¹⁵⁰ In the dedication of *Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII* to D. Manuel y D. Luis Echeverría y Peralta the author states that the subject required an epic, but discouraged by the political situation he names it an elegy:

El asunto requería una epopeya; pero sin alas para volar tan alto, y abatido por la tristeza que infunde lo presente, me quedo rastreando en la elegía.¹⁵¹

Despite this statement Francisco Blanco García does not hesitate to classify this novel as an epic “for its unusual greatness, its primitive character, and its air of genuine simplicity.” An air of ingenuous simplicity, patriarchal and Homeric,

¹⁴⁹ *Foral* is the adjective corresponding to the noun *fueros*.

¹⁵⁰ Navarro Villoslada wrote an epic poem to the liberation of Bilbao by General Espartero against the Carlists in 1837 (published in 1840). B. Cornish “Francisco Navarro Villoslada”, p. 19-20.

¹⁵¹ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 1, p. 5-6.

emanates from its virgin nature, without the alterations and refinements of adult societies. Sometimes the din of the institutions that fall and the conflict of ideas or armies, or the fall of a decrepit civilization and the formation of a new one from faith and patriotic spirit, contribute to this epic effect:

Digámos con seguridad que el fondo de la *Amaya*, y lo mismo los caracteres, el objeto y los episodios, son rigurosamente épicos por su desusada grandeza y su aspecto primitivo. Se respira allí un aire de sencillez ingenua, patriarcal y homérica; hay en algunos cuadros no sé qué inimitable de verdad, emanada directamente de la naturaleza virgen, sin las alteraciones introducidas por los refinamientos de las sociedades adultas, y otras veces sentimos el estruendo de las instituciones que caen y el conflicto de ideas con ideas y ejércitos con ejércitos, ó presenciarnos una civilización decrepita y el nacimiento de otra formada sobre sus ruinas por la fe y el patriotismo.¹⁵²

It would be a puerile exercise, continues Blanco García, to determine whether the epic could be ascribed within the limits of contemporary civilization or to elucidate whether an epic could be written in prose. The characters, object, and episodes of Villoslada's novel are in a rigorous sense epic, according to Blanco García. The duel between Basques and Visigoths turns into a glorious fusion against the children of Islam. The triumph of the Cross over the heirs of the Mosque of Omar and the secular struggle between the two races, continues Blanco García, make it a magnificent epic. He concludes that Villoslada, the poet of the Basque traditions, granted immortality to his characters without exaggerated symbolism.¹⁵³

Also Arturo Campión, one of the most prominent *fuerristas* and founder of the *Asociación Euskara de Navarra*, stated that even though *Amaya* has been baptized with the modest name of novel, for the greatness of its conception it is an epic:

¹⁵² Blanco García, Francisco. *La literatura española en el siglo XIX*. Madrid: Sainz Jubera Hermanos, 1891, vol. II, p. 269. Also quoted by Juaristi, *op. cit.* p. 123.

¹⁵³ Blanco García, *La Literatura Española en el siglo XIX*, p. 275.

Amaya, aunque bautizado con el nombre más modesto de novela, llega realmente, por la grandeza de la concepción, á participar de la naturaleza de la epopeya.¹⁵⁴

About the composition of the novel Cornish restates, paraphrasing Blanco García: “Amaya breathes an atmosphere of ingenuous simplicity and Homeric grandeur.”¹⁵⁵ Morel Borotra speaks about the influence of *Amaya [y los vascos en el siglo VIII]* also in terms of a national epic which has had a great influence on Basque literature and which, for that reason, has tempted a composer in search of a national epic:

Régulièrement rééditée, Amaya a exercé une grande influence sur la littérature basque, et il n’est pas surprenant qu’elle ait tenté un compositeur à la recherche d’une épopée nationale.¹⁵⁶

José J. de Sautu describes Guridi’s *Amaya*, produced forty years after the novel, as an intimate drama which unfolds among its protagonists and which hides underneath the latent drama of a people. Guridi’s clairvoyant intuition, states Sautu, can be read between the lines, and his drama acquires the execution of an epic. The subject as described by Sautu seems to have transcended from its confines of the novel to the realm of the epic with an oral quality. Sautu describes the subject of *Amaya*, both in its form as a novel and as a lyric drama, as the struggle between two civilizations which are disputing the hegemony of a race. It narrates the evolving moment of that race towards the conquest of a robust personality which, according to Gascue, could only be achieved by the fusion of all its components. But that fusion would not be possible without the fundamental link of a religious unity. And in that struggle between civilizations will prevail that which represents a solid and

¹⁵⁴ Arturo Campion, “Amaya o los bascos en el siglo VIII. (Estudio crítico.)” in *Euskal-Erria, Revista Bascongada*, San Sebastian: vol. XXI, segundo semestre de 1889.

¹⁵⁵ B. Cornish “Francisco Navarro Villoslada”, p. 45.

¹⁵⁶ Natalie Morel Borotra. *L’opéra Basque (1884-1933)*. Thèse de Doctorat préparée sous la direction de Monsieur le Professeur Serge Gut. Université de Paris -Sorbonne (Paris IV), 1992, p. 374.

progressive culture, the true conservator of the tradition, which will be sentenced to death if it resists the movement of evolution:

Era la lucha de dos civilizaciones que se disputan la hegemonía de una raza. Era el momento evolutivo de esta raza hacia la conquista de una personalidad robusta que no podrá obtener sin la infusión de todos sus componentes. Pero dicha fusión será imposible sin el vínculo fundamental de la unidad religiosa. Y en aquella lucha de civilizaciones, vence la que debe vencer; la que encarna la Verdad y el Bien; la que representa una cultura sólida y progresiva; la verdadera conservadora de la tradición, condenada a muerte, si se resiste al movimiento evolutivo.¹⁵⁷

Thus, Villoslada's is not just the epic of a race, it is also the epic of a nation in evolution and of a religion that allows such evolution. Sautu is not embarrassed to borrow elements from other cultures. The music critic, who knew well Villoslada's novel and the legend of Don Theodosio de Goñi, compares the choir of the epilogue in the lyric drama with the choirs of the Classical tragedy as an element that lies beyond or beside the human drama.¹⁵⁸ This type of discourse is distant from the early nationalist discourse of Azkue and Arana Goiri. For these, progress was a threat and the Basque culture deserved to be protected from external destructive elements. The question remains as to what this evolution entails besides the religious unity of a new nation.

Juaristi assigns Villoslada's novel the term epic romance, something bordering history and fiction: from the latter it claims an aesthetic function, from the former the adequacy of the narrated events to those of life. This is characteristic, according to Juaristi, of other works of the *fuerrista* literature: a literature that situates itself from its origin in nobody's land. Villoslada, states Juaristi, seems to have purified Chaho from his revolutionary or unorthodox blemishes and to conserve the

¹⁵⁷ José J. de Sautu. "Amaya, análisis musical y guía temática." *Hermes, revista del País Vasco*. No. 60, p. 425.

¹⁵⁸ See footnote 1 in Sautu, *Amaya*, p. 414 and 415.

traditionalist background of some of his ideas.¹⁵⁹ According to Juaristi, the thesis defended by Villoslada in this novel is the neo-Catholic conception of the formation of the Spanish nation. This thesis, states Juaristi, explains that the unity of Spain was achieved from the common struggle of the Christian peoples of the peninsula against Islam. This view is clearly opposed to Chaho's Romantic and suspiciously secessionist Basquism, continues Juaristi. The Basques abandoned their millenary isolation and the preservation of their racial purity when they adopted Christianity uniting themselves in the concert of civilized peoples in their enterprise to defend Christianity against the southern barbarians.¹⁶⁰

Villoslada portrays the Basques, observes Juaristi, as a people who are proud of their purity of blood and language, and who resist mixing with other races. The rural Arcadian stereotype appears in *Amaya* in conjunction with the freedom of the Basques. For this reason, continues Juaristi, *Amaya* was received with enthusiasm by the *fuéristas* after the abolition of the *fueros*, and even Arturo Campi3n saluted this as the highest work of the Basque cultural renaissance.¹⁶¹ In Villoslada's novel the ancient Basques boasted being a superior race, Juaristi points out, but this racial purity and isolation belongs to the pagan world and they ought to yield to Christian fraternity.¹⁶²

The elements of the old religion of Aitor, the natural religion which Chaho attributed to the Basques, have been incorporated into the Christian revelation which at the same time invalidates the whole ancient system of beliefs and which Villoslada identifies with primitive monotheism. The last priestess of the ancient religion to which she alone remains faithful, Amagoya, represents the old pagan world.¹⁶³ Juaristi points out that the Christian characters on the other hand submit their will to the designs of divine providence. Teodosio, states Juaristi, led by his ambition and

¹⁵⁹ Juaristi, *El linaje de Aitor*, p. 126.

¹⁶⁰ Juaristi, *El linaje de Aitor*, p. 127.

¹⁶¹ Juaristi, *El linaje de Aitor*, p. 128.

¹⁶² Juaristi, *El linaje de Aitor*, p. 129.

¹⁶³ Juaristi, *El linaje de Aitor*, p. 130-131.

his unrestrained passions, does not recognize the signs of the providence and is victim of daemonic temptations.

Not only Teodosio but the other characters of *Amaya*, devoid of autonomy as instruments of divine providence, acquire an exemplary role, according to Juaristi, that makes of this novel a Christian epic in which the foreseeable end is the exaltation of the righteous and their triumph over the enemies of God. Within the context of a Christian epic, states Juaristi, Villoslada introduces in his novel fantastic elements such as the diabolic intervention, that of Saint Michael during the crime, and penance of Teodosio de Goñi breaking thus the novelistic verisimilitude.¹⁶⁴ This intervention of the fantastic, perhaps less surprising in an opera, is exploited in the epilogue of the lyric drama as well. Because of his Carlist ideology which emphasizes the Christian element over the independent, states Juaristi, Villoslada was an unusual figure with respect to the *fuerrista* movement.¹⁶⁵

Unamuno saw in *Amaya* beautiful but unreal creations: a society of Basque astrologers, enemies of Christianity. The astrologers, states Unamuno, were represented by the beautiful figure of Amagoia, who in colourful attire died frozen on a night of a full-moon on a high rock in complete isolation. According to Unamuno, the father of such fictions which have taken root today as the *Deus ex machina* of the Basque writers – Aitor the sublime father, the nights of the full-moon, and the so-called *IAO* – is Augustin de Chaho.¹⁶⁶

The *Deus ex machina* of the Basque writers and the nobody's land of the *fuerrista literature* are Chaho's and Villoslada's mythology which take the place of an imagined history. Hence, Juaristi questions whether *Amaya y los vascos en el siglo VIII* qualifies as a historic novel. The sources of his earlier novels – Doña Blanca de Navarra and Urraca de Castilla – are in that regard more reliable,

¹⁶⁴ Juaristi, *El linaje de Aitor*, p. 134-135.

¹⁶⁵ Juaristi, *El linaje de Aitor*, p. 135.

¹⁶⁶ Unamuno, *El problema del origen de la raza vasca*, p. 115.

according to Juaristi. The events narrated in *Amaya* lack the support of historical documents.¹⁶⁷

Julio Caro Baroja also criticizes *Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII* for the choice of a historical period for which there is scarce documentation:

El error mayor de Navarro Villoslada fue el dejar la acción de *Amaya*, donde se utiliza su leyenda [de Don Theodosio de Goñi] en época tan nebulosa y escasa de elementos para hacer reconstrucciones históricas. Pero si los novelistas walterscottianos no tenían el olfato del maestro escocés, tampoco parece que han andado muy bien dotados de él algunos de los comentaristas eruditos de las leyendas del ciclo.¹⁶⁸

Epic and novel according to Bakhtin

The question remains whether *Amaya*, in its form of a novel or a lyric drama, is an epic and of what kind. Bakhtin, in his essay “The epic and the novel,” states that the epic genres have not only long since been completed in their development but they are already antiquated, they are completed genres which have a life in history but which no longer have a flexible skeleton.¹⁶⁹

Bakhtin defines the world of the epic as one which is transferred to an absolute past of heroic national beginnings, a world of fathers and founders of

¹⁶⁷ For a discussion of the sources used by Navarro Villoslada see Mata Induráin, *Francisco Navarro Villoslada y sus novelas históricas*, p. 296-297. Juaristi lists the following sources: for Roman, Gothic, and Arabic Spain, the *Historia crítica de España* by the Jesuit Masdéu; *Historia general* by Modesto Lafuente; the Muslim chronicle from the XII century *Ajbar Machmua*, translated and annotated by Emilio Lafuente; *El papa Honorio I y San Braulio de Zaragoza*, by F. Fidel Fita; and several speeches by academics of History such as Aureliano Fernández Guerra and Francisco Cordera. For the history of Navarra his sources are Josef Moret and Francisco Aleson *Annales del reyno de Navarra* (Pamplona, Imprenta de Pascual Ibáñez, 1766) and José de Yanguas y Miranda. The most authoritative for Villoslada is, according to Juaristi, a secondary source: *Los Vascongados* by Rodríguez Ferrer.

¹⁶⁸ Julio Caro Baroja. *La leyenda de don Teodosio de Goñi*. Separata de la revista “Cuadernos de etnología y etnografía de Navarra” número 3. Gobierno de Navarra: Institución Príncipe de Viana, 1969.

¹⁶⁹ Mikail M. Bakhtin. “Epic and novel” in *The dialogic imagination, four essays by M. M. Bakhtin*, Michael Holquist, ed. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981, p. 3.

families.¹⁷⁰ In Bakhtin's definition, the constitutive feature of the epic is the transferal of a represented world into the past, a world which participates in the past through tradition. The absolute past of the epic is the single source and beginning of everything good for all later times.

According to Bakhtin, the subject is a national epic of the past and a national tradition, not personal experience and the free thought that grows with it. An absolute epic distance separates the epic world from contemporary reality.¹⁷¹ Both the narrator and the listener, continues Bakhtin, are located in the same time but the represented epic world stands on an utterly different and inaccessible plane with respect to time and value. This plane is separated by the epic distance which is filled by a national tradition. To portray an event on the same time-and-value plane as oneself would be to step out of the world of the epic into the world of the novel.¹⁷²

Bakhtin continues: the epic past is not connected with the present and this temporal separation is essential to the epic. To destroy this boundary is to destroy the form of the epic as a genre. There is no place for open-endedness, indecision, or indeterminacy.

Villoslada makes the claim that his novel is an epic – or at least an elegy – in the dedication of the book.¹⁷³ The world of *Amaya* is a world of an absolute past of heroic national beginnings that go back to the 8th century. It is a world of fathers and founders of families: on the one hand the Basque patriarch, Aitor, on the other, the founders of the new Christian nation. The transferal of a represented world into the past, a world which participates in the past through tradition is represented in the age-old traditions of the Basques represented by Amagoia but yielding a new nation and with it a new tradition which inherits the characteristics of the primitive nation.

¹⁷⁰ Bakhtin, *Epic and Novel*, p. 15.

¹⁷¹ Bakhtin, *Epic and Novel*, p. 13.

¹⁷² Bakhtin, *Epic and Novel*, p. 13.

¹⁷³ Navarro Villoslada, *Amaya*, vol. 1, p. 5-6.

The novel, unlike the epic genres according to Bakhtin's scheme, is still developing and has no canon of its own. It parodies these genres precisely in their role as genres. The parody of the epic occupies an essential place in the novel.¹⁷⁴ It incorporates it into its own peculiar structure, reformulating and re-accentuating it in a process of "becoming" and as a kind of "generic criticism."¹⁷⁵

Blanco García's definition of *Amaya* as an epic in prose which can be ascribed within the limits of contemporary civilization already breaks this characteristic of the epic, as the novel relates to the author's political present. But this break is only apparent as the novel itself becomes a parody of the epic which is reformulated in a process of "becoming".

As a novel, *Amaya* not only parodies the epic in its role as a genre, but makes the epic a live genre and its themes significant for contemporary society. The novel becomes for the contemporary world what the epic was for the ancient world. Villoslada seems conscious of this function and allows these elements of open-endedness, indecision, and indeterminacy that would potentially destroy the temporal separation ascribed to the epic in his work.

Villoslada wavers between the contemporary liveliness of the novel and trying to keep, despite the implicit contradiction, an epic distance with the past. In Bakhtin's model, the language of the novel incorporates laughter, irony, humour, and self-parody. Mata Induráin has pointed out that humour and irony are constant features in Villoslada's historical novels.¹⁷⁶ Although humour is present in the titles of chapters as well as in their content, Villoslada minimizes this element in *Amaya*. He intends to give this work a grave tone (which also corresponds with the disappointment with his own political struggle reflected in his activity as a journalist and which contributes to the relative bitterness of his late novel). The lesser amount of comic elements in *Amaya* contributes to maintaining the epic distance and creates

¹⁷⁴ Bakhtin, *Epic and Novel*, p. 6.

¹⁷⁵ Bakhtin, *Epic and Novel*, p. 5.

¹⁷⁶ Mata Induráin, *Francisco Navarro Villoslada y sus Novelas Históricas*, p. 419-423.

an approximation of the novel to the epic in its function of parody of the epic genre. The comical element which is significant in the process of demolishing the epic distance that is characteristic of the modern novel and that reflects the creative culture of laughter is purposefully avoided by Villoslada.

The novel still inserts into the epic indeterminacy and semantic open-endedness, a contact with unfinished, still-evolving contemporary reality, the open-ended present. Villoslada achieves – consciously or unconsciously – a certain degree of semantic open-endedness through rhetorical means such as frequent plays on words or popular expressions. (Mata Induráin has listed some of these.)¹⁷⁷ The proximity of language to a popular spoken language also breaks the epic distance.¹⁷⁸

Just as the element of humour and other rhetorical devices are few in *Amaya*, the rhythm of narration is also slower and more solemn than in his other novels. There is an abundance of similes which contributes to the building of the epic distance. Mata Induráin quotes several similes which refer to the figure of Amagoya, to the countryside, to the multitudes of people gathered in different circumstances, or the following which refers to the replacement of the primitive religion with Christianity:

Sobre la sencillez de las costumbres primitivas había descendido la santidad de la religion, como descende una paloma sobre sus hijuelos que le están esperando con el pico abierto, como descende el sueño sobre los párpados del niño.¹⁷⁹

Villoslada tries to create distance by reducing the number of humorous comments, and by including poetic similes. The background, the characters, and the object are epic for their unusual greatness and primitive aspect. (See Arturo Campion and Blanco García above.) Greatness, according to Bakhtin's scheme, is peculiar to the epic as it makes itself known only to descendants, for whom this quality is always located in the past.

¹⁷⁷ Mata Induráin, *Francisco Navarro Villoslada y sus Novelas Históricas*, p. 410-412.

¹⁷⁸ Bakhtin, *Epic and Novel*, p. 23.

¹⁷⁹ Mata Induráin, *Francisco Navarro Villoslada y sus Novelas Históricas*, p. 416-417.

There are other aspects, such as Villoslada's moralizing tone and providentialist view of history, that build certain valuative distance (to use Bakhtin's terminology). The victorious end of the novel, as the first kingdom of the Basques in union with the other Christian kingdoms is established and the war of re-conquest begins victoriously, also contributes to its epic character.¹⁸⁰

In his theory of the novel, Bakhtin gives us some traditional characteristics of this genre that apply to a work such as Villoslada's *Amaya*: The hero of a novel should not be "heroic" in either the epic or the tragic sense of the word: he should combine in himself features that are negative as well as positive, low as well as lofty, ridiculous as well as serious. The hero should not be portrayed as an already completed and unchanging person but as one who is evolving and developing, a person who learns from life.¹⁸¹

Teodosio, according to Arroita-Jauregui, would be the hero in *Amaya* to the extent that his own libretto should have borne the title *Teodosio de Goñi*. Teodosio is heroic in a tragic sense but he also combines in himself negative as well as positive features, low and lofty. There is never a ridiculous aspect in Teodosio. At times he is portrayed evolving and developing, learning the consequences of his almost irrepressible instincts and reacting to them, but even in these instances he is guided by a providential executor, by the inspiration of the Christian God. When he becomes possessed by his instincts he falls in the hands of fate.

According to Bakhtin, the individual in the high distanced genres is an individual of the absolute past and of the distanced image, of a lofty heroic level. Outside his destiny, the epic and tragic hero is nothing. He is a function of the plot fate assigns him.¹⁸² Teodosio is always guided by external forces, even as he hesitates at the site of the lovers' bed. Until the very last moment his fate is not defined, yet the reader knows from the legend, which Villoslada quotes before

¹⁸⁰ Mata Induráin, *Francisco Navarro Villoslada y sus Novelas Históricas*, p. 423-426.

¹⁸¹ Bakhtin, *Epic and Novel*, p. 10.

¹⁸² Bakhtin, *Epic and Novel*, p. 34, 36.

retelling it, that Teodosio is fated to commit parricide. Teodosio's presence in the novel as a tragic figure, whose fame predates the novel itself, is the essential element through which the novel parodies the epic. Villoslada himself points out that there is little from the original story he can change.

The novel should not be *poetic*, according to the traditional scheme described by Bakhtin, as other genres of imaginative literature. Villoslada's novel is *poetic* as the imaginary element is prevalent. Unamuno describes the images of the novel as imaginary reconstructions of great poetic expression: "bellísimas pero poco reales creaciones del señor Navarro Villoslada".¹⁸³ The use of similes contribute to the *poetic* character of the novel, as these similes help delineate the powerful figure of Amagoya, the magnificence of the Basque countryside, or the transformation of the primitive into the new religion.

Contemporary narration does not exclude the depiction of a heroic past. Neither the factual sources, nor the content of its historical events are important for the epic. The important element is the reliance on an impersonal and sacrosanct tradition, on a commonly held evaluation and point of view.¹⁸⁴

Tradition is an ambivalent term in Villoslada's work that reaches to beginnings, to the origin of the Basques (as *voyants* in Chaho's interpretation). The epic past, walled off from all subsequent times by an impenetrable boundary, is preserved and revealed only in the form of a national tradition. Tradition plays no role in the formation of the novel as a genre.¹⁸⁵ But tradition has a peculiar slant in Villoslada as it allows for the introduction of a new element in its derivation: the new Christian religion. This introduction yields the symbols of the old religion, symbols inspired more or less directly by Chaho's imaginary religion of the *voyants*, mere empty superstitious signs. Villoslada's failure to define a tradition without change breaks the epic distance in *Amaya*. The only element to which Villoslada can claim

¹⁸³ Unamuno, *El problema del origen de la raza vasca*, p. 115.

¹⁸⁴ Bakhtin, *Epic and Novel*, p. 16.

¹⁸⁵ Bakhtin, *Epic and Novel*, p. 38.

this novel's status as a parody of the epic genre is therefore the tragic element introduced by the legend of Don Theodosio de Goñi.

Arroita-Jauregui's libretto

The libretto of *Amaya* was written some 30 years after the publication of the novel. The idea of an opera based on *Amaya* came with the inevitable challenge of having to overtake a complex story, rich with layers of legends and themes, that had created a deep sediment through time. The complexity and epic character of the novel made it difficult for the libretto to be of much consequence hence the writer relinquishes the rights to the composer. The simplification imposed by the necessity of reducing the story line makes the writing of the libretto a challenging task. The many complexities of the plot and the elaboration of psychological characters is not possible in the text of the lyric drama. At the time of its first performances, this led to some criticism of the libretto of *Amaya* (see chapter II).

The musical commentary had to take the place of the literary commentary of the legend in the lyric drama. Given the strength of the previous *fuera* movement this seems to be a logical step. *Amaya* was determined by the characteristic imposition of the *fuera* movement in general and in particular of the writings of Chaho and Villoslada. Villoslada's *Amaya* was also determined, at least in a central part of its story line, by the local legend of Teodosio de Goñi's parricide. This complex of inherited determinants account for the creation of Guridi's lyric drama *Amaya*. The composer took up a daunting task when he decided to set this subject to music. In the next chapter we shall see how the musical commentary worked throughout the different acts of the piece.

Chapter IV

Prolegomena for a dramatic and musical analysis of the structure of *Amaya*

Arozamena states that the evolution of Guridi's style was slow but firm. In *Mirentxu* Guridi attempted a direct and spontaneous formula of composition.¹ Both Arozamena and Lamote de Grignon state that *Amaya* by contrast is a rare example of technical mastery high above any other opera written by a Spanish composer. This lyric drama is through-composed with few breaks for transitions between scenes. The voice is treated as equal to the instruments and recitatives are interspersed depending on the dramatic action.

Issue no. 60 of *Hermes, revista del País Vasco* of 1920, is devoted entirely to Guridi's *Amaya*. José J. de Sautu published an analytical study in this issue which reveals the composer's approach to the subject from a musical point of view. In this chapter we can only hint at the most salient aspects of the music as it relates to the drama, but we should be able to give a fair picture of how the music supports the latter.

Sautu starts with some aesthetic considerations that apply to the generic nature of the piece. The essence of the lyric drama, he states, is in the complexity of its ideas, their spontaneous derivation of some from others, their indefinite setting (*engarce indefinido*, in Sautu's words). The thematic guide by Sautu is meant as an analytical deconstruction of the work that would allow the total and distinct comprehension of the elements that formed the synthesis of the drama.²

The interpretation of the work entails for Sautu a direct collaboration with the author. It is difficult to know the extent of this collaboration but both the composer's aesthetic ideas and his technical knowledge are discernible in the writing. In chapter

¹ Arozamena, *Jesús Guridi*, p. 187.

² José J. de Sautu, "Amaya, análisis musical y guía temática" in *Hermes, revista del País Vasco*. No. 60, 1920, p. 293.

II we saw that Arozamena identified Guridi's hand in the musical examples of this article.³ For the purpose of clarity, but bearing in mind that to a great extent this article reflects the composer's ideas behind the lyric drama, we shall refer to Sautu as the author of the article.

The goal of the lyric drama is aesthetic recreation – Sautu continues. The other elements – the psychology of the characters and of the dramatic moments, the connection of ideas and situations, the technical resources, etc. – are means to its ultimate aesthetic goal: the creation of beauty. This task could only be achieved by the very few who have the gift of inspiration.

According to Sautu, the *Leitmotiv* – a melody, an harmonization, or simply a rhythm – is invariably applied to a character, idea, or dramatic situation. It should be sufficiently expressive so that it gives an objective, strong, and persistent feeling. The leading motives are the *language* of the composer, and Sautu elaborates on this comparison giving the reasons to follow the Wagnerian technique.⁴

Lamote de Grignon and other reviewers of *Amaya* have noted its Wagnerian character if only in the use of the *Leitmotiv* technique. But this is not surprising considering the composer's studies with Vincent D'Indy and his visit to Munich while under Neitzel's tutelage to hear Wagner. As many critics have pointed out, although Wagner's technique is pervasive, Guridi's musical language is extremely personal.

Act I

The first act comprises a prelude (40 measures), scene I (36 measures), scene II (92 measures), scene III (71 measures), scene IV (136 measures) and the full moon ritual (plenilunio, 418 measures).

³ See chapter II above.

⁴ Sautu, "*Amaya*, análisis musical y guía temática", p. 295.

The prelude begins with the full moon motive in G-sharp minor in canonic imitation, first in bassoons and celli, then in violas and English horn, then in oboe, then in first violins. The passage attains a relatively static modal character of a G-sharp Dorian through two means: first, a pedal on G-sharp played by the contrabassi almost relentlessly from m. 1 to m. 32, and second, the alternation under a complex web of melodic imitation of harmonies on i and IV: G-sharp 7 (m. 3, 5, 7, 9), C-sharp 7 (m. 4, 6, 8, 10).

The static character of the inception of the prelude is a device observed by Dahlhaus and which he names a *Klangfläche* or sound-sheet exemplified by the forest murmurs of Siegfried, the Nile scene in *Aïda*, or the riverbank scene from Gounod's *Mireille*.⁵ These are sections outwardly static but inwardly in constant motion. Although this is assigned by Dahlhaus to depictions of nature, in Guridi it takes the role of depicting the religious experience of the ritual and thus the subject nature gets closely intertwined with the subject of the primitive natural religion. It is worth mentioning as well that Villoslada's chapter of the full moon ritual begins with Teodosio's journey to the site of the ritual and is in effect a rich description of the natural landscapes of the surrounding mountains.

The *Klangfläche* would become more obvious at the scene of the ritual itself. After the theme *full moon ritual* has been presented, a characteristic deceptive gesture happens in m. 11 where after C-sharp major (IV) resolves deceptively into a flat VI chord. This modal character creates an atmosphere of serenity and nobility that belongs to the evening of ritual in Aitormendi.

⁵ Dahlhaus, Carl. *Nineteenth-Century Music*. J. Bradford Robinson, trans. University of California Press, 1989, p. 307.

Musical example 1, *full moon ritual*:

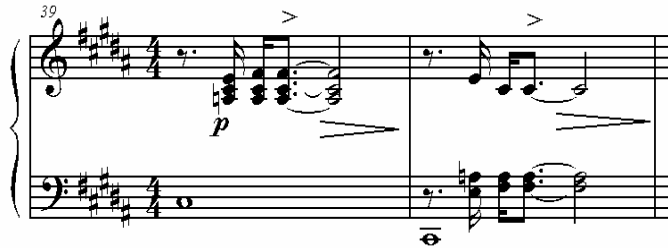
Lento tranquillo

The musical score is written for piano in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. It is marked 'Lento tranquillo' and 'pp' (pianissimo). The score consists of three systems of piano accompaniment. The first system begins with a piano introduction in the bass clef, followed by a melody in the treble clef. The second system continues the melody and accompaniment. The third system ends with a fermata and the word 'etc.' written above the staff.

The theme, as is presented in this fragment, is taken from the first half of the song *Argizagi ederra* (*Belle lune, éclaire-moi*) in the version recorded by Charles Bordes in *Archives de la Tradition Basque: 12 chansons d'amour*. The song would be used in its entirety by Guridi when the static character of the ritual pervades the ritual act in the scene *Plenilunio*. In m. 155 this theme, now complete, is first stated by the orchestra, then by Amagoya, and lastly by the choir in an *épanouissement* of the scene.

After this short prelude Amaya and Amagoya appear on the scene in preparation for the full moon ritual. The theme of Amagoya is heard in the four horns muted (Prelude, m. 39-40).

Musical example 2: *Amagoya, daughter of Aitor*:



The theme of *Aitorechea* (the house of Aitor), derived rhythmically from that of Amagoya, follows immediately by the violas and celli (Scene I, m. 1-2).

Musical example 3, *Aitorechea*:



This motive incarnates the *tradition* associated with the house of *Aitor*, “the ancestral generation presided by the august shadow of the Patriarch.” A tradition – continued Sautu – which had been corrupted at the fanatical hands of Amagoya.⁶

As Amaya remembers Teodosio in his absence, a first sketch of Teodosio’s heroic theme is heard in the oboe (Sc I, m. 17) over the theme *Amagoya*. It is followed by its elaboration in 9/8 in the first and second violins first and then in the horns (Sc I, m. 18-19).

⁶ Sautu, “*Amaya, análisis musical y guía temática*”, p. 297.

Musical example 4, *Teodosio*:

When Amaya claims that Teodosio will be king and she will be his wife, the first portion of theme *Amaya* is introduced first by the violas, celli, and contrabassi (Sc I, m. 21), and in a more defined shape by the oboe in C-minor, with violas and celli accompanying (Sc I, m. 22). Taking advantage of an A-flat chord (flat VI) the tonality shifts to C-sharp minor, reintroducing the first half of the theme *Amaya* (m. 23-24). The origin of this theme is the popular song *Ene arrerosteko* recorded by Azkue and published as an example in his paper *La Música Popular Vascongada*.⁷ As has been described with the theme *full moon ritual* and the song where it was derived, *Argizagi ederra*, Guridi presents just the first gesture of the theme and waits until Amagoya presents Amaya as the wife of the future lord of the Basques in scene IV, m. 118-124, to present the full melody of Amaya as appears in Azkue's source.

Musical example 5, *Amaya*:

⁷ Dr. D. Resurrección María de Azkue. *La música popular baskongada. Conferencia dad en los salones de la Sociedad "Centro Vasco" el día 15 de Febrero de 1901*. Bilbao: Imprenta y Litografía de Gregorio Astoreca, 1901, p. 3. For the complete statement of the theme which is identical with Azkue's song see example 13.

While Amaya praises Teodosio and dreams with being his wife, Amagoia sings the theme of *Asier, redeemer of the Basque country* on a D₇ chord while the muted horns state the theme of *Amagoia* (Sc I, m. 31).

Musical example 6, *Asier redeemer*:

31

El mar se lo lle - vo en no - che.os - cu - ra de tem - pes - tad;
Itxa - su - ak ken - du.eus - tan gau i - llun i - ka - ra - ga - ri ba - ten.

This theme will be transformed throughout the work into different variants such as the themes *action* and *parricide*. When Sautu arrives at this point in the plot he digresses to explain the prophecy of the redeemer which corresponds to the new theme.

At the arrival of the messenger who asks for Amagoia, the composer begins the second scene with the theme of *Asier redeemer*, introduced first in G-minor by first violins and clarinets with accompaniment of bassoons, celli, and contrabassi (Sc II, m.1).⁸ The personal theme of *Asier* is introduced in D-flat₇ by the English horn when Amagoia asks for the messenger's identity (Sc II, m. 12-13). This theme is built over an elaboration of the melodic gesture of the song *Adios ene maitia, adio sekulako* (*Adieu ma bien-aimée, adieu pour toujours*) recorded by J. D. J. Sallaberry in *Chants Populaires de Pays Basque* and in Charles Bordes' *Archives de la Tradition Basque: 12 chansons d'amour*.

⁸ Jesús Guridi. *Amaya, drama lírico en tres actos y epílogo, tomado de la novela del mismo título de Navarro Villoslada, letra de José María Arroita-Jauregui, música de Jesús Guridi, versión euzkérica del R. P. José de Arrue*. Leipzig: Imprenta musical de C. G. Röder, p. 8.

Musical example 7, *Adios ene maitia, adio sekulako* (Bordes' version):

Tristement

Chant

Je m'en vais, a-dieu ma mi - e, Je vous quit - te pour tou - jours
A - di - os, e - ne mai - ti - a, a - di - o se - ku - la - ko!

Piano

mf

Musical example 8, *Asier*:

p

When Amagoya interrogates him, this new theme is developed in a lively passage (Sc II, m. 14-18) first by violas, clarinets, and violins in C-sharp minor and by the celli in D minor (m. 19-21). This theme – Sautu states – belongs to the figure of Asier: an ambitious, violent and extreme man in his passions, and one who yearns for Amaya's love.⁹

The themes of *Asier redeemer* and *Asier* alternate in different keys as Amagoya celebrates the news brought to her from her adopted son (m. 23-36). When the messenger states that Asier has achieved riches and power he sings the theme *Asier redeemer*. The orchestra underlies the voice with the same theme in augmentation (Sc II, m. 37-38). A more melodic variation of the theme *Teodosio* is introduced by the viola with a deceptive chord progression from G minor into a C half-diminished chord (Sc II, m. 44-45).

⁹ Sautu, "Amaya, análisis musical y guía temática", p. 298.

Musical example 9, *Teodosio* (deceptive):

The musical notation shows a deceptive cadence. The upper staff (treble clef) features a melodic line starting with a triplet of eighth notes (G4, A4, B4), followed by a dotted quarter note (C5) and a quarter note (B4). The lower staff (bass clef) features a bass line with a dotted quarter note (F3), a quarter note (G3), and a quarter note (A3). Dynamics include *mf espress.* and *p*.

This deceptive gesture reoccurs many times with this melodic version of the theme *Teodosio* throughout the work. Amagoya continues her song to Asier with the theme of *Asier redentor* (Sc II, m. 46). Amaya on the other hand laments Teodosio's absence with the melodic variation of *Teodosio's* theme also with a viola solo and the same deceptive gesture as in m. 44-45 (m. 54-55). The themes *Aitorechea* and *Asier redeemer* are brought back as Amagoya invites the messenger to rest in the palace of the patriarch (m. 56-70). The theme of the full moon ritual is presented in an arpeggiated form as Amagoya receives the followers of the primitive pagan religion (m. 71-92).

The third scene starts with the oboe presenting the theme which represents the followers of the ancient religion of Aitor and which Sautu labels *pagans* (Sc III, m. 1-ff). This theme has a first elaboration in the choir, first in E-flat minor by the basses singing (Sc III, m. 6-12), then by the tenors (m. 12-17), and by the sopranos (m. 18-23). This theme is developed in the voices as the choir comments on Amaya's love and the abandonment to which Aitormendi will be subjected. The most complete elaboration is stated in measures 55-65 in the choir with the tutti orchestra.

Musical example 10, *pagans*:

The musical score consists of three systems of piano accompaniment in 6/4 time, marked with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The first system (measures 55-57) is marked *Piu calmo* and *p*. The second system (measures 58-61) features dynamics *mf*, *p*, and *cresc.*. The third system (measures 62-64) is marked *poco f* and *rall.*. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings.

In the previous dialogue between the different voices of the choir the theme *pagans* is reduced occasionally to its first three notes. The pagan followers of the primitive traditions wonder about the fate of Amaya and of Aitorechea, the house of Aitor. The choir on the other hand sings the decadence of Aitorechea with a repetitive figure which, in the full moon ritual, is transformed into the theme of the *fire* (Sc III, m. 40).

Musical example 11, *fire*:

40
No se-ran tus mu-ros si-no tris-te.al-ber-gue De u - na.an-cia - na
Zu-re in - gu - ru - an zer a - mon zo - ti - na! ta - tso.en ne - ga - ra

43
en e - ter - no due - lo.
en-tzun be - ar de - gun!

The connection of the theme *fire* with the choir singing the decadence of the ancient religion seems to serve a hidden purpose. “If the Patriarch resurrected he would not recognise his own people” sings the choir with the complete theme of the *pagans* (Sc III, m. 60-64), echoing thus the need of transformation into the new Christian religion that Navarro Villoslada had advocated in his *Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII*. The third scene closes with the oboe playing the same motive as in the introduction of the theme *pagans*, ending with a derivation of the theme in descending scales in E-flat minor.

At the beginning of the fourth scene, Amagoya, who now appears dressed as a priestess, consoles the attendants and exhorts them to maintain their hope in the traditions of Aitor. The theme of the full moon is presented by bassoons, trombones, violas, and celli in A Dorian (Sc IV, m. 1-4). The theme of the *redeemer* appears in B-flat major as Amagoya forecasts times of glory for Aitorechea (Sc IV, m. 13-20). When Amagoya announces the apparition of the full moon, the theme *full moon* is stated in E-flat minor with its Dorian character (Sc IV, m. 24-27).

Teodosio arrives at that moment as the melodic variation of the theme *Teodosio* is stated by the English horn in C-minor (m. 29-30). As Amagoya receives the newcomer, this little theme is expanded first in short statements in an intensification attained by stating the theme in canon in quick repetitions, then by following statements by bassoons, celli, and contrabassi in C-minor (Sc IV, m. 61-67). The complete warrior theme of *Teodosio* is stated by the brass in B-minor (Sc

IV, m. 78-83) leading to a musical climax as Teodosio introduces himself and states his good intentions (Sc IV, m. 84-90).

The theme of *Asier redeemer* suffers now a transformation as Amagoya mistakes Teodosio for Asier, and therefore, for the saviour of the Basques. The rhythm of *Asier redeemer* remains, but there is an inversion of intervals. Amagoya has mistaken Teodosio for his rival. There is a double rivalry between the two, on the one hand for the love of Amaya, on the other for the aspirations to the throne of the Basques. This theme is understood by Sautu as the theme of the *rival* and it would be present as Asier appears in the second act (Act I, Sc IV, m. 91-101).

Musical example 12, *rival*:



This motive is reduced to its rhythmic structure and disappears as the personal theme of *Asier* is stated by bassoons, viole, and celli (Sc IV, m. 101-110). The *rival* theme returns for a few measures until Amagoya presents Amaya as the redeemer's wife. The theme *Amaya* is here stated for the first time in its entirety in C major (m. 118-125) with a two-bar introduction by the first and second violins in octaves (Sc IV, m. 118-119). It corresponds almost note for note and is in the same key as the version given by Azkue in his lecture *La Música Popular Bascongada*.

Musical example 13 *Amaya* (complete):

120 A B

Mi-ra.a-tu vir-gen es-po-sa con quien par-tis te.el pa-nal. - Su.a-
A-ra zu-re.e-maz-te ga-ya. gar-bi mai-te-kor li-ra-na. Le-

122 *cresc.*

mor-te.a-guar-da le-al; bo-ton la-de-jas-te; es-ro-sa.
ka-txo la-ga ze-bena - - - lo-ra pan-po-xa gaur-e-gin-da.

124 C

Del tron-co vic-jo de.Ai-tor re-no-va-reis el vi-gor.
A-sa-ba.Ai-to-ren o do-la-zu-eik ber-biz-tu-ko-zu-e.

Sautu divided this excerpt into three sections marked A, B, and C. The first would be the leading motive of *Amaya*, the second and especially the third – the theme *love* – would become important themes in the rest of the work. Both the themes of *Aitorechea* and *Amagoya* alternate as *Amaya* and *Teodosio* comment on *Amagoya*'s mistake (Sc IV, m. 126-136).

Sautu points out that *Teodosio*'s voice is subdued in this passage, as if to reflect his secondary position against the greatness of *Amagoya*. As the messenger tries to correct the confusion, the full moon ritual starts. *Amagoya* demands silence when the full moon appears in the horizon.

The scene of the full moon starts with the theme *full moon* now stated by the clarinet over violin tremolos in G-sharp minor as *Amagoya* describes the apparition (*Plenilunio*, m. 1-14). The second half of the theme is stated for the first time on m. 15. Now the melody of the popular song *Argizagi ederra* as recorded by Charles Bordes is stated now in its entirety.¹⁰ This popular song was recorded by Azkue with the following text in Castilian translation:

¹⁰ José Luis Ansorena identified contrafacta of this song: *Ortze ixilan, Illazkitan, Ama maitatua*, and *Maitatua sobera*.

- I. Hermosa luna, alumbradme; todavía tengo que andar largo camino. Quisiera hablar esta noche una vez con la amada: alumbradme hasta su puerta.
- II. De lejos vengo, caminando largo trecho, pensando a cada paso que daba. Tengo mojada la camisa en el pecho y riñones. Hacedme el obsequio de secarla en vuestro costado.¹¹

The subject of the moon brings a connection with the theme, although the resemblance to the music of *Amaya* as recorded by Azkue and Fr. Donosti is rather vague. Guridi is obviously using Bordes' version.¹²

As the moon appears in the horizon, the priestess Amagoya introduces the ritual which starts with Amagoya burning a fire and consists of ritual dances. The themes of the orchestral interlude include the themes *full moon* and *pagans*. The burning of the fire and the start of the dances are introduced by the theme *pagans* here also stated by the oboe (*Plenilunio*, m. 51). The first four notes of this theme are used in an echo effect in oboes and clarinets (*Plenilunio*, m. 58-60).

Musical example 14, *pagans*:



The rhythmic theme of the *fire*, first introduced by the choir of pagans during scene III, m. 40 (musical example 10), appears now in A-flat major on m. 67-68 in clarinets, 3rd bassoon, and horns, and is developed intermittently until m. 146 both in its original form and in a shortened variation which first appears in m. 93. In m. 119-130 a full statement of the *pagans* theme leads to a repetition of the echo effect presented with the first four notes of the same theme, in counterpoint with the initial arpeggio of the *full moon* theme, and two repetitions of the *fire* theme (*Plenilunio*, m. 145-146). This brings the *épanouissement* of the *full moon* theme which is stated in its entirety for the first time reproducing also the second half of Charles Bordes'

¹¹ Azkue, *Cancionero Popular Vasco*, p. 68.

¹² The transcriptions of this song by Azkue and Fr. Donosti vary considerably both in music and text.

version recorded in *Archives de la Tradition Basque: 12 chansons d'amour* (*Plenilunio*, m. 155-161) by the full orchestra in C-sharp minor.

A thinner orchestration brings a statement by the *cor Anglais* and bass clarinet first (m. 162-163), then by the horn and flute (164-167), which lead to Amagoya's breaking of the religious silence of the ceremony intoning the sacred song to the moon. The complete theme of the *full moon*, also in C-sharp minor, echoes the previous statement by the orchestra (*Plenilunio*, m. 168-177). In m. 188-194 an episodic variation of the *full moon* theme is sung by Amagoya lamenting the few followers of the religion with a static accompaniment by second violins in C minor:

Musical example 15, episodic variation of the *full moon*:

mezza voce, semplice

riten.

colla voce

A section in E phrygian produces an energetic affirmative variant of the *full moon* theme accentuated by a design of celli and basses at the outset of the phrase (*Plenilunio*, m. 204-211) as Amagoya sings her faith in the religion of Aitor.

Musical example 16, *full moon in the Pyrenees*:

The musical score is for a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 3/4 time signature. It begins with a dynamic marking of *f* and the tempo marking *energico*. The lyrics are: "Cuan - do del Pi - ri - ne - o En las ne - va - das cum - bres / Gu - re A - nu - men - di - ko Biz - kar e - dur - tsu e - nak". The piano accompaniment consists of two staves, treble and bass clef. The right hand plays chords and moving lines, while the left hand plays a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. A dynamic marking of *f* is present at the beginning of the piano part. A triplet of eighth notes is indicated in the vocal line.

The choir sings the *full moon* theme again in its entirety (*Plenilunio*, m. 216-229). The theme of *Amagoya* is stated first by the horns (*Plenilunio*, m. 228), before a tutti puts an end to the sacred ceremony stating again the theme of *Amagoya* with the strings divisi (*Plenilunio*, m. 230-334). The musical and dramatic movement, which until this moment has had an static (perhaps motionless) character, changes to the end of the act where the action accelerates considerably supported by the music. This transition is abrupt and somewhat disappointing as if Guridi does not bridge the meditative section of the full moon ritual with the following more dramatic section.

In the following passage, in which Amaya and Teodosio deliberate about the significance of the primitive religion, section A of the theme *Amaya* is stated in B-flat by the oboe (m. 235, 237), alternating with clarinet and first horn (m. 236). Only the first portion of section B is stated by flute and oboe. The following duo is built over section C of *Amaya*'s theme, first continuing in B-flat by clarinet and first violins (*Plenilunio*, m. 239-241), then in F minor by the English horn (*Plenilunio*, m. 243-244), and returning briefly to B-flat again with clarinet and first violins (*Plenilunio*, m. 245-246). Section C of *Amaya* becomes the *love* theme as Teodosio pronounces the sweet name of Amaya in m. 247-248 in B major. Teodosio, while singing the peace and calm surrounding them, states the whole theme of *Amaya* switching the tonality to B minor in the second half of section A (m. 249-254).

B major is established again in m. 255-257 with the melody in the clarinet first, afterwards sharing it with first violins. From there it modulates to C major only briefly (*Plenilunio*, m. 259-260) to turn into a complete statement of *Amaya's* theme (sections A, B, and C) in A-flat minor. At the same time the melodic version of *Teodosio's* theme is stated by the viola solo with its characteristic deceptive gesture now from F half-diminished to F-flat minor (*Plenilunio*, m. 264-265), then by the solo violin from G-flat major₇ to G fully diminished (m. 266-267), and once more by the solo viola from A-flat minor to D-flat minor₇ (m. 268-269).

A decorative statement by the harp and two more measures of the theme *Amaya C (love)*, stated by Teodosio now in A-flat major (m. 271-272), lead to the theme in C major briefly (m. 273-274) before returning to A-flat major (m. 275-276), to modulate to F-sharp minor (m. 277-280). This last statement adds the melodic theme *Teodosio* with its deceptive gesture into a B-flat minor chord (m. 280-281). This gesture, now characteristic of the melodic version of theme *Teodosio*, introduces *Amaya's* statement about the profound abyss that separates them because of their different religions (m. 281-286).

During this statement the viola (m. 282-283), celli, and basses (m. 285-286) keep playing instances of the short melodic version of theme *Teodosio*. The deceptive gesture happens regularly on the fourth note of this theme and in this case introduces a particularly somber character to the music.

The protagonists lament the abyss that lies between them because of their difference of faith which could only be saved through baptism. The new theme of the *baptism*, with its characteristic delivery by the horns in arpeggios that spell different inversions of the chord, is stated in E-flat major (m. 289-293). The origin of this theme is the popular song *Itxarkundia* which Guridi published in an arrangement in the song collection *Euzkel-Abestijak* in collaboration with other composers for the *Juventudes Vascas* in 1913.¹³

¹³ Pliego no. 41.

Musical example 17, *Itxarkundia*:

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system (measures 1-6) features a vocal line starting with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The tempo markings are *Assai lento*, *molto rit*, and *a tempo*. The lyrics are: "Az-ka - ta-sun e - guz - ki - ja ba - so - tik ur - ten da Be - re ar - gi - ja e - do - nun". The piano accompaniment is also marked *f* and features a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The second system (measures 7-8) continues the vocal line with the lyrics: "a - rin za - bal - tzen da". The piano accompaniment continues with similar accompaniment patterns.

Guridi uses in the lyric drama the same chord inversions as in his first arrangement of the song in the collection *Euzkel-Abestijak*. In the lyric drama Guridi completes the theme by adding an ascending arpeggio in B-flat major (m. 292) and a descending one in E-flat major (m. 295) as it is taken over by flutes, clarinets, and violins.

Musical example 18, *baptism*:

The image shows two systems of musical notation. The first system, starting at measure 289, features a vocal line in treble clef with lyrics: "Es - te.a - bis - mo lo sal - va el bau - tis - mo. U - gutz deu - nak al - de.o ri ken - du - ko dau." The piano accompaniment is in bass clef, showing chords and a melodic line with a triplet. The second system, starting at measure 292, continues the piano accompaniment with dynamic markings *cresc.*, *mf*, and *dim.*, and includes triplet figures in the right hand.

The theme *baptism* is stated in the subdominant A-flat (m. 295) and in the dominant (m. 296) by flutes, clarinets, and first and second violins, to be reinstated by the horns in E-flat (m. 297-298). An abrupt change to D-sharp major is brought up with the theme *Amagoya* in her role of priestess when she asks Amaya to sing the blessings of Aitor (m. 299-304).

Amaya sings the blessings in an E-minor chant-like modal tone to add to the static character of the passage (*Plenilunio*, m. 305-318). Amagoya requests that Amaya finish the blessings but, when the latter refuses, the priestess damns all those Basques who abandon the great god of Aitor.

Section A of theme *Amaya* is stated by bassoons, cello, and contrabass in quick repetition in E minor ending in a half-step motion (A-B-flat) which adds to the

dramatic tension of the moment, as she reacts to her aunt's fanaticism (m. 335-338). A rhythmic figure in staccato notes which is derived from the theme *Amaya* and identified by Sautu as *restlessness* (m. 339-345), transfers the tonality to B major (m. 343), then through a tonally unstable passage to B minor when, after bassoons and celli, the clarinet states the theme *Amaya C (love)* (m. 352). The three main characters are singing during this agitated moment: Amagoya, alien to everybody else, curses those who abandon the ancient faith, while Teodosio and Amaya decide to flee from her aunt's fanaticism.

After the clarinet states theme *Amaya C (love)* in B minor two quick statements of section A of theme *Amaya* follow in bassoons, horns and clarinets (m. 353-354). These statements are diminished rhythmically in almost unrecognizable cells and represent Amaya and Teodosio's *escape* (m. 354-357).

Musical example 19, *escape*:

A statement of theme *love* in E minor in m. 363-364, and in F-sharp minor in m. 365-366, leads to a statement in F minor and a quick modulation reintroduces the theme *baptism* in E major as Amaya asks to be baptized (m. 370-373).

The warrior (rhythmic) version of the theme *Teodosio* is stated in m. 374-375. The theme *Asier redeemer* is stated by the trombones in m. 378-379 in augmentation (double time) as Amagoya curses those who abandon the ancient religion. Amaya states that Asier is coming (m. 380-381). Immediately Teodosio, who thought his rival was dead, reacts in surprise and asks Amagoya whether he is alive. He is, replies Amaya as the theme *rival* is stated repeatedly, first in G minor

and henceforth in descending keys (m. 382-391). Teodosio realizes that Asier wants to claim Amaya so he decides to wait in order to challenge him.

The theme *Asier* is stated by bassoons and violas leading to C-sharp minor (m. 391-396) and the theme *baptism* is stated complete in E major by the horns, now reinforced by oboes, English horn, clarinets, second violins, and contrabassi, as Amaya asks Teodosio to take her away (m. 397-403).

The E major tonality is abruptly put in suspense by an F-sharp half-diminished chord that leads momentarily to G minor with statements of the first gesture of section A of theme *Amaya* (m. 408-409) which turns into the rhythmically diminished cells which have been heard in m. 354-356 as the theme of the *escape* (*Plenilunio*, m. 409-411) continues still in G minor.

The act ends with Amaya and Teodosio fleeing the site with one statement of the first phrase of the warrior version of the theme *Teodosio* in E major by all the brass (m. 412-415) and the first half of theme *Amagoya* in tutti (m. 416-418).

Act II

The second act comprises an instrumental prelude (35 measures), scene I (85 measures), scene II (223 measures), scene III (133 measures), scene IV *Ezpata dantza* (196 measures), scene V (80 measures), scene VI (155 measures).

The prelude starts with a statement of the theme *Asier* in B minor (m. 1-6) first by oboes and English horn, and violins and violas, then by English horn in dialogue with the violas. The theme *Asier redeemer* follows in D minor, first stated by oboes, English horn, and clarinets; then by bassoon, horns, and trumpets, (m. 7-9). In measure 12 clarinets and violas state the same theme. A new theme characterized by an obsessive rhythmic repetition in sixteenth notes stated by the violas is derived from the first four notes of the theme *Asier redeemer* (m. 12 and following).

Musical example 20, *action*:

This incarnates – writes Sautu – an idea or activity, an impulse to execute an action.¹⁴ This musical idea is coloured with recurrences of the *personal* theme *Asier*. The new theme *action* is associated with Asier in his first appearance on stage as he will be the key character in the perpetration of the tragedy during acts II and III.

The first measure of scene I is filled with a statement of the theme *rival* in B minor by celli and contrabassi followed by a *recitativo*. Asier and Amagoya arrive at the wedding sight and a servant tells them the ceremony is already being performed at the church. The first fraction of the theme *rival* is stated by violins, violas, and celli in a C major flat₉ chord in pizzicato (Act II, Sc I, m. 5).

As Asier recriminates Amagoya for being late, the theme *Asier* is stated by the English horn with violas in divisi playing the rhythmic figure derived from *Asier redeemer*. A mention of Amaya by Amagoya comes with a statement of the theme *Amaya A* in F minor by violas, English horn, and bassoons (Sc I, m. 11) which ends the *recitativo*. It is followed by an accentuated repetition of the appoggiatura characteristic of the same theme (m. 11-12) which will appear again in act III, sc I, m. 132-136.

¹⁴ Sautu, “Amaya, análisis musical y guía temática”, p. 310.

Musical example 21, *Amaya A* and accentuated appoggiaturas:

The musical score shows a single staff in bass clef with a 12/8 time signature. The key signature has two flats (B-flat minor). The melody starts with a long slur over a series of eighth and sixteenth notes. Below the staff, there are several accented appoggiaturas (piano line) marked with a 'p' and an accent (>). The dynamics are marked as 'mf' at the beginning and end of the phrase.

Another statement of the theme *Amaya* occurs in B-flat minor in the bass clarinet and the second bassoon follows. As Amagoya explains that Amaya has a heart only for Asier, the first phrase of the theme *Amaya* is presented by the solo violin in C major (m. 16-17), then by the clarinet solo (m. 18), and last by the clarinet and first violins together (m. 19). As Amagoya utters that everybody thought mistakenly that Asier was dead, the theme *rival* is stated by bassoons and celli in B-flat minor (m. 20).

The theme *Teodosio* is stated by the oboe at once with the theme *Amagoya* and then in an abrupt quick repetition from lower to higher registers as Amagoya remembers the continuous presence of Teodosio around Amaya (m. 23-25). The theme *rival* by clarinets (m. 27-28) and the theme *Asier* by violins (m. 29-30), both in E-flat major, are stated as Asier laments the loss of Amaya.

Asier sings his love of Amaya with three repetitions of the first phrase of the theme *Amaya* and a brief continuation of the theme in E-flat major (m. 35-38). A short recitative is coloured by a first brief statement of theme *rival* (m. 42) and a second statement happens in frantically fast succession (m. 44). As Asier complains that he has run towards Amaya to find himself in the present frustration, the theme *action* is stated in a more chromatic variation than its preceding statement (m. 45-46).

As bells are heard in the distance, the nuptial procession is presented with a long statement of the theme *baptism* in C major in its entirety. The first phrase is played by the horns and the second by the violins, then by these with the choir (m. 51-70). A modulation into A-flat major (m. 71-72) first, and then into C-flat major,

leads into B minor at the end of the scene with the choir cheering for the newly weds.

In the second scene appear Amaya and Teodosio, his parents, Miguel and Plácida, the elders of Navarra, guests and Asier and Amagoya hiding. The theme *Amaya* continues the B minor tonality from the previous section (Act II, Sc II, m. 1-9). The choir sings section C of the theme *Amaya* now in B major (Sc II, m. 10-23) to modulate to C major in measures 24-25 and E-flat major in m. 26 and C major in m. 28. As the choir acclaims their new king the theme *Teodosio* warrior is stated in C major (Sc II, m. 28-41).

One of the elders stops the crowd's cheering and unaccompanied declares: nobody can claim to be king yet (Sc II, m. 42-44). A new theme is sketched from m. 45 to 51. In m. 52 Miguel invites all to come in to celebrate the wedding. This is the first apparition of Teodosio's father and he sings the new theme – now fully shaped – of the *parents*. This theme is the same as *Aitonaren esana* (or *Atonaren esana*) published by Guridi in the first collection of *Euzkel-Abestijak* with slightly different harmonization.¹⁵ The harmonization in *Euzkel-Abestijak* of the first two measures is as follows.

Musical example 22, *Aitonaren esana*:

Moderato tranquillo

The musical score is for the piece 'Aitonaren esana'. It is written in G major (one sharp) and 3/8 time. The tempo is 'Moderato tranquillo'. The score consists of three staves: a vocal line and two piano accompaniment staves (treble and bass clef). The vocal line begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic and a slur over the first two measures. The lyrics are 'Neu-re se-mi - an se - me Neu-re ilo - ba - laz - ta - na'. The piano accompaniment also starts with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The first two measures of the piano part feature a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes and chords.

¹⁵ Pliego no. 41.

This is the theme derived from the song in the lyric drama.

Musical example 23, *parents*:

52 *dolce*

En - trad, en - trad, a - mi - gos, to - dos cuan - tos que - pais.
Sar - tu, sar - tu, aiz - ki - di - ak al - do - zun guz - ti - ok.

dolce

Asier in a recitative requests to be heard and asks for justice from the lord of Goñi (Sc II, m. 64-65). Miguel is willing to distribute justice under the theme *parents* now in C major (Sc II, m. 66-67), then in B major (Sc II, m. 68-69) to return to C major. But he requests Asier to wait until the celebration is over.

The rhythmic theme *rival* – which has been derived by the inversion of intervals of the theme *Asier redeemer* – is stated in B-flat minor as Asier interrogates Amaya without paying heed to Miguel’s request (Sc II, m. 79-81). At the same time Teodosio asks Amaya: “is this him?”, and the theme *Teodosio* sounds with the rhythmic figuration that corresponds to both the themes *Asier* and *rival* in the basses.

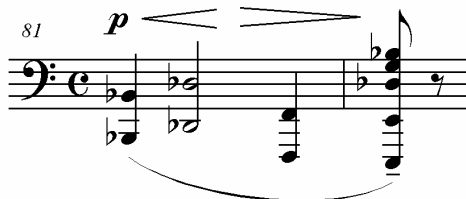
Musical example 24, *Teodosio* and *rival*:

79

p

A new theme, *suspicion*, is introduced (Sc II, m. 81).

Musical example 25, *suspicion*:



The theme *Asier redeemer* is stated in A major (Sc II, m. 84-85). Then the theme *action* is heard in E major (Sc II, m. 86-87), as well as the short theme *Asier* alternating with *Amaya*, first in G-sharp minor (Sc II, m. 88-90), afterwards in A major. At the same time Asier is claiming that Amaya has been his wife for a long time and that she cannot be anybody else's. As he pronounces these words, a chromatically ascending gesture brings the theme *Teodosio* in an accentuated triplet figure (Sc II, m. 94).

At the cadence of the theme *Teodosio* the theme *action* is stated in A-flat major as Teodosio claims that Asier is lying and stands in gesture of challenge while others have to hold him back (m. 95-99). Asier asks that they let Teodosio kill him so he can have a second marriage with the widow of Amagoya's, son as the basses state the theme *rival* in augmentation (m. 100-104).

While the orchestra states the theme *action*, the choir shows its distress for the situation (m. 107-108). As Miguel – Sautu names him the patriarch – tries to bestow justice, both the themes *Teodosio* and *Asier* are heard (m. 113-133). One of the statements of the theme *Asier* is accompanied by the trombones with an ominous character (m. 131-132) as Asier remembers that Amaya's father told him to become duke before he could claim her hand.

Amaya starts the narration of her childhood with a melody taken from an ancient popular song with the accompaniment of a descending chordal figure in divisi by the high strings (m. 134-151). The accompaniment to this theme will be

heard again in act III, scene III at the moment of the parricide. It is first stated in E minor (m. 134-138). These are the first two measures of the theme.¹⁶

Musical example 26, *Amaya's childhood*:

The musical score is for a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in 3/4 time, starting at measure 135. It begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic and features a melodic line with three triplet markings. The lyrics are: "Tier-na ni-na, mi pa-dre con-fi-o-me.a.A-ma-go-ya: U-me-txo-ta-tik ai-tak A-ma-go-iaz la-ga-ta:". The piano accompaniment consists of two staves, with the left hand playing a bass line and the right hand playing chords and arpeggiated figures. The score includes dynamic markings and articulation symbols such as *8va* and *8va* with dashed lines.

Both the melody and the arpeggiato figures of the strings produce a dreamy effect reflecting the semiconscious state of mind of the girl's innocent youth. But as soon as Amaya narrates the rejection of Asier by her father and her encounter with Teodosio, the theme *Amagoya* is briefly stated again first in G minor (m. 152) and then in E-flat major (m. 155).

Amaya has narrated the events that led to her love for Teodosio, her only love, and bows in front of his parents to receive their blessing. The themes of *Amagoya* by muted trumpets (m. 179-180 and m. 187-188) and the related theme of *Aitorechea* (m. 181-182) are stated as Amagoya declares Amaya an spurious, ingrate, and a perjurer woman. She claims that the patriarch has spoken through her voice, as the arpeggios derived from the theme *full moon* sound in string tremolos (m. 183-191), and the theme *Amagoya* is once more reinstated (m. 193).

When the guests and Amaya request that she be taken away, the theme *Asier redeemer* is reinstated in F major by the brass (m. 195-196). Because it is Amaya's request, Asier agrees to take Amagoya at the same time the theme *action* is stated,

¹⁶ According to Sautu ("Amaya, análisis musical y guía temática", p. 314) this is a song that Guridi himself had collected.

but says he will return. Amagoia curses the palace of Jaureguia and the theme *Aitorechea* is played in measures 219-223.

The third scene starts with Miguel bringing calm again with the theme *parents* in the original key of E major (Act II, Sc III, m. 1-10) to be stated in G major (m. 11). This theme travels through the keys of D major (m. 11), C major (m. 12), G minor (m. 14), A major (m. 16), G major (m. 17), etc. to return to E major in m. 21. Miguel closes the passage in which he bestows possession of the nuptial bed to Teodosio and Amaya.

In the following passage in which the couple state their love, Teodosio sings the theme *Amaya C* (love) still in E major (m. 30-32) but modulating to F-sharp major (m. 36-37). The next is a new theme of Guridi's own invention and, according to Sautu, it had an ingenious popular character. Guridi seems to follow Usandizaga's approach to the use of popular song: when he could not find the appropriate one he would insert an *embuchado* from his own harvest, that way he would also insure that the melody would not be in bad taste.¹⁷ Sautu thought this theme reflected well the joy of the union of all Basques in the conversion of Aitor's heiress and her union with Teodosio, the future king. The label for the theme given by Sautu was *joy in feast* (m. 41-45) and it was sung in F-sharp major.

¹⁷ See above, chapter II the section "The correspondence between Guridi and Usandizaga on the question of popular song" (p. 80).

Musical example 27, *joy in feast*:

42

8 A - mor su dul - ce.ar - ca - no me re - ve - la; mi co - ra - zon de
Mai - ta - su - nak be - re go - so.in dar - tsu - az ni - re bi - o - tza

45

8 ju - bi - lo re - bo - sa
da - na - go - so - tu dau

A love duo starts with Amaya singing over the accompaniment of the theme *Amaya C* in C-sharp major by violins (m. 52-53), then in B-flat major by woodwinds (m. 56-57), leading to a deceptive cadence with the theme *Teodosio* into D major (m. 58-59), to state again *Amaya C* in D major (m. 60-63). This theme is continued with the theme *joy in feast*, first also in D major (m. 64-69), then in E major (m. 70) to drop immediately to the relative C-sharp minor (71-73) as Amaya sings her love for Teodosio.

Teodosio introduces a variant of the parents' theme in E major, which Sautu labeled *triumph of Jaureguia* as it represented the voice of the race at the moment a new generation was being formed: the houses of Goñi and Aitor would give a Basque Christian king (m. 74-76).¹⁸ This theme will modulate in measures 77-80 to

¹⁸ Sautu, "Amaya, análisis musical y guía temática", p. 316.

establish B major in the theme *triumph of Jaureguia*. The theme *Amaya C* will be stated in E major in m. 85-86 and in F-sharp major in m. 91-93.

The love scene culminates with a duo in which both Teodosio and Amaya sing the theme *joy of feast* in F-sharp major, the key in which it had originally been stated, to end in B major. An instrumental postlude concludes the duo with the themes *Amaya C*, *joy of feast*, an arpeggio figure derived from *Amaya A*, and *parents* with the last chord in E major.

The third scene is the *Ezpata dantza* started by a *tamboril* and a *txistu* on the stage. The characteristic rhythm of this dance is an alternating 6/8 - 3/4. Guridi presents the dance melody in multiple repetitions but adds interest playing with orchestral colour and modulating to create an increase of tension. The origin of this *ezpata dantza* – dance of the sword – is in two different dances recorded by Azkue (nos. 277 and 278 of the *Cancionero Popular Vasco*) and presented by Guridi in succession without modification.¹⁹ As Amaya appears the choir cheers (*Ezpata dantza*, m. 148-166).

The fifth scene starts with all the guests entering the house for the festivities over the theme *action*. A relatively short and agitated passage (49 ms.) narrates the encounter between Amaya and Asier in which he swears vengeance.

Asier surprises Amaya and, when she realizes who it is, the theme *Asier* is stated in C-sharp minor (m. 4-5). The theme *action* alternates with the theme *rival* in its rhythmic and expressive forms (m. 6-14). An ascending arpeggiated figure derived from the theme *rival* adds dramatic intensity: B major – C-sharp major – E major – G minor (m. 17-18) up to a statement of the theme *Asier* in B minor (m. 20-23). A repetition of this pattern, now with the arpeggios in succession E-flat major, F major, A-flat major, B minor (m. 25-27), and the theme *Asier* in D major (m. 28-30) keep building the tension between Amaya and Asier.

¹⁹ Azkue, *Cancionero Popular Vasco*, p. 385, 386

As Asier swears vengeance, the theme *action* is heard once more (m. 41-45). Distant trumpets announce the theme *war* pointing to the military campaign that claims Teodosio and his Basques (m. 46-51).

Musical example 28, *war*:

The theme *joy of feast* is heard first (m. 59-63 and 63-69), then *triumph in Jaureguia* (m. 70-72), and very briefly afterwards *Amaya A* (m 73-74). The scene ends with the trumpet call from the first part of the theme *war*.

In scene IV Teodosio is preparing himself to leave. He asks where Amaya is at the same time the theme *Amaya C* is stated in G major (m. 3-4) and B major (m. 5-6). When she arrives Teodosio notices her perturbed state and realizes she has seen Asier. This is signaled musically in the characteristically deceptive gesture into an A-flat major chord (m. 11). Then the theme *Asier* is heard in m. 14-15. As Amaya tries to explain that she has refused to talk to him, the theme *action* is stated in A minor (m. 23-28). She tries to dissuade Teodosio to forget his rival while the theme *Amaya C* in its fast variant denoting anxiety is being stated in G minor (m. 29-32). The brief theme *restlessness* sounds in m. 33 followed by several variations of the theme *Amaya* (m. 34-41).

Teodosio curses his rival. The theme *Teodosio* is stated with its deceptive gesture into a C half-diminished (m. 42-43), and again into an A half-diminished

chord (m. 44-45), and, for a third time, into a B-flat major-7 chord (m. 46-47) which reintroduces the theme *war* (m. 47-50).

As Teodosio complains about the high cost of royalty the theme Teodosio seems to want to be developed but it is not (m. 53-59). The theme *suspicion* is stated with the basses playing a descending chromatic gesture as Teodosio asks Amaya to swear her love to him in m. 61-64 (m. 63-64).

Musical example 29, *suspicion*:

Musical score for 'suspicion' in C major, 4/4 time. The score is for piano, marked with a dynamic of *p*. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The treble staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature. The bass staff begins with a bass clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature. The music features a descending chromatic line in the bass staff, starting on G2 and moving down to C2. The treble staff contains chords and melodic fragments that correspond to the bass line. A measure number '64' is written above the treble staff. The score is enclosed in a brace on the left side.

This theme is elaborated subsequently in four more statements (m. 63-67).

Teodosio confides his honour (the chastity of his wife) to his father as the theme *parents* is heard and Miguel shows disappointment. When Teodosio calls his mother, also the theme *suspicion* is played now by a trombone. The accented repeated figure derived from *Amaya A* in Act II, Sc I, m. 11-12 is heard here again as Plácida farewells to her son (Sc VI, m. 95-97). The act concludes with an orchestral elaboration of the themes *Teodosio* and *Amaya C*.

Act III

Sautu states that the third act is the culminating act of the drama and in his article there are a few ideas that seem to coincide with those exposed by Guridi. The following sentence parallels Guridi's aesthetic approach to composition published later in his lecture at his reception in the *Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*:

Es necesaria la actuación de todos los factores que han de concurrir a la preparación gradual del sentimiento para que en el momento preciso se produzca con espontaneidad una emoción estética suprema.²⁰

The third act comprises of a prelude (19 measures), Scene I (146 measures), Scene II (320 measures), Scene III (73 measures). The prelude is built over a mysterious and somber melodic web describing the *solitude of the forest* as in measures 1-3.

Musical example 30, *solitude of the forest*:

The image shows a musical score for piano, consisting of two systems of three staves each. The first system covers measures 1-3, and the second system covers measures 4-6. The music is in a minor key and common time. The first system features a treble clef staff with a melodic line starting in measure 2, and two bass clef staves with accompaniment. The second system continues the melodic and accompanimental lines. Dynamics include *pp* (pianissimo) and *ppp* (pianissimissimo). The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings.

The celli start with a counter-theme. The theme is presented by the first violins with second violins and violas adding a counterpoint with the celli, (m. 1-4). The theme is then taken over by celli (m. 4-5), again by the violins (m. 5-6), and finally by celli and bases (m. 6-7). The English horn, followed by the oboe, presents

²⁰ Sautu, “*Amaya*, análisis musical y guía temática”, p. 318.

briefly the theme *full moon* (m. 12). English horn and clarinets join the lower strings to reintroduce the theme *solitude of the forest* (m. 16-17) in the celli and basses. The prelude ends with a C-sharp half-diminished chord in the horns that contributes to the atmosphere of the forest.

After this chromatic prelude, Teodosio, Uchin, and a squire hear an *irrintzi* – a cry of war – as they walk. The theme *war* is stated by first violins in divisi, second violins and violas, in a version more melodious than the one heard so far (m. 2-4). Teodosio and Uchin converse, and the more rhythmic theme *war* is stated by contrabassi, celli, and bassoons, delineating the *arpeggiato* figuration and the trumpets playing the rhythmic call (m. 7-13).

When the squire Uchin makes a comment about Teodosio's abstracted and worrisome demeanor, the theme *suspicion* is stated by the bass clarinets and contrabassi resolving in an E-sharp fully-diminished chord (m. 15-16) with second violins, violas, and celli in pizzicato. The theme *solitude of the forest* is stated twice by bassoons and all strings (m. 20-21).

As they stop at a source for water, Teodosio reflects in private, imagining what might be happening at the wedding. These are pleasant thoughts accompanied by elaborations of the theme *parents* (m. 27-35) as he imagines his mother kissing Amaya in her forehead after dinner and accompanying her to her bed chamber. At this time the theme *baptism* is stated in B flat by the trumpets with a tremolo accompaniment in the strings (m. 36-37). There is a crescendo in the tremolo as the orchestra leads the squires to sing the ominous song of Lelo – an ancient Basque song of love and jealousy – in unison with just a tremolo accompaniment of the higher strings (m. 42-47).

Musical example 31, song of Lelo:

42
8
Le - lo muer - to, Le - lo muer - to, Le - lo mu - rio: el trai - dor Za - ra.a
Le - lo il - da, Le - lo il - da Le - lo il - da! Za - ra gaiz - ki - nak

45
8
Le - lo, a Le - lo ma - to. El trai - dor Za - ra.a Le - lo, - a Le - lo ma - to.
Le - lo e - rail - du dau! Za - ra gaiz - ki - nak Le - lo e - rail - du dau!

According to Sautu, this theme has the same text but a different melody from that of the traditional song.²¹ As Teodosio asks why they were singing this song, the theme *jealousy* is stated first by cello with accompaniment of clarinets, bassoons, horns, violins, and violas (m. 58-59), and then by oboes, 1st and 3rd horns, and violins, with accompaniment of bassoons, cello, and contrabassi (m. 60-61). The next statement of *jealousy* (m. 62-64) derives into the theme *Asier*, which has the same initial melodic gesture (m. 62-63).

Tota was faithful to her husband – Teodosio continues in his monologue – until she met Zara. This prompts a comparison with Amaya. Amaya loved Asier because she was betrothed to him. When she thought Asier was dead she forgot him. This monologue is underlined by the theme *jealousy* in an A half-diminished and a C half-diminished chord (m. 65-67), and by an augmentation of the theme *Asier redeemer* and an accompaniment of the theme *action* (m. 68-70).

After another statement of the theme *action* (m. 80-81), the melodic version of theme *Teodosio* is heard with its characteristic deceptive gesture into an F-sharp half-diminished chord. He rejects those thoughts and affirms that she loves him. The theme *Amaya A* is stated in E minor (m. 85-86). He remembers how she confided herself to him during the night of the full moon. The themes *Amagoya* and *Aitorechea* are stated under this part of the monologue (m. 91-95).

²¹ Sautu, “Amaya, análisis musical y guía temática”, p. 319. The legend of Lelo was particularly popular among the *fuertistas* of the 19th century. I have not been able to locate the origin of the melody.

Teodosio also remembers their conversations in Jaureguia with the theme *parents* first in C-sharp major (m. 96-98), then in F major (m. 100-101). The melodic theme *Teodosio* is stated again in m. 105-106, this time resolving on a C major chord. The monologue continues with the themes *Amaya A* and *C* and a brief statement of the theme *restlessness* as Teodosio resolves to reject any suspicions. An accentuated figure which derives from *Amaya A* in Act II, Sc I, m. 11-12 stresses the inspiration for battle that Teodosio finds in Amaya (Act III, Sc I, m. 132-136). The theme *restlessness* sounds as the scene draws to a close (m. 137-140).

The third scene commences with the appearance of a hermit with what the French treatises call a *quinte nue* – states Sautu.²² The hermit seems to sing a chant both sacred and feigned at once, which instills a somber tone to the passage. This theme Sautu calls *slander* (m. 5-7).

Musical example 32, *slander*:

Over this theme the hermit declares himself to be inspired by God. He knows – he says – that Teodosio is in distress. While Teodosio marches towards the battle his thoughts are in Jaureguia. The themes *war* (m. 21-22) and *parents* (m. 23-24) are stated. His feet are wrong, his thought is right – states the hermit. How is it wrong to come to the rescue of one’s brother battling at the gates of Pamplona? – asks Teodosio over the theme *war* (m 26-30) as the expressive intensity increases.

This is an enterprise worthy of the future king of the Basques – the hermit replies as the warrior theme *Teodosio* begins but never takes off to conclude in a deceptive cadence on A-sharp fully-diminished chord (m. 31-39). But there is a

²² Sautu, “*Amaya*, análisis musical y guía temática”, p. 320. Possibly another hint at Guridi’s hand.

more pressing matter at stake: the honour of the humble man's patrimony – continues the hermit once more on the somber theme *slander* (m. 42-54). While the husband is valiantly sacrificing his own rest and wedding night – the themes *jealousy* and *Asier* are now heard closely intertwined in an expressive crescendo (m. 56-58) – his wife is being unfaithful not only to her husband but to the faith she had sworn that morning.

Guridi has developed a small rhythmic theme preceded by a tremolo punctuating the more dramatic moments which now presents in a D-sharp half-diminished chord (m. 60). Teodosio is still resisting the hermit's word. The theme *Teodosio*, now abruptly syncopated, reflects the protagonist's reaction against the previous slander with its deceptive gesture to an F-sharp half-diminished chord (m. 61-62).

Musical example 33, *Teodosio*:

Musical example 33, *Teodosio*: This musical score is in 4/4 time and marked *ff*. It shows two staves, treble and bass. The treble staff begins with a D-sharp half-diminished chord (D#m7) and features a syncopated rhythmic figure. The bass staff features a tremolo in the first measure, followed by a syncopated rhythmic figure. The score is labeled with the number 62 in the upper right corner.

The tremolo and rhythmic figure that appeared in the trumpets in m. 60 are stated again in m. 64-65 as a possible sign of an ominous moment in Teodosio's mind. This figure was heard at the end of act III, scene II, m 143 before the hermit appears on the scene and will be heard again at the moment of the parricide.

Musical example 34, ominous moment:

Musical example 34, ominous moment: This musical score is in 4/4 time and marked *tr*. It shows a single bass staff. The score begins with a tremolo in the first measure, followed by a syncopated rhythmic figure. The score is labeled with the number 64 in the upper left corner.

Asier pretends to give up on his purpose as the theme *solitude of forest* is stated in different tonalities (m. 66-77). When the hermit utters that God's voice is lost in the desert the celli play the theme *slander* bare of harmonic accompaniment immediately followed by the theme *suspicion* which resolves in a D-sharp half-diminished chord (m. 80-81).

Teodosio asks for a sign while the theme *suspicion* is stated (m. 83-88). Asier claims that the fact that he himself is sent by God should be enough testimony. At the same time the theme *baptism* is stated in C-sharp minor with statements of the themes *suspicion* and *rival* (m. 89-93).

Asier hurries Teodosio to go to Jaureguia to witness the despicable crime that is being perpetrated against him in the bed of his holy parents. At the same time the theme *action* is stated (m. 95-103) with an isolated accentuated figure in m. 102 and 103 leading to a statement of the themes *Asier* and *Amaya A* intertwined (m. 105-106). Then the theme *Teodosio* is heard several times accentuated as his agitation grows until he cannot bear the hermit's narration. Teodosio then swears that they will all die at his own hands. The first statement of the theme *Teodosio* is heard in a syncopated form with the theme *action* (m. 107).

Musical example 35, *Teodosio* and *Action*:

The musical score is written for piano in 3/4 time. It begins at measure 108. The right hand (treble clef) plays a series of chords: G4-A4-B4, G4-A4-B4, G4-A4-B4, G4-A4-B4, and G4-A4-B4. The left hand (bass clef) plays a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes: G2, A2, B2, C3, D3, E3, F3, G3, A3, B3, C4, D4, E4, F4, G4, A4, B4. The piece concludes with a final chord in the right hand: G4-A4-B4.

Teodosio curses Amaya's deceitfulness: her love with the theme *Amaya C* (m. 118), her baptism with the themes *Amagoya* and *baptism* (m. 120-127). Amaya

is still a pagan after all – Teodosio thinks. The hermit on his part is pleased with the effect of his enterprise and utters on the side: the crows caw over Jaureguia.

The whole passage, from measure 128 to 165 is built over the theme *slander* as it undergoes several transformations during the last dialogue between the hermit and Teodosio. First it is stated in its original form and then in simplified variants. One of them, the simple four-note design derived from this theme, become ominous (m. 151). A persistent tremolando adds to the psychological agitation of the moment.

When Teodosio wakes up the squires, the theme *war* is stated in a variant fashion (m. 165-191). One of the squires points to him that he is erring the path. A change of scenery is staged during the lengthy orchestral interlude which starts with the theme *solitude of the forest* (m. 192-203). The theme *war* is stated in m. 203-212.

The different themes in this interlude follow in disorderly fashion, reflecting Teodosio's confused state of mind. The theme *Teodosio* is stated in m. 216-219 by itself, in m. 220-224 with the theme *war*. In the next three measures a new descending figure is developed from the theme *action* by the muted trumpets. The idea of the crime has been transferred from the inductor of the crime (Asier) to its executor (Teodosio) (m. 225-227).

In measures 227-228 the theme *Amaya A* is stated again with the melodic theme *Teodosio* at the end (m. 228). The rhythmic theme *Teodosio* (m. 233-241) occurs with the theme *rival* (m. 238) and leads to the theme *Asier* (m. 241-243 and 246-248). The theme *jealousy* is stated in m. 249-258. Then the theme *suspicion* is heard in descending patterns: first in a B minor chord, followed by D-sharp minor (m. 259), then D minor and E minor, (m. 260) to lead to F-sharp major in several statements of the same theme.

The theme *restlessness* which had been derived from *Amaya A* constitutes a good part of the section from m. 270 to m. 292. Only in m. 276, 283, 288-289, 292

the rhythmic theme *Teodosio* is reinstated briefly in different variants, and in m. 290-291 it is left just in its rhythmic form. The themes *Amaya A*, *Amagoya*, and *suspicion* (m. 297-305) lead to the theme *parents* (m. 306-309) as Teodosio now appears on the scene in Jaureguia.

The theme of the *parents* is followed by a subdued rhythmic figure in minor at first (m. 310-316) and major thirds (m. 316-321) representing the quiet *breathing* of the parent's life. This rhythmic pattern is coloured by a figure derived from the theme *parents* (m. 315-317).

Musical example 36, *breathing*:

The third scene begins without interruption stating twice a rhythmic variant of *Asier redeemer* (m. 1 and 2), and once a rhythmic variant of the theme *rival* (m. 3) to continue with the *breathing* pattern. In measures 7-9, and again in 10-11, the theme *slander* is heard in the basses. At this moment Teodosio enters the chamber. A new subject derived from the theme *executor of the action* that was introduced in act III, sc II, m. 225-227 and derived originally from the theme *action*, which will be labeled *parricide*, is stated repeatedly by cellos and basses in m. 9-10, 16-17, 19-20, 20-21, and 30-31.

Musical example 37, *parricide*:

The statement in m. 20-21 is introduced with a gesture derived from the theme *parents*. The theme of the parents' *breathing* has been heard alternating with reminiscences of the theme *solitude of the forest* (m. 12-15 and 18-20). The theme *slander* is stated first in B flat minor (m. 23-24), then in a sequence of diminished fifths on G, C, and F to derive into the last statement of the parents' *breathing* in minor thirds (m. 28-29). This theme also modulates to the theme *parricide* now in the thirds taken from the previous theme. There is a fermata on m. 31.

Three chords delineating the theme *slander* by the trombones announce the ominous end of the execution (m. 32-33). Teodosio exits the chamber with his bloody sword. At the same time the chords by the high strings in divisi that were used in Act II, Sc II, m. 134-142 when Amaya was narrating her childhood reappear in m. 34 with the theme *Amaya A* as she exits an adjacent door. The theme *parricide* continues sounding in the basses (m. 33-40).

The theme *Amaya A* accompanies her words as she speaks her surprise and the strange premonition that she would see him again. When Teodosio asks who were in the chamber she says, over the accompaniment of the theme *breathing*, that she put his parents there while he was away. Teodosio cries damnation and runs away. The orchestra states with strident accents the themes *parricide*, *jealousy*, and *slander* (m. 51-73). The last statements of the theme *parricide* (m. 67 and 69) are reduced to the two accentuated notes which had been heard in example 31. This figure is reduced to just one accentuated chord to finish the act.

Epilogue

The epilogue is comprised of a prelude (92 measures), scene I (203 measures), scene II (419 measures).

After the unfolding of the tragedy at the end of the third act, the epilogue introduces a passage of relief. It commences with a serene bucolic theme. Now

Teodosio is at the summit of Mount Aralar expiating for his crime. The epilogue starts with an English horn solo intoning the melody from the first half of the popular song *Txeru*. This song was arranged by Guridi in three different settings: the first in the first volume of *Euzkel-Abestijak* – Pliego no. 41 of 1913, in the lost volume of choral pieces *Cantos populares vascos* – Pliego no. 45b, and as a separate item – Pliego no. 116.²³ These are the melody stated in the first measures of the lyric drama and which is labeled *Aralar*, and the the popular song arranged by Guridi.

Musical example 38, *Aralar*:

Musical example 39, *Txeru*:

1

p Txé - ru kar - tze - lan da - go Da - mi - an kan - pu - an
 A - ma zeu ba - rik la - ri Na - go neu be - ne - tan

7

Txe - ru gu - ra leu - ke - la Ba - leu - ko al - bu - an Txe - ru!
 Er - du ta poz - tu nai - zu Zeu - re be - so - e - tan A - ma!

²³ The last may have been the same arrangement as that in Pliego 45b.

The flute responds to the English horn with a playful pastoral motive (m. 7-8). This Sautu identifies as the theme *shepherds*.²⁴ Also Sautu interprets the chorus that forms the section between measures 24 and 82 as the presence of the impersonal chorus of the Greek tragedy, an element alien to the human drama. This is the text:

Del Aralar sobre la cumbre
 refulge misteriosa lumbre.
 Allí Teodosio el parricida
 lleva penitente vida
 que el Santo Padre le impusiera.
 Por santo el pueblo le venera.
 Venid allá; áspera es la senda;
 venid; áspero es el camino:
 veréis el caso peregrino
 con que da fin esta leyenda.

The choir sings on a theme of religious character and in measures 60-64 and 67-71 it introduces the theme of the *penance*.

Musical example 40, *penance*:

Musical score for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass, measures 60-64. The score is in 3/4 time with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The lyrics are: "Ve - reis el ca - so pe - re - gri - no / I kus - ko zu - e.e des - ki au - nen". The score includes dynamics such as *pp* and *ppp*, and articulation marks like slurs and accents.

Teodosio, dressed as a hermit, is praying. Olalla arrives with Amaya. The latter is covered and stays behind in order to not be seen by Teodosio. The themes *Aralar* and *shepherds* are heard now played by the oboe (m. 78-87 and m. 88-92).

²⁴ Sautu, "Amaya, análisis musical y guía temática", p. 328.

The first scene starts with the theme *penance* in F-sharp minor in the high strings (m. 1-5), with a gesture remnant of the theme *shepherds* by the English horn (m. 5). The theme *penance* is then stated in D minor by the lower strings with the high strings holding long A's (m. 15-25).

Olalla breaks the silence that has been imposed on Teodosio to tell him that the Basque country is in danger since the Gothic kingdom has succumbed and the Arabs who are masters in Spain challenge them. At this point the warrior theme *Teodosio* returns (m. 32-33, 34-35, 36-40). It is, however, calmed by the voice of Teodosio who cannot abandon the penance imposed to him by the Pope. In measures 43-47 and 49-53 the theme *penance* is heard in E minor. He has to remain there until the chain which holds him breaks. Then the new theme of *pardon* sounds (m. 61-62 and m. 65-67) interpolated with the theme *baptism* in C major (m. 63-64).

Musical example 41, *pardon*

The image shows a musical score for three staves, likely representing high strings, middle strings, and low strings. The score is in 2/2 time and consists of three measures. The first measure is marked with a treble clef and a 2/2 time signature. The second measure is marked with a bass clef and a 2/2 time signature. The third measure is marked with a bass clef and a 2/2 time signature. The music is written in a style that suggests a parallel design of octaves and fifths. The first two staves are marked with *pp* *dolciss.* and feature a melodic line with a parallel design of octaves and fifths. The third staff features a bass line with a similar parallel design. A large bracket spans across all three staves, indicating a unified musical phrase.

This melody of the theme *pardon* has its origin in the song which has been classified in Azkue's *Cancionero* as 201 – *Ardaoak parau gaitu dantzari*. Gascue makes a note about the parallel design of the melody in octaves and fifths. Only the first 20 measures, at most, are used by Guridi note by note.

Musical example 42 (*Ardaoak parau*):

Allegretto

Ar - dao - ak pa - rau gai - tu dan - tza - ri, bai e - ta ko - pla - ri,
 ez - kai - tuk mu - til - ok e - gar - i ez or - ain se - gur - ki. Neu - re kon -
 tsu - e - lu - a be - ti ta - ber - na ra - ko ber - din dau gu - re fin - ak a - ra be - ar - ko.

This is – says Azkue – one of the longest and most typical songs of the Basque Songbook and it is a song in praise of wine.²⁵ In Iztueta’s collection it appears with the title *San Sebastián*. According to Azkue this is the ancient *aurresku* which at the time still was conserved in Beriz and its surroundings. It corresponds to the music called *oilarrauzka* = cock fight or challenge of the *aurresku* (first dancer) and *atzesku* (last dancer).

Azkue identifies this song as purely Bizcayan and states that he had heard it from four different individuals: one in Gabika, the others in Lekeitio, Zugaztieta (by Erekatxo), and Murélagu. As a proof of its antiquity Azkue states that the one he heard in Lekeitio was almost identical with the one in Iztueta’s song book.²⁶ The language is Guipuzkoan with a few words from the Labortan dialect. Azkue’s explanation of this is that the Bizcayan poets have the obsession of versifying in the Guipuzkoan dialect as a higher literary language.

It is worth pointing to the irony of the choice of song to represent the theme *pardon*. With it Guridi might have meant to use a song of wine as a celebratory symbol for the act of pardon which will save Teodosio from his chains in the subsequent miracle. There is almost without doubt a humourous effect intended by

²⁵ For a transcription of the song text see appendix 16.

²⁶ Azkue, *Cancionero Popular Vasco*, p. 293.

the composer especially for those who might be familiar with the popular song. It is difficult to determine for how many in the audience this would be a familiar tune but hard to imagine that it would be a large number. Even if this were a popular tune Guridi's humorous remark would certainly have been understood by just a few. None of the reviews read for this dissertation reflect on the song.

Teodosio confesses that on his return from Rome he went past Jaureguia yearning to see his beloved in her walk to church. The theme *Amaya C* is stated in different keys seven times. A mention of Amaya by Olalla prompts the theme *Amaya C* (m. 93-94). The whole of the theme *Amaya* is heard beginning in C minor (m. 100-107) as Teodosio remembers, and the music becomes gradually less restricted by the silence imposed by the penance. The theme *pardon* sounds to restore the subdued atmosphere (m. 108-124).

When Teodosio leaves the scene to enter his cave, Olalla and Amaya talk over the syncopated theme *Teodosio* that was presented in the third act (m. 125-142). When the theme *Amaya A* is heard again, Amaya realizes that they still love each other. New statements of *Teodosio* build the momentum of this passage (m. 147-156).

The theme *shepherds*, first presented by the horns, ends the first scene. The English horn starts the second scene with the theme *Aralar* and the strings in off-beat figures. A wounded knight has been brought by some shepherds over the sound of the theme *shepherds*. The theme *pardon* is heard shortly before Teodosio exits the cave (m. 30-32).

Olalla recognizes the knight's attire as a Goth who might be a spy for the moors. At the same time the theme *rival* is heard (m. 38-53). Teodosio gives the wounded knight something to drink. When he asks where he is, Teodosio answers that the heavenly clemency has brought him to a poor man in penance. The theme *penance* is stated at the same time (m. 58-61).

The knight says there is no clemency for him. Pardon reaches all, says Teodosio over the theme *pardon* (m. 72-77). The sounds of the *solitude of the forest*, *breathing*, and *parricide* are reproduced at a faster pace as if remembering the succession of events in the parricide. Teodosio says: you are looking at a miserable parricide. Both the syncopated and the warrior versions of the theme *Teodosio* are heard as the knight becomes aware of the identity of the hermit (m. 99-109).

In his dying moments the knight wants to receive confession. The theme *Asier* is stated in m. 118-121 and the theme *baptism* in m. 122-127. He is not a Christian – the knight confesses – while both the theme *action* and *Amagoya* (m. 130-144) are stated. He is Asier, the same who induced Teodosio to commit the crime. Not satisfied with committing the crime against his personal rival he promised the leaders of the Half Moon (the Muslims) to hand them power over the Basque people. At this moment the theme *slander* is heard (m. 154-156 and 158-160) and developed in variations in conjunction with the theme *Amagoya*.²⁷ The theme *war*, consisting of just the call with repeated notes in triplets, is now simplified to just A-flats without a third.

The proof is the letters Asier is bringing with him to Tarik from the *alhama* (or *aljama*) of Pamplona. Asier gives them to his rival in sign of submission and repentance, but Teodosio, full of resentment, does not pay attention to his enemy's speech. The theme *suspicion* sounds in the bassoons followed by bass clarinet (m. 189-190 and m. 191-192), then in the bass clarinet followed by celli (193-194), with the high strings playing a melodic syncopated variant of the theme *Teodosio* (m. 194-195). Another statement is heard in the violins answered immediately by the violas (m. 197-199).

Teodosio struggles with his wish for revenge when Amaya, knowing his state of mind, prays that his anger be subsided. The theme *Amaya C* carries the melodic responsibility of measures 205-206 and 209-210 as a portion of the theme *slander* is

²⁷ This is particularly illuminating since the Muslim religion and the pagan religion of Amagoya are in this instance conflated. The primitive religion is seen as a foreign religion.

heard in m. 206. The theme *Amaya A* is stated in m. 207-208 with the deceptive cadence characteristic of the theme *Teodosio* leading from G to E-flat major.

As Amaya says that he has expiated enough for his guilt the theme *penance* is stated in C-sharp major. Several statements of the themes *Amaya C*, first in C (m. 218), then in alternation of F-sharp major₇ and E minor₇ chords introduce the theme *Amaya A*, follow (m. 219-222) to culminate in the theme *penance* in a solemn B minor homophonic statement (m.223-227).

Asier calls on Teodosio, and the theme *penance* is heard in the exact same arrangement. The theme *Teodosio* leads the B minor tonality with its deceptive gesture into G minor in m. 234-235. Asier protests that heaven is accepting his profound repentance but Teodosio is not. Asier requests baptism again as the theme *baptism* is stated now in B major (m. 239-248) to bring it to G major (m. 249-250), and B-flat major (m.251-254) to return and remain in B major (255-265). At this moment Teodosio decides to baptize Asier. Asier gives Teodosio his blessing as a rhythmic outline of the theme *rival* is stated on a repeated B note.

When Asier dies the theme *rival* is heard twice (m. 273-274 and 276-277) over an obsessive tremolo in F-sharp. A tumultuous roar comes from the cave and Teodosio cries out for the Archangel Saint Michael and the theme *pardon* (in origin a wine drinking song) is sung by the choir as those present kneel. A great clarity illumines the cave and the roar stops with the tremolo. The theme *pardon* is stated brightly in E major in m. 290 by orchestra and choir. In m. 294 the theme *baptism* still in E minor takes over in the horns over fast scales in the violins. It returns to the theme *pardon* in m. 297 but only to come back to the second half of the theme *baptism* in m. 298. This theme is stated with stressed accentuations by the brass in m. 301-303.

In m. 310-315 the syncopated version of the theme *Teodosio* is stated as the choir sings the end of Teodosio's penance. Then the choir sings *a capella*: "Blessed he who forgives" to the theme *baptism* (m. 322-327). A tremolando variant of the

theme *baptism* (m. 328-331) leads to the theme *pardon* first stated in B major in the lower strings (m. 332-333), then in A-flat major in the violins (m. 335-338). Amaya discovers herself (with a high C) and the theme *baptism* sounds in C major (m. 341-342). This theme is stated at the same time with the theme *Amaya C* (m. 343-348) and then the theme *Amaya A* when Teodosio remarks on Amaya's faithful love.

The warrior theme *Teodosio* takes up m. 356-367 and m. 377-394. The theme *pardon* is stated in C-sharp minor in m. 369-372 and in C major in m. 373-376. The choir sings glory to God to the theme while the trumpets state a theme accentuated that could be derived from the theme *Amaya A* or from the theme *pardon*. A few measures of themes *baptism*, in duple, and *war* in triple hemiola pattern confirm the E major tonality to end the drama in a Christian apotheosis.

With the musical commentary of Arroita Jauregui's libretto Guridi achieves a magnificent result. The music reflects implicitly the complexity of the legend of *Amaya* with a degree of subtlety and psychological insight and leads the epic to a logical conclusion. The use of *Leitmotive* and the tonal development underlie an extraordinarily broad symbolic system. Guridi uses and develops popular melodies masterfully as a referential guideline for the listener who is familiar with them. For instance the song *Ilargitan* in which the singer appeals to the moon for help is wisely used as the theme for the ritual of the full moon. The comical implications of the song *Ardaoak parau* let Guridi, perhaps only perceptible for the connoisseur of Basque popular melodies, introduce a humorous element if only surreptitiously.

The voices are carefully intertwined with the orchestra in balance with the instruments. The instruments however carry most of the themes in the musical commentary. Guridi's tonal musical language has been criticized (see chapter II, p. 109) and music historians as being conservative and out of style for his time.²⁸ This

²⁸ See especially Tomás Marco, *Historia de la Música Española, Siglo XX* (Vol. 6). Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1983.

may be true in the sense that the composer uses a tonal language, but within this obvious fact, the composer uses a complex and forward looking musical syntax.

In this first study of a work much neglected it is not possible to give a balanced assessment of every aspect of its style. Questions of this nature will have to be addressed after a thorough musical analysis of the different sections of the drama. The musical language is definitely neither a shortcoming of the lyric drama nor one of the reasons why it has not been heard by larger audiences. Reasons for this are merely cultural and perhaps political.

Conclusion

Amaya seems to be the culminating work of the movement of Basque opera. This movement had its origin in the *fuerrista* renaissance that followed the defeat of the Carlists in 1876. The *fuerrista* movement itself led to a more radical separatist nationalism which had its own cultural expressions exemplified in the zarzuela *Vizkay'tik Bizkaira* written by Azkue in 1895.

Musical nationalism and regionalism, as formulated in different fashions and with different emphases by Peña y Goñi, Arana Goiri, Azkue, and Gascue, have two essential characteristics: first, the rejection of a foreign element which degrades the pure indigenous culture; and second, the search for origins in the popular element. For these reasons, Peña y Goñi (1881) reject the dominant presence of Italian opera, and Azkue (1895) the impure influences of language and customs brought into the Basque country by the teachers and the young peasants returning from military duty. For Peña y Goñi the model of the national genre is Barbieri's work insofar as it exploits the source of popular song. Similarly, for the theoreticians of Basque opera, the basis for melodies ought to be the popular songs. For this purpose Azkue sets himself to collect a wealthy number of songs which he publishes as a *Cancionero Popular Vasco* (1924).

Although Gascue (1906) rejects the subjects of war and struggle between Basques and wants to exploit those of the life in the farmhouse and the legend of the *fuerrista* writers, he also brings up the characteristic opposition to the hustle and bustle of the modern city and the brief but significant element of the bullfight. He most importantly rejects the bloody encounters between the gangs of Oñacinos and Gamboinos portrayed in Zapirain's opera *Chanton Piperri* (1899). In Gascue's mind there was no purpose for Zapirain to depict the internal struggles among Basques. Thus he rejects war as an unfortunate event of the past. Despite Gascue's objection *Chanton Piperri* stands out in fact as the clearest example of a Basque national opera

since its theme leads to the exhortation for the unification of all the Basques in one nation. As Morel Borotra points out, the path for a subject of this sort had been cleared by the composition of zarzuelas with a direct political statement of rejection of foreign elements which followed the model of Azkue's *Vizkay'tik Bizkaira* (1895) and which flourished around the political activity of Arana Goiri.

Instead of the themes of war Gascue finds two sources for his brand of nationalism – which Morel Borotra identifies as regionalism: the awe-inspiring natural landscapes, and the legends of the Basque country. The legends ought to be those of the *fuéristas*. Both operas *Mirentxu* (1910) and *Mendi-Mendiyan* (1910) seem to follow Gascue's programme in the use of natural landscapes and the life in the farmhouse. Both elements are also essential in Arana Goiri's initial formulation of his nationalist programme.

Although Gascue's programme exalts the Basque country, his message is not one of struggle for liberation or independence. Gascue stops short of this national project. Thus Zapirain and Alzaga's *Chanton Piperri* stands alone as a nationalist opera before *Mirentxu*, *Mendi-Mendiyan*, and Zapirain and Alzaga's own *Dama de Amboto*, which following Gascue's prescriptions, is based also on a *fuérista* legendary theme.

The opera season of 1910 in Bilbao is in appearance highly successful. Two musically mature works are presented by two very talented young composers. But the season shows problematic signs in the enterprise of creating a movement of Basque opera. Until that year, all attempts had proven to be on a smaller scale. The representation of works of the magnitude of *Mirentxu* and *Mendi-Mendiyan* however prove that the cost of such movement would be too high for such a small audience and geographical area, and this limitation is accentuated by the event that there is not a firmly established tradition of opera in the Basque country. The composers of Spanish zarzuelas on the other hand have broad and well established audiences throughout the Iberian geography that support the cultivation of such works. The

young Guridi would soon be lured in his career as composer for the stage by the popularity of the minor genres.

However before the composition of zarzuelas Guridi embarks in the project of writing a lyric drama on a subject of epic underpinnings. *Amaya* (1920) is the product of ten years of intense and arduous work. It represents without doubt an imminent triumph but it appears at a time when nationalist movements, and arguably when nationalism as an ideology, are in the decline. For this reason, Guridi's lyric drama does not receive an attention commensurate with the magnitude of the effort of its creation.

The legend created by Navarro Villoslada in which the Carlist Christian ideology triumphs in the glorification of the Basques is translated into the music-dramatic medium with remarkable intuition and accuracy by Guridi. *Amaya's* rich literary background has two main sources: on the one hand, a medieval legend of parricide and redemption with resonances in other literary traditions; on the other, the invention of a Basque cosmogony by Augustin de Chaho, in which the myth of the Basque patriarch Aitor takes a central position, and its development by Navarro Villoslada. Both Chaho and Villoslada contribute to the realization of a new epic which Guridi sets himself to narrate in his lyric drama. In this mythology of triple authorship there is also an element of distinction or rejection. As a precursor, Chaho makes the distinction between the *voyants*, a superior human type, and the *croyants* or followers. The race of the Basques is the race of the *voyants*. Villoslada rejects the elements that are not Christian: on the one hand the Jew, a corroding internal presence within the Basque Christian religion, takes advantage of the fanaticism of a priestess who hangs on to a religion which is obsolete and devoid of meaning; the Arab, on the other hand, is a distant and powerful enemy who threatens from outside the survival of Christianity.¹

¹ The relations between Basque and Goth in Villoslada are complex and should be treated in a more specific study. For now it is sufficient to show traits of opposition in these different sources.

These aspects, explicitly narrated by Chaho and Villoslada, impose themselves in the creation of the lyric drama *Amaya* which becomes, without doubt for some literary and musical critics, an epic of the Basques. In this epic the character of Don Theodosio de Goñi and his legend of the parricide bring an essential element: an epic distance recreated by the previously acquired fame of the protagonist who stands as a tragic figure in front of his own fate, a fame which is inherited through a popular legend transmitted from old and recorded as such by the Friar Thomas de Burgui in the late 18th century.

The reduction of humorous elements in Villoslada's novel stresses the author's intent of parodying the genre of the epic and of creating an epic distance. This distance in Villoslada's novel is accentuated in Guridi's lyric drama. The hidden gesture of using a drinking song for the theme *pardon* which appears in the epilogue of *Amaya* seems a confirmation that Guridi cannot escape the weight of his mission as a singer of the Basque race. Guridi's use of popular songs from the Basque country confirms the aspiration of this lyric drama to become a national epic. Guridi's reflections on popular song however seem to undermine this aspiration.

Guridi inherits two distinct musical cultures: the zarzuela tradition of Spain and the school of Vincent D'Indy. The latter element, which has a strong influence in his education as a composer, leads him to take a firm aesthetic position which distances him from the common singer of popular song. At the time of the composition of *Mirentxu*, he takes a step away by showing disdain for popular melodies and "the *horrible* marches of return from the *romería*" as he writes to Usandiza, as well as for his predecessors in the composition of Basque operas (namely Zapirain and Colin).

Guridi confirms this distance between composer and popular song during his speech of reception at the *Academia de Bellas Artes* by assigning the composer the ultimate task of creating beauty and of using popular song merely as a tool of composition. By creating beauty the composer instills new life to those otherwise

decaying items of popular expression. But this is only a superficial perception in the characterization of the problem of the composition of *Amaya* in its dialectic between aesthetics and compositional technique. The use of popular melodies in *Amaya* has been exemplified with melodies such as *Ene arrerosteko*, used for the theme *Amaya*, *Aitonaren esana* for the theme *parents*, and *Itxarkundia* for the theme *baptism*. But in *Amaya* Guridi invents a popular melody for the theme *joy of feast* and parodies thus his own role as composer. Guridi himself is trying to become the creator of popular song and thus to establish himself as the singer of an epic.

Guridi however is disillusioned with the reception of his work. He is disappointed by the fact that a work of this magnitude is not received by a wider audience and that it seems to fall in empty air. The composer changes his compositional path apparently for practical reasons but *Amaya* remains for the rest of his career the magnum opus among his works for the stage. The creation of an epic is closed and it will serve later adaptations in orchestral suites and themes for the film *Amaya* (1952). Guridi makes a dramatic statement by turning to the more established and certainly compositionally and aesthetically less demanding tradition of Spanish zarzuela, and stays on this path until the creation of another work for the stage that may compete with the standard of *Amaya: Peñamariana*.²

Amaya, in its generic manifestations as a novel and a lyric drama, is an interesting phenomenon and it is surprising it has not attracted scholarly attention until this day. The reason is perhaps its limited audience and its paradigmatic isolation. The political and cultural ramifications of its reception from the *fuerrista* movement and the Carlist ideology to its use in 1952 during Franco's regime (and beyond) are also cause for its isolation and have the potential for complex and impassioned arguments.

The concept of an epic is not uniform in the different sources of *Amaya*. Chaho uses the Basque language in his article *Aitor, légende cantabre* and finds

² I thank particularly Fr Bilbao Aristegui who insistently made a point of Guridi's intention with this work. This is another work in need of analytical attention.

inspiration in his own illuminist ideas and knowledge of Indo-European languages to create a cosmogony of the Basques who were raised to the category of *voyants* in the natural primitive religion of humanity. Villoslada, inspired by Chaho's ideas, elaborates, in Castilian, a Christian epic with the Basque people as a model for its strong sense of independence. In Villoslada's mythology the ancient pagan religion of the Basques, described previously by Chaho, has to yield to the new Christian religion that is embraced by the new Basque race. This race unites with the other Christian races of the Iberian peninsula to establish a new Christian nation. Villoslada's *Amaya* has been claimed by Campión and Blanco García as the epic of the Basques, however its Christian component weighs strongly in its conception. The lyric drama *Amaya*, rather than an epic of the Basques, is a Christian epic in which the Basques are the protagonists and in which the new nation is the Christian Spain envisioned by Villoslada.

Gascue argues that a Basque regional opera is more likely to be successful than a Spanish national opera because of the nature of both languages. The language is thus a fundamental element for this theorist of regional opera. The closest collaboration between composer and librettist had been achieved in Zapirain and Alzaga's *Chanton Piperri* which was written directly in Basque. The ideal would have been, if they had succeeded, Azkue's operatic attempts *Ortzuri* (1911) and *Urlo* (1914) for which the author wrote both text and music.

In the movement of Basque opera, however, the most common process was to write the libretto in Castilian and then have it translated into Basque. This becomes a somewhat artificial solution but one with which composers who did not have a thorough knowledge of the language would feel more comfortable. Thus Arroita-Jauregui writes the libretto for the lyric drama *Amaya* and Arrue translates it into Basque. It is difficult to determine from the sources available to what extent Guridi used the Castilian or the Basque text. The study of the composition and

performance history of *Amaya* would illuminate this issue.³ In any case, the use of the Basque language in *Amaya* seems at first sight incidental given the nature of Villoslada's epic. In this regard once again *Chanton Piperrri*, an opera conceived in Basque since its very beginning, represents a natural example of the national genre.

Beyond the question of language, other questions remain open about this lyric drama. A thorough tonal and thematic analysis of its different sections should be realized. The style of the opera as well as its tonal language need to be assessed after the analysis. The place of this opera within larger operatic trends also needs to be determined.

Among other areas that could be developed is the reception of *Amaya* in Prague and in Spain after the civil war of 1936. The film produced by Ulargui in 1952 has an obvious interest by itself and within the history of film. It would be advisable to publish the score of the drama from its only source available at the moment as soon as copyright restrictions allow. It would also be advisable to reprint a revised version of Pliego's already very complete catalogue of the works of Guridi. During the realization of the project of this dissertation it became apparent that many different facets that could be taken into consideration inevitably had to be left aside. *Amaya* provides a theme with a rich and complex variety of questions and is, perhaps arguably, the most important of a long catalogue of compositions by a musician who deserves much closer scholarly attention.

³ The *Sociedad Coral de Bilbao* has performance records only since 1953.

Appendix 1

Peña y Goñi writes about Navarrese and Basque composers

Joaquín Gaztambide and Emilio Arrieta, both from Navarre, became the essential pillars of the creation of the national genre, the zarzuela. Arrieta is also an important contributor to the building of the *Conservatorio de María Cristina*, at the time called *Escuela Nacional de Música* and future prime institution for music education in Spain. Peña y Goñi states that Gaztambide and Arrieta together with Francisco Asenjo Barbieri (nicknamed *Vermuthmeister* because his name resembled the word *ajenjo* – from Lat and Gk *absinthium* – a kind of liquor) are the principal composers of zarzuela and therefore important pillars in the creation of the national genre. This is no exaggeration on Peña y Goñi's part, as today they are still considered founders of the genre.

Joaquín Gaztambide, born in Tudela 1822, became a student of the chapel-master Pablo Rubla. In Pamplona he became a student of José Guelbenzu and later of composition with Mariano García, a former student of Guelbenzu himself and chapel-master at the cathedral. Gaztambide earned his living, at age 12, playing the double bass at a theatre. At age 20 Gaztambide moved to Madrid, destination of many young musicians aspiring to compose and perform both Italian opera or *zarzuela*. [We have seen that Guridi himself followed his steps during his childhood years.]

(Pascual) Emilio Arrieta. Peña y Goñi encounters difficulty when he attempts to define Arrieta's *genres*, is it a *zarzuela*, *ópera cómica* or *drama lírico*? And more so when he has to associate this composer with the national movement. Arrieta studied in Italy during his youth, thus his compositional style is markedly Italian. We should note that Arrieta was Valentín Arin's teacher, who also taught Guridi in his childhood. This is an interesting paragraph:

la suprema cualidad del estilo de Arrieta fué llegar siempre á la meta de las conveniencias del género,... el cuadro del maestro ha encajado siempre en el marco, porque se ha amoldado constantemente á esa difícilísima media tinta que separa la ópera cómica del drama lírico.... En otro lugar habia dicho que Arrieta habia hecho de la zarzuela, la ópera cómica cosmopolita, y esto precisa una explicacion que habrá de darnos idea exacta de la individualidad del maestro.

The third composer is the Vizcayan Valentín Zubiaurre y Urionabarrenechea (1837-1914) *né a Garay, Vizcaya, dans 1837*. He appears in Peña y Goñi's book as an important figure. Zubiaurre is a product of the [thunderbolt] *relámpago de entusiasmo nacional* prompted by the foreigner Di-Franco.¹ Di-Franco, an Italian

¹ Peña y Goñi, *La ópera española*, p. 632.

himself, is worthy of Peña's praise as the promoter of Zubiaurre among other figures. Zubiaurre thus becomes a unique figure in the [failed] attempt to create a national opera; perhaps the last one. Zubiaurre and Valentín Arín become professors at the Royal Conservatory of Music in Madrid. They both participate in the activity of the *Orfeón Euskeria*.²

Appendix 2

Toribio Alzaga and Buenaventura Zapirain's *Chanton Piperri* (1899)

There exists a piano reduction of 177 pages with the title *Chanton Piperri*³, *Opera Vascongada, imprenta de Breitkopf und Härtel en Leipzig* on the cover. The initial unnumbered page repeats the title:

*Chanton Piperri, ópera vascongada en tres actos, música de don Buenaventura Zapirain, letra de don Toribio Alzaga.*⁴

Two portraits (photograph) of Zapirain and Alzaga take the centre of the page. The next unnumbered page consists of the argument with text in two columns. The left column presents the argument of the opera in Castilian, the right column in *Euskara*. The following is a translation of the Castilian version of the synopsis of the story line.

First act

Don Martín de Lazkano, a distinguished gentleman in the camp of the *oñacinos* summons his supporters at the foot of his castle. Txanton Piperri, after reminding them of the origin of the struggle among the two camps, reveals his intention to attack the palace of don Miguel de Lizarreta, rabid *gamboino* who has the whole region appalled by his acts of vandalism. Later Txanton announces that the heartaches of the struggle will be compensated by the abundant loot (plunder) that they will seize. Txanton ponders joyfully his own bucolic talents.

As he sees them depart, don Martín de Lazkano congratulates himself for his own decision and for the proofs of fidelity he constantly receives from Txanton, poor

² Natalie Morel Borotra, *L'opéra Basque (1884-1933)*. Thèse de Doctorat préparée sous la direction de Monsieur le Professeur Serge Gut. Université de Paris -Sorbonne (Paris IV), 1992, p. 211.

³ In the scores, librettos, reviews and pamphlets the name of the title is spelled in the fashion of the time: "*Chanton*" throughout. The spelling "*Txanton*" may also occur.

⁴ The standard legalese follows the title: *Propiedad de los autores para todos los paises, quienes se reservan el derecho de ejecución, representación, reproducción y traducción. Hecho el depósito que marca la ley.*

orphan whom he adopted as a child and whom, according to the affection with which he distinguishes him, he considers a son.

Txanton arrives to communicate that the *oñacinos* in a close by orchard await the arrival of their lord. As they depart, Maricho, Lazcano's daughter, tries to stop them because of her fear for the fate of his father. Only she and Txanton stay in the castle. A group of masked *gamboinos*, under don Miguel de Lizarreta's command, take advantage of the absence of the [camp] assault and set the castle on fire, they wound Txanton and capture Maricho.

Second act

After the assault and fire a bloody encounter takes place between the two camps. The *oñacinos* liberate Maricho and come out victorious. The lord of Lazkano takes then refuge in the house of his close friend Don Pedro de Berástegi, Basque nobleman who opposes the struggle between camps. In his palace starts the first act with the arrival of Maricho's friends who come to celebrate her liberation. Txanton, who has remained wounded in the mountains, comes to meet his lord. Lazkano tells Berástegi he has been told by a *gamboino* that Txanton had betrayed him by setting the castle on fire and by inciting the imprisonment of Berástegi's daughter. Berástegi is surprised by the tale at first, even more so when Txanton arrives in search of his lord. The *oñacinos* then denounce Txanton's treason and he, caught unaware by their slander, retreats with Berástegi to whom he tries to prove that he is innocent and the the accusation unjust.

Lazkano, Maricho, her friends, and the group of *oñacinos* insist on Txanton's treason against whom they throw violent insults. Berástegi refutes them and proclaims Txanton's innocence but the *oñacinos*, exasperated by the presence of the supposed traitor, insult and injure him to the extreme of threatening his life.

Third act

After trying unsuccessfully to prove his innocence, Txanton is thrown out of the palace, despite the support of the lord of Berástegi. Sad and hungry, he appears in the square where the third act develops.

The people of the village cram the square little by little and celebrate with dance and festival the forthcoming peace. Summoned by the lord of Berástegi, the lords of Lazkano, Loyola, Lizarreta and Balda, principal chiefs of the *oñacinos* and *gamboinos*, arrive. The meeting however is not successful and instead of arriving at an agreement they insult each other and end up in a fight.

At this moment Maricho arrives and communicates the event of the apparition in Aloña of the Virgin of Aranzazu. The prodigy moves the gangsters who propose to visit the Virgin. The lord of Berástegi however warns them that it would be necessary to forget mutual resentments and to embrace each other in

friendship, lest their presence would become a profanation. The gangsters resist for a while, but the exhortations of Berástegi, the chanting of the pilgrims and the echoes of the bell heard from the immediate church, end up changing their minds and they walk arm-in-arm into the temple.

As he comes back and answering lord Berástegi's question, the lord of Lazkano is irritated against Txanton whom he will not forgive his infamous treachery. The lord of Lizarreta however testifies Txanton's innocence. The lord of Lazkano regrets his conduct toward Txanton and as soon as he appears in the portico he meets him, embraces him and asks for forgiveness for his unjust action. The lord of Berástegi exhorts those present to be good Vasconians. To this they all respond with a hymn to *Euskalherria* which ends the opera.

The following unnumbered page repeats the title: *Chanton Piperri* and a list of characters:

Maricho	tiple	Sta. Garin
Chanton	tenor	Sres. Martínez y Ercilla
Lazkano	barítono	Sres. Florez é Irigoyen
Berástigi [sic]	bajo	Sres. Eznaola y Arando
Lizarreta	tenor	Sres. Gadea
Balda	tenor	Sres. Zubiria
Loyola	barítono	Sres. Irigoyen y Florez

Coros de oñacinos, gamboinos, tiples, danzaris y coro general. Subsequently there is an index with the division of the opera in three acts and each act in nine numbers.

The first page starts with the title: *Chanton Piperri, opera vascongada en 3 actos (Don Toribio Alzaga), Don Buenaventura Zapirain*; and the beginning of the first act.

The manuscript scores of [both] *Chanton Piperri* and *La dama de Anboto* are located at *Eresbil* archive of Basque Composers.⁵

Toribio Alzaga Anabitarte: biography

Toribio Alzaga Anabitarte is the most popular playwright in the Basque language.⁶ He was born in San Sebastián on 16th April 1861. Because of the *Carlista* war he took refuge in Ciburu (Labort, same province as Augustin de Chaho), where he followed the course of secondary school (*bachillerato*). He wrote his first comedy, *Aterako gera (We shall come out)*, in 1888 in Ciburu. He devoted the rest of his life to the writing of comedy and opera, always in Basque [vascuence].

⁵ This was the case during the month of February of 2000.

⁶ Bernardo Estornés Lasa. *EGIPV* vol. 1, p. 559.

He wrote *Santo Tomase'ko feriya* (*The fair of Saint Thomas*, 1894), *Axentxi ta Kontxexi*⁷ (1914), *Bernaiño' ren larriyak* (Bernardo's predicaments, 1915), *Oleskari beriya* (1916), *Txiribiri* (1918), translation of *Ramuntxo* by Pierre Loti (1920), *Andre Joxepa Trompeta* (1921), *Eleizatxo'ko ardailea* (The spinner in the chapel), *Arpuxa kalian*, *Bost-urtian* (*In five years*, 1922), *Etxietan* (*In the houses*), *Zalaparta* (*Agitation, (riot?)*), *Amantxi* (*Grandmother*), *Tan tarrantan*, *Zanpantzar* (*Carnival*, 1923), *Neskazar* (*Spinster*), *Mutilzar* (*Bachelor*), *Osaba* (*Uncle*), *Gizon ona* (*The good man*), *Baba lora*, *Urdailleko*, *Barruntzia*, *Ezer ez ta festa*, *Biotz berak*, etc. He is author of the operas *Chanton Piperri* (1899), *Amboto* and *Gli kornamenti* (1906). In 1926 he translated Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, with the title *Irritza* (*The ambition*). He was president for life of the *Escuela de la Lengua y Declamación Euskaras* in San Sebastián, member of the *Consistorio de Juegos Florales* in the same city, collaborator of the journal *Euskal-Erria*, and member of the Academy of the Basque Language.

[Antonio Arzac wrote a report [in Castilian] on the four performances of *Chanton Piperri* at the *Teatro Arriaga* in Bilbao.]

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Appendix 3

Arroita-Jauregui's warning

The following warning (*advertencia*) is reproduced at the opening of the libretto and of the synopsis of *Amaya*. It is evident from this warning that Arroita-Jauregui intended the legend of Don Theodosio de Goñi as the nuclear story line while Navarro Villoslada's *invented* characters would offer a backdrop for the drama.

⁷ *Ta, eta*: and.

Aunque en homenaje a la hermosa novela de donde se ha tomado, y también por razón de eufonía, lleve esta obra el título de *Amaya*, más propiamente debiera llevar el de *Teodosio de Goñi* o bien el de *San Miguel de Excelsis*.

La tradición del origen del célebre santuario navarro es, en efecto, la que ha sugerido el asunto de este drama lírico; sino que para dramatizarla se ha seguido la versión que de ella dió navarro Villoslada, exornándola de circunstancias de su invención, pero verosímiles y poéticas, al incluirla como uno de sus principales episodios en su épica novela.

Así, pues, Amagoya, Asier, las relaciones familiares de Amaya con ellos, el llamarse con este nombre la que en la tradición es Constanza de Butrón, la trama resultante de la intervención de estos personajes, son de la fantasía del novelista; el hecho fundamental del parricidio involuntario, la inducción a él por un misterioso ermitaño (que se supone ser el diablo), la penitencia de Teodosio impuesta por el Papa y el prodigioso final de ella, pertenece a la historia tradicional, que tiene su monumento en el santuario del Aralar, y su principal cronista en el Padre Burgui.

Appendix 4

Chronica de los reyes de Navarra by the Licenciado Mossen Diego Ramírez de Abalos de la Piscina (1534)

The text with the legend as is narrated by d'Avalos is reproduced by Caro Baroja.

Crónica de los Reyes de Navarra por el licenciado Diego Ramírez de Avalos de la Piscina.

(Fols. 39 vto.:)

“... y acontecio a la sazón que un caballero Sr. de Goñi y del mismo linaje partio con mucha debocion confessando y comulgando el qual hera recién cassado y allegando algo alexado de los suyos cerca de Roncesballes en lo espeso de la montaña topo con un denominio en havito de muy santo hermitaño, el qual le persuadio con muchas razones que se bolbiese para su cassa a mirar por sus padres biejos y por su honrra y luego que en este punto le toco el cavallero muy alterado por la honrra le hiço grandes preguntas que a que causa le decia que bolbiese a mirar por su honrra. Cavallero ciertamente yo me duelo de ti (*) y compasión porque siendo

(fol. 40 r.:)

sierbo de Dios tu muger te haga maldad con un escudero criado tuyo y es verdad que esta noche seran juntos en tu cama. Entonçes el caballero muy afrentado sin ablar palabra se bolbio para su cassa y llegando tarde se puso muy secretamente en un lugar tal que pudiese entrar de noche y el diablo puso en voluntad a sus padres que se acostasen en la cama de su hijo y a la muger en la de los padres y quando fue

hora el cavallero entro y allo que dormian dos personas y creyendo que fuesen los adulterynos dióles tales heridas y tan presto sus padres fueron muertos, lo qual por las bozes que dio la mug.r conoçido retraxose presto a la montaña sobre su cassa y conoscio el engaño del enemigo se fue para Roma y beso el pié al papa Urbano y conto su gran desbentura y el papa le inyunçio por penitencia que tomase una argolla al pescueço y que se tornase desnudo y descalço en su tierra y que en la mas aspera montaña hiciese penitencia entre las bestias fieras y el obediente cavallero ansi lo hiço y por suerte habitaba en de un dragon que toda la tierra confin perdia y a cabo de siete años andando el cavallero y a la montaña estando en oración bio descender el dragon muy grande por la montaña a yuso y creyendo biniese por permisión divina dio grandes bozes llamando al arcangel San Miguel y supitamente descendió el arcangel y mato al dragon y el argolla cayo echa pedaços del cuello del perdonado cavallero y abitoó santamente con su muger e hiçieron la yglesia y la doctaron del monte Celso que es tres leguas de Pamplona y el cavallero tomo por armas la cruz de oro en colorado y el dragon y la argolla quebrada en 4 partes asta el dia de oy es linage señalado y muy noble en Navarra el de goñi barones singulares en sciencia...”⁸

Appendix 5

Don Esteban de Garibay y Zamalloa: *Compendio historial de las chronicas y vniversal historia de todos los reynos d’España, donde se escriven las vidas de los Reyes de Navarra*

Caro Baroja cites the following text taken from a document in the archive of the Duke of Villahermosa, file (*legajo*) from 1541 by Julio de Urquijo in which the date of 1015 is given:

Genealogía y descendencia de los caballeros y señores de los palacios de Goñi y de la pecha de Goñi y su valle con cuya ocasión refiere el caso de don Theodosio de Goñi, e historia de la aparición de San Miguel de Excelsis.

Un cavallero llamado Don Juan García Goñy, fijo de Don García Arnald de Goñy Señor de los palacios de Goñy y de la pecha de Goñy y su valle veniendo de la guerra de los Moros a su casa en tiempo del Rey Don García el tembloso quatreño Rey de Navarra que començo areynar en el año de mil y cinco y reyno doze años. Un día muy de mañana cerca de Goñy topo con un demonio en figura y abito de pastor de la casa del padre de dicho cavallero y despues que el dicho pastor saludo y hablo al dicho cavallero le dijo como en tal cambra del palacio de su padre hallaría a su muger que yacía con un hombre, oyendo esto el dicho cavallero y subido a la dicha cambra donde el pastor le dixo y sin mas ver ni saber hecho mano a su espada y degollo a los que estaban en la cama de la dicha cambra y eran su padre y su madre

⁸ Note in Caro Baroja. *La leyenda de don Teodosio de Goñi*, p. 308.

y hecho esto salio de la casa y al salir topo con su muger que venia de la yglesia y como la vio turbado de lo hecho con mucha congoxa y dolor le pregunto quienes eran los que dormian en la dicha cambra dixole su muger que eran su padre y su madre. Oydo esto con muchos lloros y lagrimas dixo que los havia muerto pensando que era ella que dormia con un hombre como el pastor se lo havia dicho y luego cavalgo sobre su cavallo y fue a Pamplona al Obispo de Pamplona que se llamava Don Sancho al cual son (con?) muchas lagrimas confesó el dicho caso pidiendo perdon y absolucion y el dicho Obispo visto el caso tan rezio aunque desastrado remitiolo al padre Santo a que le perdonase y le absolviese deziendo que el Obispo no podía absolverlo. El dicho cavallero con mucho dolor y lástima de lo hecho con gran cuidado del remedio de su anima partio para donde estava el Papa y llegado al Papa y despues de vesados los pies le conto y dixo el caso proque venia suplicandole con muchas lágrimas le perdonase y lo absolviese y le diese penitencia saludable. El papa vista su gran contricion le perdono y lo absolvió y dio por penitencia aque truxiesse una argolla de fierro al cuello y truxiesse por cinta una cadena de yerro y no volviesse a su casa ni entrase en poblado fasta que de suyo las dichas argolla y cadena de hierro se le cayesen. El dicho cavallero con mucha alegría del perdon y absolucion acepto con mucha voluntad ladicha penitencia y tomada la argolla de yerro al cuello y la cadena por cinta volvió a Navarra y hazia su morada por las Sierras y montes de Andia que esta junto a Goñy y algunas veces pasaba a las sierras y montes de Aralar. Despues de algunos años un dia andando el dicho cavallero por la Sierra de Aralar llevo en una cueba que estava en lo alto de la dicha cueba salio della un Dragon muy fiero el cual arremetio para el dicho cavallero. Cuando el cavallero vio el dicho dragon encomendose al Señor Sant Miguel en quien tenía mucha devoción y luego a la hora se le parecio Sant Miguel el que mato al dragon y en la mesma hora se le cayeron al dicho cavallero la argolla y cadena en tierra y se le desapareció Sant Miguel. Visto esto el dicho cavallero genollado de rodillas en tierra dio gracias a Dios por la gran merced que le habia hecho. Y así mesmo dio gracias al Señor Sant Miguel y conocio que su pecado era perdonado y su penitencia cumplida y luego volvió a su casa y desde a pocos dias dexo su casa y muger y hijos y volvió a la dicha cueva e hizo hazer ay una yglesia en nombre e invocación del Señor Sant Miguel y ay hizo su morada mientras vivio y ay murio y esta ay enterrado y en la dicha capilla estan oy en dia la dicha argolla y cadena y llamase la dicha yglesia Sant Miguel del monte Excelso. Y esta es una de las apariciones que Sant Miguel ha hecho y fue en el año de mil y quince nose sabe en que dia y mes.”

Appendix 6

Arroita-Jauregui relinquishes the property rights

Plaza elíptica 3

Bilbao 4 Junio 1920

Mi querido amigo: tengo el gusto de ratificar por escrito la cesión a perpetuidad que ya verbalmente le tengo hecha, de todos los derechos de propiedad que como á autor de la letra, puedan corresponderme en la ópera “Amaya”, reservándome únicamente el de publicar por separado el libreto cuando bien me parezca.

Con esta cesión no hago otra cosa que cumplir un deber de justicia; pues reconozco que todo el éxito que ha obtenido y pueda obtener en adelante nuestra obra, se debe íntegramente á la inspirada labor que ha puesto V. en ella.

Deseando de todas veras que dicha cesión le sea á V. muy fructífera, se remite (?) de V. amigo devoto admirador q. e. s. m.

José M^a Arroita-Jauregui

Appendix 7: Guridi's works for the stage

PI no	Date	Place	Title	Genre	Libretto	Translation / comments
38	31/5/1909	Bilbao Teatro Campos Elíseos	Mirentxu (I)	Pastoral lírica	Alfredo Echave (Cst)	José María Arroita- Jáuregui translated sung parts into Bsq
38	25/1/1913	Barcelona Teatro del Liceo	Mirentxu (II)		Idem	Idem / Guridi adds music to spoken dialogues
38	10/2/1934	Bilbao Teatro Arriaga	Mirentxu (III)		Guillermo Fernández Shaw & Federico Romero Sarachaga (Cst)	None / They reworked the libretto
38	24/11/1947	San Sebastián Gran Kursaal	Mirentxu (IV)		Jesús María de Arozamena Berasategui (Cst & Bsq)	Another rework in Cst & Bsq / Received Theatre prize R. Chapí
38	1967		Mirentxu (V)		Jesús María de Arozamena Berasategui (Cst & Bsq)	Same as IV + some added numbers by Arozamena from other works
59a	22/5/1920	Bilbao Coliseo Albia	Amaya	Drama lírico	José María Arroita- Jauregui (Cst)	Bsq version by Fray José de Arrúe
68	11/11/1926	Madrid Teatro de la Zarzuela	El Caserío	Comedia lírica	Guillermo Fernández Shaw & Federico Romero Sarachaga (Cst)	None / Takes place in Arrigorri, an imaginary town in Vizcaya
71	20/12/1928	Madrid Teatro de la Zarzuela	La Meiga	Zarzuela	Guillermo Fernández Shaw & Federico Romero Sarachaga (Cst)	None / Action takes place in the Valle de Ulla, Galicia
75	19/2/1931	Madrid Teatro Calderón	La Cautiva	Poema lírico	Anselmo Cuadrado Carreño & Luis Fernández de Sevilla (Cst)	None / Action takes place in the desert of Syria
81	17/11/1934	Madrid Teatro Calderón	Mandolinata	Comedia lírica	Arturo Cuyás de la Vega (Cst)	None / Takes place in Rosania imaginary Italian principate town
86	11/4/1936	Madrid Teatro Fontalba	Mari-Eli	Zarzuela	Carlos Arniches Barrera & Eloy Garay Macua (Cst)	None / Zarzuela de costumbres vascas / takes place in a sea village
88	3/1/1938	San Sebastián Teatro Victoria Eugenia	Nacimiento	?	Francisco Cotarelo, Vicente Espinós & Jesús María Arozamena Berasategui (Cst)	None / The score and the book have been lost
92	12/1/1939	Zaragoza Teatro Argensola	La Bengala	Sainete madrileño	José Huecas Pintado & Luis Tejedor Pérez (Cst)	None
111	27/5/1943	Bilbao Teatro Arriaga	Déjame soñar	Sainete lírico	José Huecas Pintado & Luis Tejedor Pérez (Cst)	None / The action takes place in contemporary Madrid (1943)
112	16/11/1944	Madrid Teatro Madrid	Peñamariana	Retablo popular	Guillermo Fernández Shaw & Federico Romero Sarachaga (Cst)	None / Inspired in the <i>farsas religiosas</i> in la Alberca (Salamanca)

130a	8/4/1950	Madrid Teatro Real	La condesa de la aguja y el dedal	Zarzuela	Jesús María Arozamena Berasategui & Adolfo Torrado Estrada (Cst)	None / Madrid during the reign of Amadeo de Saboya
140	11/12/1953	Madrid Teatro Español	Un sombrero de paja en Italia	Comedia	Luis Fernando Igoa (Cst) from Eugène Labiche & Marc Michel (Fr)	Translation of play originally performed in Paris (1851)

Appendix 8: Vocal music by J. Guridi (not for the stage)

Pl. no.	Year	Title	Voice/instrument combination	Author	Language
13	1902	<i>Chalupan – En la barca</i>	voice & p	Antonio Arzac	Cst
23	1905	<i>Melodías para canto y piano*</i>	voice & p	2. and 3. by Antonio de Trueba	Fr & Cst
27	1907	<i>Ave María</i>	voice & p	Antonio de Trueba	Cst
28	1907	<i>Cantabria</i>	voice (& p)	Antonio de Trueba	Cst
29	1907	<i>Soledad</i>	voice (& p)	Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer	Cst
35	1908	<i>Así cantan los chicos</i>	boys ch and orchestra (or p)	Juan Carlos Gortázar	Cst
40	1912	<i>La siembra – La saison des semailles</i>	voice and orch	V Hugo trans J C Gortazar	Fr & Cst
41	1913	<i>Euskal abestijak*</i>			Bsq
42	1913	<i>Euskal abestijak*</i>			Bsq
43	1913	<i>Anton Aizkorri</i>	men's ch (TTbB)	Pop Bsq	Bsq
44	1913	<i>Matzaren orpotik</i>	men's ch (TTbB)	Pop Bsq	Bsq
45a	1913	<i>Cantos populares vascos – primera serie*</i>	men's ch (TTbB) & 6 voice ch (SATTbB)	Pop Bsq	Bsq
45b	1913-	<i>Cantos populares vascos – segunda serie*</i>		Pop Bsq	Bsq
48	1915	<i>Tantum ergo</i>	3-voice ch (STB)	Liturgical	Lat
50	1916	<i>Neure maitía – canción en estilo popular</i>	voice & p	P. Arrúe "in popular style"	Bsq
51	1916	<i>Salve popular</i>	Ch (SATB) & organ	Liturgical	Cst
52	1916	<i>Dos coros infantiles*</i>	2-voice ch & piano	?	Cst
55	1918	<i>Misa de requiem</i>	men's ch (TTB)	Liturgical	Lat
56	1918	<i>Laudate Dominum, salmo</i>	3-voice ch (STB)	Liturgical[*]	Lat
57	1919	<i>Anima Christi</i>	4-voice ch (STTB)	Liturgical[*]	Lat
58	1919	<i>Goiko mendijan – en la cumber</i>	6-voice ch (SATTbB)	Pop Bsq	Bsq[*]
60	1922	<i>Eusko irudiak – cuadros vascos</i>	ch & orch or (TbB, SSbB, SS, or piano)	Suite	Bsq
61	1922	<i>Misa en honor de San Ignacio de Loyola</i>	men's ch (TTB) & organ	Lit based on pop march of Saint Ignatius	Lat
62	1923	<i>Nik baditut</i>	Ch	Pop Bsq	Bsq
63	1923	<i>Oñazez</i>	Ch (SATB)	Pop Bsq	Bsq
64	1923	<i>Cantos populares vascos – tercera serie</i>	(SATTbB, SSAATTBB, or TTbB)	Pop Bsq	Bsq
67	1925	<i>Yo soy un rey</i>	4-voice men's ch (TTbB)	Fr. Gaspar G. Pintado	Cst
73	1930	<i>Nundik ator, astoa?</i>	Ch (SSBB) or men's ch (TTbB)	Pop Bsq	Bsq

74	1930	<i>Canción de niño</i>	voice & piano	Antonio Plasencia	Cst
76	1931	<i>Aldixe batez</i>	voice & piano	Pop Bsq [?]	Bsq/Cst?
82	1935	<i>Harno hun hun huntarik</i>	6-voice ch (SATTbB)	Pop Bsq	Bsq/Cst
83	1935	<i>Tun ku run</i>	6-voice ch (SATTbB)	Humorous w variations	Invented
84	1935	<i>Jon deuneko gaban (lost)</i>			
85	1936	<i>Ez egin lorik basuan</i>	S solo & 6-voice ch (SATTBB)	M. de Lecuona	Bsq[?]/Cst
87	1937	<i>Te Deum</i>	3-voice men's ch (TTB) & organ	Liturgical	Lat
88	1938	<i>Nacimiento (score and libretto lost)</i>	Soloists ch & orch	F Cotarelo, V Espínos, Arozamena	Cst?
91	1938	<i>Colón (retablo, lost)</i>	?	Jesús María de Arozamena	Cst?
93	1939	<i>Seis canciones castellanas</i>	voice & piano	C García de la Navarra	Cst
98	1940	<i>Camina la virgen pura</i>	6-voice ch (SATTbB)	Pop Galician	Cst
99	1940	<i>Otoñal</i>	voice & piano	?	Cst
100	1940	<i>Canto del aguinaldo</i>	6-voice ch (SATTbB)	?	Cst
104	1942	<i>Dos cantos religiosos vascos</i>	4-voice ch (SATB)	Pop Bsq	Bsq
105	1942	<i>Albada – canta el gallo tempranero</i>	voice & orch	Jesús María de Arozamena	Cst
106	1942	<i>La novia del rey</i>	Boys' ch & piano	Jesús María de Arozamena	Cst
108	1943	<i>El día de las regatas – zortziko</i>	Voice & piano	Jesús María de Arozamena	Cst
114	1945	<i>Ave María</i>	Voice & piano	Liturgical	Lat
116	1945	<i>Txeru</i>	men's ch (TTbB) & 6-voice ch (SSTTBB)	Pop Bsq	Bsq
120	1946	<i>Seis canciones infantiles</i>	Boys' ch & piano	Jesús María de Arozamena	Cst
121a	1946	<i>Credo (1 & 2)</i>	Boys' ch & piano	Liturgical	Cst
121b	1946	<i>Credo (3)</i>	boys' ch & organ or piano	Liturgical	Cst
122	1946	<i>Boda de rumbo</i>	Soloists ch & orch	Insp. in Jorge Montemayor	Cst
123	1947	<i>La víspera de Santa Águeda</i>	3-voice boys' ch & piano	Jesús María de Arozamena	Cst
129	1950	<i>Muñeira</i>	3-voice boys' ch		Galician
130b	1950	<i>Romería de abril – habanera</i>	b soloist 2-voice ch (SB) & piano	Jesús María de Arozamena	Cst
131	1951	<i>El cansancio del hombre (auto sacramental)</i>	Ch & organ	M González-Haba Delgado	Cst
137	1952	<i>Si te gusta mujer casquivana – tonadilla</i>	voice & piano	Luis Tejedor Pérez	Cst
142	1955	<i>Ave verum</i>	boys' ch & organ	Liturgical	Lat
143	1955	<i>Misa en honor del Arcángel San Gabriel</i>	3-voice ch (STB)	Liturgical	Lat
144	1955	<i>Dichosa luz – villancico</i>	3-voice boys' ch & organ w/out pedal	Fr. Félix García	Cst
149	1956	<i>Madrigal</i>	4-voice boys' ch	Jesús María de Arozamena	Cst
151	1957	<i>La Virgen de la Azucena – nana negra</i>	4-voice women's ch	Jesús María de Arozamena	Cst
152	1958	<i>Pastores de Belén</i>	3-voice boys' ch & instrumental ensemble	Lope de Vega	Cst
154	1958	<i>Tu es Petrus</i>	3-voice ch (STB) & organ	Biblical	Lat
155	1958	<i>Himno Santa Cruz del Valle de los Caídos</i>	unison voices & organ	Friar Justo Pérez de Urbel	Cst

Appendix 9: Song collections

Pliego no.	Date	Collection	Title
41	1913	<i>Euskal abestijak</i>	1. <i>Itxarkundia</i>
		"	2. <i>Goiko mendijan</i>
		"	5. <i>Andra ona deun gizona</i>
		"	7. <i>Txeru</i>
		"	9. <i>Aitonaren esana</i>
		"	10. <i>Abestu biarr dogu</i>
		"	12. <i>Zeuretzat bizija</i>
		"	13. <i>Gabon gabea</i>
		"	15. <i>Gertu gagoz</i>
		"	17. <i>Aberri maitiari</i>
		"	19. <i>Gabon Kantak</i>
"	20. <i>San Juan de Portaletana</i>		
"	21. <i>Matsaren orpotik</i>		
42	1913	<i>Euskal abestijak</i>	1. <i>Manari'tik asi ta</i>
		"	4. <i>Txakur galduba</i>
		"	8. <i>Anton aizkorri-ene aberri</i>
45a	1913	<i>Cantos populares vascos – primera serie</i>	<i>Iru errege</i> <i>Maitasun atsekabea (Matiasun onazez)</i> <i>Goizian goizik</i> <i>Benat Mardo abeslariya</i> <i>Aldapeko</i> <i>Txori urretxindorra (Txorri erresinula)</i>
45b	1913-1923	<i>Cantos populares Vascos –segunda Serie</i>	<i>Anton aizkorri</i>
		"	<i>Matsaren orpotik</i>
		"	<i>Goiko mendijan</i>
		"	<i>Onazez</i>
		"	<i>Txeru</i>
"	"	<i>Amatxo</i>	
"	"	<i>Boga, boga</i>	
64	1923	<i>Cantos populares vascos – tercera Serie</i>	<i>Agustuaren</i>
		"	<i>Maitetxu polita</i>
		"	<i>Akerra ikusi degu</i>
		"	<i>Atzo tun tun</i>
		"	<i>Ator, ator mutil</i>
"	"	<i>Ni ez naiz zomorrua</i>	

104	1942	Dos cantos Religiosos vascos	<i>Canto de Pasion Canto de Pascua de Resurreccion</i>
255	no date	Veintidos canciones del folklore vasco	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Gabon jainkoak (cancion de epitalamio)</i> 2. <i>Jentileri un</i> 3. <i>Neure maitea (c. de epitalamio)</i> 4. <i>Sant Urbanen bezpera</i> 5. <i>Aritz adarrean (cancion amorosa)</i> 6. <i>Santibatek andere (cancion de ronda)</i> 7. <i>Ator, ator mutil (cancion de Nochebuena)</i> 8. <i>Ala baita (cancion amorosa)</i> 9. <i>Agura zarkillun (cancion festiva)</i> 10. <i>Adoratzen zutut (cancion religiosa)</i> 11. <i>Iru errege (cancion religiosa)</i> 12. <i>Garizuma luzerik (cancion religiosa)</i> 13. <i>Alabatua (cancion de ronda)</i> 14. <i>Asiko naiz (cancion de ronda)</i> 15. <i>Luzea bazan bere (cancion narrativa)</i> 16. <i>Zarabiatua naiz (endecha y elegia)</i> 17. <i>Elkitzeko tenorea (endecha y elegia)</i> 18. <i>Leiorik leio (cancion de oficio)</i> 19. <i>Agustuaren</i> 20. <i>Arantzazura (cancion narrativa)</i> 21. <i>Deun Agate'n abestija (canto de Santa Agueda, cancion de ronda)</i> 22. <i>Zorztiko (danza)</i>

Appendix 10

Review of *Amaya* by L. A. G. in *El Mundo*, Buenos Aires

El Mundo (no date)

Se estrenó en el Colón “Amaya”, obra que reúne notables valores musicales.

Ofrecióse anoche en el Colón, el tercero y último estreno de la temporada “Amaya”, la ópera del compositor vasco Jesús Guridi. Atrayente es esta nueva producción, considerada en conjunto, aunque en ella destácase mucho la labor del músico sobre la del libretista.

Francisco Navarro Villoslada [!] ha arreglado un libreto que no peca de excesivamente interesante. Quizá sus puntos flojos se deban a la preocupación de mantener el ambiente típico de la época, siempre dibujado cuidadosamente. Como trealidad debe reconocerse la eficacia del asunto en la forma en que ha sido desarrollado, a pesar de que hay situaciones cuya forzosa ausencia de movimiento debió ser solucionada mejor. No debe olvidarse que la falla del movimiento escénico ha restado interés a óperas cuya partitura es hermosísima, entre ellas “Lo Straniero”, de Pizzetti.

La música de “Amaya” es excelente. Se adapta admirablemente a la escena, siguiendo las diversas fases del drama con admirable exactitud. En ella se han reunido temas populares vascos, trozos litúrgicos [?] y danzas regionales, cuyo desarrollo se ha hecho en forma sinfónica, evitando la complejidad excesiva que hubiera desvirtuado el espíritu de esas páginas; aplicación prudente y eficaz de los recursos orquestales modernos que honra el autor. Guridi ha buscado en los bellos coloridos, en la armonización de los timbres, la riqueza de matices que la orquesta debía exhibir para estar a tono con el palco escénico. Y lo ha conseguido plenamente, revelándose también como maestro en la armonización de coros. Puede reprocharse a su labor el excesivo wagnerismo que anima algunas escenas; *Mimé* y *Parsifal* no son personajes susceptibles de amoldar al ambiente vasco. Pero esa influencia del gran maestro del siglo pasado no resta valores a la obra, cuya sólida base nacionalista es garantía de independencia sobre esas características sinfónicas forzosamente adoptadas.

Y examinada en conjunto, la música de “Amaya” tiene momentos bellísimos, de honda sugestión mística; siempre oportuna traduce con la misma eficacia la gravedad litúrgica que los dramáticos acentos de una lucha. La ópera de Guridi tuvo intérpretes de calidad. Isidoro Fagoaga demostró cualidades excepcionales en el curso de su desempeño; su compenetración del sentido del personaje compuesto merece cálidos elogios. Damiani añadió un laurel más a su carrera; sus dotes de actor inteligente y expresivo – vocal y mímicamente – dieron nítidos relieves a sus caracterizaciones. Jorge Lanskey, cantó y se desenvolvió con acierto y dignidad. La

señora Bertana realizó una de sus creaciones más felices de la temporada, actuando con una seguridad reveladora de su concienzudo estudio de su rol. Canuto Sabat, estuvo correcto. Hina Spani, conspiró contra la obra de Guridi. Su desempeño vocal tuvo momentos muy ingratos. Las segundas partes se desarrollaron discretamente.

Los bailarines de las sociedades vascas pusieron una nota pintoresca. Danzaron con notable precisión, realizando pasos muy típicos, de suma dificultad. Los coros cumplieron brillantemente su cometido vocal, nada fácil por cierto, lo que los honra, lo mismo que a su experto director, Terragnolo.

Franco Paolantonio destacóse por su acertada dirección. Logró poner en evidencia los grandes valores de la partitura de Guridi. Ciertamente es que contó con una orquesta inmejorable, para la cual parecen no existir escollos, y en la que cada elemento desempeñóse con la máxima eficacia. No es de extrañar, entonces, que la música de “Amaya” exhibiera la plenitud de su belleza, lo que unido al acierto de los ocupantes del palco escénico, ha proporcionado una de las veladas más artísticas de la temporada.

L. A. G.

Appendix 11

Review of *Amaya* by Luis Gongora

Gran Teatro del Liceo

Con un éxito enorme se estrenó la ópera vasca “Amaya”, del maestro Jesús de Guridi

En la celebración de las actuales fiestas conmemorativas de la proclamación de la República, no podía el Comité Pro Liceo y el director general de nuestro primer teatro, don Juan Mestres, haber tenido un acierto mayor que el que representa el haber elegido para estas funciones primaverales y patrióticas la ópera del maestro Jesús Guridi, “Amaya”, que por primera vez se representaba en Barcelona, por cierto con la máximas garantías de perfección interpretativa.

No es el argumento de la ópera “Amaya” de los que defrauden, ni siquiera a los más exigentes. Un hálito de tragedia llena, como en el Teatro griego, el ámbito dialogal y plástico. Una emoción auténticamente humana, noblemente categorizada en arte verdadero, emana de los celos de “Teodosio de Goñi”, que, enamorado intensamente de su esposa “Amaya”, llega a matar a sus propios padres, que, mientras permanece en la guerra el caudillo vasco, vuelven a dormir en su antiguo lecho conyugal cedido a Teodosio y Amaya desde su matrimonio. El celoso marido, cuya mente llenó de sospechas el vengativo Asier, halla en su lecho en que cree que duerme su dulce Amaya, dos personas, y las mata.

Todo se realiza en este poema escénico de Luis Anoitá-Jáuregui [sic], inspirado en la leyenda vasco-navarra que originó la novela de Navarro Villoslada y que tiene su más intensa y lograda expresión en la versión éuscara del franciscano padre José Arrué, con la más certera sobriedad escénica y con la más trascendente eficacia expresiva. A estas normas de sobriedad y eficacia ha ceñido su música el compositor vasco Jesús Guridi, una música sólidamente estructurada, rica en fluidez temática y controlada con la más aguda ponderación. Los procedimientos wagnerianos del “leit-motiv” [sic] y de los recitativos tramados en el bastidor de la llamada “melodía infinita”, son usados por el maestro Guridi con un claro sentido de la responsabilidad artística que implica escribir música en el siglo XX. Guridi, a pesar del prurito de densidad orquestal de su obra, no desprecia los logros expresivos de la escuela varista [sic] italiana. Sus temas, originales o inspirados en el rico venero folklórico del país vasco, se desarrollan con una aparente espontaneidad y una equilibrada ponderación. Los efectismos banales son deliberadamente rehuidos por este inteligente compositor, que, dominando plenamente todos los secretos de la técnica musical, pone en su obra la realidad de sus necesidades temperamentales, suprimiendo todo lo superfluo e incluso todo lo que en la expresión pueda parecer diluído.

Difícil es destacar tal o cual fragmento de esta bella partitura; ateniéndonos al eco de entusiasmo producido en el público que llenaba el Liceo, mencionaremos la intensa sugestión rítmica de la “espatadantza” [skips a line in the text] maravillosamente resuelta por los danzarines “amateurs” vascos, que ponen en ella algo más que el deseo de cumplir bien, esto es, un entusiasmo álgido de racialidad y de fervor artístico.

La interpretación de la ópera “Amaya” en el Liceo, no sólo merece todos los elogios, sino que es asimismo un aleccionador ejemplo para los que, por considerar el teatro como una profesión, han contribuido, con su desidiosa inercia y su falta de entusiasmo, a que el público se aparte del teatro mal representado.

Ante todo, creemos justo mencionar a los directores escénicos, señores Alzaga y Zaldúa, que han conseguido en el movimiento de las masas y en la intervención de todos y de cada uno de los intérpretes una homogeneidad expresiva admirable y una variedad de matices plásticos excepcional.

Entre los intérpretes principales hemos de destacar a Cristóbal Altube, tenor de intensas facultades vocales y de magnífica escuela de emisión. Su interpretación de “Teodosio” es muy difícil de superar, no sólo vocal, sino también escénicamente.

La señora Zabalbesco, contralto de potente y bien timbrada voz y de inteligente comprensión musical y escénica dió a su interpretación de la “maga pagana” “Amagoya”, los más justos y trascendentes acentos expresivos.

La señorita Zabalbescoa encarnó el personaje de “Amaya”, con un profundo sentido de su realidad emocional, cantando su “particella” con una voz dúctil, bella y llena de autoridad musical. Ni una concesión efectista advertimos en ella y a pesar de su sobriedad, logró llegar plenamente al auditorio y entusiasmarle.

En su papel de “Olalla” patentizó la señorita J. Enbil una exquisita sensibilidad escénica y una voz bella, apta para todas las expresividades emotivas.

El bajo señor Olaizola, a quien habíamos admirado en anteriores temporadas del Liceo, cantó e interpretó escénicamente la parte del viejo “Miguel de Goñi”, con magistral autoridad y clara eficiencia.

Asimismo, patentizaron excelentes condiciones vocales y escénicas la señorita Enbil en su papel de “Plácida”, el señor Kortajenera en su certera interpretación de “Asier”, y los señores Villa, Elósegui, Iturriga y Kortajenera, en sus papeles respectivos.

La presentación escénica fué en todo digna de la magnífica interpretación, gracias a las decoraciones deliciosamente resueltas, de Elías Garai y al adecuado vestuario propiedad del “Eusko Abesbatza”.

Los coros se mostraron muy cohesionados y precisos, y la orquesta dió a la representación de “Amaya” en el Liceo su más justa valoración.

El insigne maestro J. Lamote de Grignon cooperó de una manera primordial, con su autoridad musical, y su entusiasmo, a la perfección musical de esta interpretación de “Amaya”, siendo muy justamente ovacionado, juntamente con el compositor Jesús de Guridi, al final de todos los actos y especialmente al terminarse esta bella ópera.

Luis Gongora

Appendix 12

Interview of Lamote de Grignon in *El Noticiero Universal*, Barcelona

El Noticiero Universal / Barcelona / 11th April 1934

Gran Teatro del Liceo

El estreno de la ópera “Amaya”

Lo que opina de la importante obra de Guridi nuestro insigne Lamote, que ha de dirigirla....

El jueves próximo abrirá sus puertas nuestro Gran Teatro para festejar el tercer aniversario de la proclamación de la República, con el estreno de la ópera vasca “Amaya”, del maestro Guridi, una de las más importantes y meritísimas producciones de la lírica nacional.

El maestro Guridi, que tantas muestras tiene dadas de sus grandes conocimientos técnicos, de su elevada inspiración y de su absoluta compenetración con la música de su tierra, de caracteres melódicos y de ritmos tan exquisitos y

originalísimos, ha puesto en “Amaya” lo mejor de su talento músico superior y de su alma de artista.

La obra será presentada en el Liceo con toda magnificencia, y dirigirá la partitura nuestro insigne Lamote, a quien tanto debe el arte nacional.

No hay qué decir que la obra será magistralmente interpretada, dadas las garantías artísticas que ofrece el que ha de dirigirla.

El maestro Lamote está realizando los ensayos de “Amaya” con verdadero entusiasmo, con ese entusiasmo que pone siempre el ilustre director de la Banda Municipal por cuanto redunde en beneficio de nuestra música y de nuestros artistas.

Este mediodía tuvimos ocasión de conversar unos momentos con el maestro Lamote. La conversación recayó preferentemente en el estreno del jueves en el Liceo.

El concepto que tiene el autor de “La nit de Nadal” de la ópera “Amaya” y del maestro Guridi no puede ser más favorable.

– Cuando vi la partitura – nos dijo el maestro Lamote en tono de profunda convicción – experimenté una sensación de asombro, de sorpresa. Conocía “Mirentxu”, y he interpretado “La leyenda vasca”; pero no esperaba, con ser tan apreciable la labor precedente de Guridi, que hubiese adelantado tan notablemente en el camino glorioso que sigue. Guridi ha compuesto un poema grandioso. Creo sinceramente que “Amaya” es una de las obras musicales más importantes que se han escrito en España en los últimos tiempos. ¿Quiere que puntualice más? Pues bien: sobran los dedos de una mano, y aún los de media mano, para citar obras tan consistentes como “Amaya”. Guridi, en esta felicísima producción, ha demostrado dominar la melodía y la técnica orquestal y también que es un maestro formidable del contrapunto. Además, asombra su honradez al ajustarse al libro perfectamente, desdeñando las ocasiones que en el concurso de la obra se le presentan para dar gusto a la galería con efectismos, con oropeles.

– ¿Sería indiscreto – interrumpimos – preguntar a usted qué página de “Amaya” es, a su juicio, más inspirada, más bella?

– La obra de Guridi – responde el maestro sin vacilaciones – contiene muchas bellezas. En una simple audición no pueden apreciarse todas; pero a medida que vaya representándose la obra, el público las saboreará en toda su exquisitez. La escena del plenilunio, en el primer acto; todo el segundo, desde la salida del bajo hasta el dúo y la espatadantza; el interludio sinfónico del tercer acto, y, en fin, el epílogo, son de un valor imponderable.

– Sin embargo sus preferencias están en el epílogo, sin duda. Por ahí se dice que ha declarado usted, empleando una frase gráfica, pero muy justa, que cuando dirige el epílogo “se le pone carne de gallina”

– No negaré la paternidad de la frase. En efecto, hay en el epílogo de “Amaya” momentos tan sole mnes, de inspiración tan prodigiosa, que he sentido recorrer mi cuerpo, de los pies a la cabeza, como un escalofrío inefable.

Con lo dicho por el maestro Lamote, y que acabamos de transcribir, basta para tener idea de la importancia de la ópera que el jue ves próximo se nos ofrecerá en el Liceo.

Appendix 13

La Publicitat, Barcelona

La Publicitat / 13 April 1934

Liceu

Estrena de l'òpera basca "Amaia", de Lluís Arroita-Jauregui i R. P. Josep de Arrue, música de Jesús Guridi

Anit passada obrí altra vegada el Liceu les seves portes per tal d'oferir-nos amb tota solemnitat l'estrena de l'òpera basca "Amaia". L'expectació desvetllada per aquest esdeveniment era molt gran, i la sala aparegué brillant i plena d'un públic entusiasta que acollí la representació amb expressives demostracions de complaença.

L'acció d'aquesta obra és situada al segle VIII, en temps de l'imperi god, i l'argument, desenrotllat amb molta traça i ple d'episodis que mantenen viu l'interès de l'espectador, ofereix al compositor un ample camp on ell desenrotlla admirablement l'acció musical. El primer encert del músic és l'haver sabut mantenir la unitat d'ambient de cap a cap de l'obra i a través de les variades situacions del drama. Tota la música té un particular to de noblesa que tot seguit s'imposa i suggestiona l'oient, i la concepció és tan equilibrada i perfecta, que l'interès de l'acció musical creix sempre gradualment i s'intensifica fins a la darrera escena de l'obra. Els personatges resten admirablement caracteritzats, i cada episodi és tractat amb el to just que escau al moment. Així és difícil assenyalar escenes culminants, ja que tot apareix tan ben ordenat i regulat; no obstant, podríem fer remarcar les del començament, plenes de misteri i d'allucinants ressonàncies; la segona escena del segon acte, amb la magnífica relació d'"Amaia", el dramàtic diàleg de "Teodosi" i "Asier" al començament del tercer acte, l'intermedi sinfònic que segueix i en el qual es condensa el moment culminant de la tragèdia, i l'escena final de l'obra, tractada amb una gran elevació i amb una emoció pura i vibrant. També cal remarcar les saborosíssimes danses del segon acte, que foren molt ben executades pels "espatadantzaris" i que calgué repetir entre grans aplaudiments.

La interpretació, dirigida pel mestre Joan Lamote de Grignon amb perfecte domini de la partitura, fou molt acurada. Tots els artistes treballaren amb fe i entusiasme i es feren mereixedors d'aplaudi d'aplaudiments. Hem d'esmentar especialment les senyoretas Zabalbeascoa ("Amaia") i Zabalbaesco ("Amagoia") i

els senyors Altube (“Teodosi”), Olaizola (“Miguel”) i Kortajanera (“Asier”), encaixats tothora en els respectius papers. Prengué part també en la representació dels difícils cors de l’obra ens deixà les millors impressions de les seves qualitats.

La presentació és atesa amb tota cura, i el decorat d’Elies Garai molt entonat i de bell efecte.

L’exit de la representació fou complet. A l’acabament de cada acte fou cridat al prosceni l’autor, el mestre Guridi, amb els seus intèrprets, i les ovacions repetides i afectuosíssimes ressonaren ben franques i expressives i digueren tota la simpatia que el públic barceloní sent pels artistes que són aquests dies els nostres hostes.

Appendix 14

Review of *Amaya*, Pharadi

El Noticiero Bilbaino

Expectación

Salimos del Coliseo Albia y aún nos dura la grata impresión producida por el acontecimiento artístico que acabamos de presenciar. El arte vasco, en su manifestación musical, ha dado un paso formidable con el estreno de *Amaya*.

Vana pretensión sería querer hacer una crítica fundada de la nueva obra, con sólo una audición. Nos limitaremos á exponer nuestra impresión, cierta ó equivocada, pero sincera, de lo que hemos visto y oído.

El teatro, soberbio de público. Todas las clases sociales se reunieron para honrar la fiesta.

La expectación en el público es enorme. Se advierte una ansiedad inusitada en todos los semblantes. ¿Qué será *Amaya*? ¿Responderá al reclamo? ¿Satisfará el interés, el entusiasmo que por el arte sentimos los allí reunidos?

El insigne maestro Lamothe de Grignon empuña la batuta y el silencio causa escalofrío. Una tos, pareciera un insulto; una voz una profanación. Suenan las primeras notas y entramos en el acontecimiento, concentrando en él todo nuestro espíritu, para poder trazar estas líneas.

El libro

La leyenda de Teodosio de Goñi ha sido hábilmente aprovechada para hacer los tres actos y el epílogo de que consta la obra, pero si bien las situaciones están combinadas con acierto, generalmente e[s] lánguido, falta de acción y de fuerza emotiva. La intensidad dramática está poco acentuada. Es algo secundario al lado de la partitura.

No obstante está escrito con acierto y traducido por el P. Arrúe al euskera depurado, elegante y académico.

La música

La personalidad de Guridi se ha afirmado más con esta obra.

Las ideas melódicas, son de sustancial belleza, esencia de toda composición musical, y están apoyadas en cantos populares vascos, como *Ene arrerosteko*, *Eleixara juan* y otros, que, entremezclados en una hermosa labor contrapuntística se desarrollan como espléndida sinfonía, sin refinadas complicaciones en su complejo mecanismo, claras y perceptibles siempre, á pesar de su brillante ropaje orquestal.

La composición ha seguido el plan dramático ó sistema de los *leif-motiven* [sic] simbolizando personajes y acontecimientos en pequeños diseños que juegan con las melodías [sic] vascas hasta adquirir gran valor estético por estar apropiados á la expresión. Su estilo complicado, quizá desorienta de pronto al público profano, pero cuando se comprende se admira.

El primer acto, *El plenilunio*, es un poema sinfónico [?]. Quizá le falte la brillantez, la fibra que nosotros hubiéramos esperado en aquel himno á la raza que entona la rebelde *Amagoia*. El segundo acto, bello, de gran espiritualidad, vemos borrada ésta bruscamente por la *ezpatadantza*, sin una preparación al baile, al cambio de situación escénica.

Musicalmente nos pareció lo más profundo el primer cuadro del tercer acto, en que se advierte la tragedia y su desarrollo, pero nos desorientó algo el momento de la tragedia misma. Son detalles éstos que, á saber como los ha concebido el autor, no los citaríamos, respetando su ideología[!].

También el epílogo tiene escenas de gran valentía, como el desarrollo de la melodía religiosa que cruza por toda la obra y el momento del milagro.

En suma, es una gran obra llena de interés para los técnicos y que por su carácter peculiar, que nunca decae, es altamente honrosa para el señor Guridi y significa un jalón muy elevado en el arte netamente vasco, puesto por el joven y bravo maestro.

Los intérpretes

No nos queda espacio para detallar su labor. Ofelia Nieto, Aga Lohowska, Carmen Neira, Isidoro Fagoaga, Aguirre-Sarobe, Olaizola y demás intérpretes merecieron justas alabanzas por el acierto en su cometido.

Otro día nos ocuparemos de ellos.

El maestro

Está tan consolidada la personalidad artística del maestro Lamothe [sic], que su [?not clear in the film] sólo nombre es garantía de éxito.

Sus huestes tocaron la obra con cariño y entusiasmo.

El decorado

Eloy Garay, el escenógrafo por excelencia del arte teatral vasco, ha puesto á contribución su talento una vez más y ha servido un decorado muy artístico y en armonía con el libreto. Sus telones son cuadros arrancados al país. Dijérase que la época ha surgido en su mente como vivida por él. Hemos de exceptuar no obstante el último cuadro, que nos pareció un tanto fantástico al recordar nuestro paso por la cumbre del Aralar.

La presentación

No hemos de discutir la mayor ó menor propiedad del vestuario, porque sabido es lo difícil que resulta la adaptación real al siglo VIII. Es de gusto y resultó vistoso.

El público

Entusiasmado desde el primer acto hasta el último, ovacionó repetidas veces al autor, al director, á los intérpretes, á todos, haciéndoles salir á escena en todos los finales de acto. Las aclamaciones al autor prueban la satisfacción plena del auditorio.

Guridi fué obsequiado con una corona de laurel dedicada, según nos dijeron, por el “Orfeón Eurkeria” en prueba de simpatía y admiración.

Nuestra enhorabuena á todos.

Hoy no hay *Amaya*. Se celebrará el primero de los conciertos anunciados.

PHARADI

Appendix 15

Review of *El Caserío*

El noticiero bilbaino

Viernes, 12 de noviembre de 1926

Madrid

El estreno de la obra de Guridi, “EL CASERIO”, HA CONSTITUIDO EN MADRID UN GRAN EXITO...

EL ESTRENO DE “EL CASERIO” CONSTITUYE EN MADRID UN CLAMOROSO EXITO

A las cinco de la tarde empezó en el Teatro de la Zarzuela el estreno de “El Caserío”.

Es la primera aplicación del nuevo horario en los teatros. [!]

Bajo la marquesina del popular coliseo se detienen los autos, agolpándose el público como en los días de grandes solemnidades artísticas.

Llueve copiosamente y aparece la taquilla cerrada, con el consabido cartel de “No hay billetes”.

En el vestíbulo estrechamos manos de gente conocida. Corrillos de músicos se confunden con los de autores, literatos, periodistas y artistas, y los pronósticos no pueden ser mas halagüeños para el gran músico Guridi y sus afamados colaboradores, Romero y Fernández Shaw, que tantos laureles conquistaron con el libro de “Doña Francisquita”.

Toda la colonia vasca se ha dado cita para deleitarse con la música regional, llevada al pentágono por Guridi.

Cruzan sonrientes hacia los palcos los presidentes de las Diputaciones vascas, con todo su séquito de técnicos.

– Hoy sí que es un gran día de concierto – nos dice, bromeando, uno de los más distinguidos técnicos.

– Y sin contrincante que estropee la sinfonía –, le contestamos.

Al paso del señor Sánchez Guerra se descubren sus amigos.

En el palco del Gobierno se hallan los ministros de Marina y del Trabajo.

A las cinco en punto la sala presenta un aspecto brillantísimo, con el ambiente agradable del público heterogéneo de los estrenos.

En plateas, palcos y butacas hay racimos de bellas mujeres.

El caserío de la comedia lírica de Guridi se halla, por las trazas, enclavado entre Vizcaya y Guipúzcoa, por Elgoibar, en una aldea imaginaria que los autores llaman Arrigorri.

Con el gracioso aire del chistu y el tamboril, en una bella melodía preliminar, que sirve de “leiv-motif” a lo largo de toda la obra, nos preparamos, no sin emoción, a escuchar, entre un público predominantemente inteligente, los ritmos de esa tierra.

Un recuerdo a “Mendi-Mendiyan”, fugaz, porque el telón se alza ante nosotros y nos ofrece un nebuloso panorama vascongado.

Hacer un libro de zarzuela para un músico de tan brillante historial y tan caracterizado por sus melodías vascas, como Guridi, es, sin duda, empresa difícil; pero la dificultad debe ser aún mayor para dos escritores castellanos como Fernández Shaw y Romero, autores de la famosa “*Doña Francisquita*”.

¿Cómo han logrado su empeño?

Tipos y costumbres vascas, escenas de ambiente, danzas, procesión, etcétera. Han sido recogidos por los autores con un certero sentido sintético, sorteando el peligro de lo barroco y abigarrado e hilvanando así una fácil historia de amor. Han tenido, sobre todo, en cuenta, no ya el ambiente sino también el carácter, a la vez avisado e ingenioso de los aldeanos vascos.

Por como se desenvuelve la intriga amorosa, “El Caserío” es típicamente vasco y si a esto se añade la feliz realización plástica de colorido y ambiente, no hay duda de que nos encontramos ante una obra que aprobaría el más severo censor de las costumbres del país vasco.

No hay ningún trazo grueso de caricatura, ni se advierte en el transcurso de los tres largos actos ninguna nota que no responda al propósito de fidelidad y cariño a Vasconia.

Fernández Shaw y Romero han acertado plenamente y las largas temporadas que han pasado en tierras vascas han sido felizmente aprovechadas por su talento de observadores.

La trama de “El Caserío” tiene cierta poesía de añoranzas.

El viejo Santi, rico propietario, fué en su mocedad presa de un amor imposible.

Con los años, muerta en América la amada, reverdece ese amor en la hija de aquélla, Ana Mari.

Santi quisiera dejar a la indiana Ana Mari su fortuna y quisiera casarla con el pelotari José Miguel, su sobrino, pero el pelotari, famoso en Bilbao y en toda Vasconia lleva en la capital una vida depravada.

Hombre de “cabaret”, hombre de ciudad, ostentoso y adinerado, anda entre gente de crápula y vicio.

Se casaría con la indiana al olor del capital del tío Santi y luego la dejaría abandonada.

El viejo, en pacto con el cura del pueblo, decide casarse con Ana Mari. Así podrá heredar su fortuna.

Las vicisitudes de este amor prestan a los tres actos de la obra motivos graciosos y líricos, que los libretistas explotan certeramente.

Al cabo, la indiana y el pelotari se casarán, con la aprobación benevolente del tío Santi.

Los primeros compases de la partitura de Guridi provocan en el público un entusiasmo excepcional, que luego fué en crescendo y llegó al desbordamiento al final del primer acto. Y así se mantuvo hasta última hora.

Para Guridi, la jornada de esta tarde ha sido la consagración definitiva.

Entre aclamaciones y aplausos, hubo de aparecer en escena a la terminación de casi todos los números, emocionado por el triunfo de las aclamaciones.

Sin apartarse nunca de los motivos temáticos de carácter vasco, donde el chistu y el tamboril, los viejos aires de zortzico y auresku acentúan el ritmo insinuante y apasionado. Guridi ha compuesto una magnífica partitura, original y de una gran riqueza de melodías.

Hay trozos de un lirismo cálido y de una insuperable elegancia sinfónica.

De cuando en cuando, un jugoso motivo humorístico contrasta con la severa belleza de toda la partitura.

El preludio del segundo acto es una pieza de concierto que bastaría a consagrar a cualquier compositor. Fué acogida su terminación con el público puesto en pie y se repitió, volviendo los aplausos a obligar a salir al maestro Guridi.

Se repitieron muchos números y todos, sin excepción, fueron subrayados con ovaciones entusiastas.

En el primer acto, un duo de tiple y tenor, una romanza de barítono y un gracioso aire de romanza vasca, fueron celebrados y aplaudidos.

El acto segundo, que es, a nuestro juicio, el más rico en colorido, con su procesión, tiene una mayor profusión de melodías de la tierra.

Salen allí espatadantzaris y se baila un auresku con rara maestría.

Es el acto más movido, más alegre y más teatral.

En el tercero, sobresalen un número muy gracioso, que fué repetido y una hermosa romanza de barítono.

Fué en suma, como decimos, una jornada de triunfo para el gran compositor vasco.

El maestro Arbós decía en uno de los entreactos:

– Cada cinco o seis años surge una obra maestra como “El Caserío”. Le ha tocado el turno a Vasconia. “Doña Francisquita”... “El Caserío”

Sin excepción, todos, críticos y público, elogian sin reserva el libro y la música de “El Caserío”.

Guridi, Fernández Shaw y Romero, reciben felicitaciones de autores, periodistas y admiradores.

La interpretación ha sido bastante fiel.

La admirable tiple Felisa Herrero, el barítono Llorent, enfermo hasta anoche y Peñalver, se hicieron aplaudir.

En cuanto a la exactitud en la encarnación de los tipos vascos, sólo merecen elogios sinceros la señora Galindo y el señor Palacios. Para el último, los aplausos en todos los actos y una ovación cerrada, unánime, en el tercero, fueron el premio a su labor de toda la obra.

El señor Palacios, que hizo un primoroso “jebo”, utilizó para su caracterización uno de esos muñecos que se venden en las tiendas de la Carrera de San Jerónimo.

La orquesta, admirablemente dirigida por el maestro Emilio Acevedo, fué muy aplaudida.

También es de elogiar el decorado, debido al pincel del afamado escenógrafo bilbaíno Eloy Garay.

En todos los entreactos cambiamos impresiones con los críticos musicales más afamados y los más eminentes actores, y como la coincidencia ha sido unánime en el elogio y se han prodigado los adjetivos más contundentes, elevando en justicia a Guridi a la cabeza de los compositores líricos españoles y calificándole de verdadera [sic] artífice de la instrumentación, nos pareció ocioso recoger fragmentariamente unas opiniones que, publicadas íntegramente, cubrirán de gloria al formidable músico vascongado.

La interpretación de la obra, a causa de las numerosas repeticiones, duró cuatro horas.

A nuestro juicio, lo mejor de la partitura es el prelude sinfónico del segundo acto, matizado de aires típicos del país vasco, ligados técnicamente en un alarde de sonoridades de muy difícil y rica orquestación.

Hay también algunos números cómicos, entre ellos un dúo de versolaris que causa un efecto verdaderamente admirable.

En resumen: “El Caserío” es obra que ha de recorrer triunfalmente, y en poco tiempo, todos los escenarios de España y de la América latina.

En el momento de terminar la representación de “El Caserío” y bajarse el telón por última vez, después de las ovaciones del público, todos los artistas, empresarios y personal del teatro rompieron en ovaciones dentro del escenario, irrumpiendo en él autores, críticos y paisanos de Guridi, abrazando y felicitando a éste con entusiasmo.

En la calle se organizó una nutrida manifestación, que acompañó al victorioso músico y que recordaba aquellas que se organizaban a continuación de los grandes éxitos teatrales del siglo pasado.

Appendix 16

Text of the drinking song *Ardaoak parau gaitu dantzari*

Translation of the song *Ardaoak parau gaitu dantzari*, song no. 201 in Resurrección Mará de Azkue, *Cancionero Popular Vasco*, p. 293-294.

El vino nos ha hecho danzantes y también copleros: muchachos, no tenemos sed, seguramente que no. Mi consuelo siempre es ir a la taberna, como que nuestro fin será allí. No poder faltar. Tenemos buenas condiciones. A la mañana, temprano, vamos a la taberna, y a la tarde volvemos tarde a casa. Ayer y hoy y aun anteayer tiene que ser fiesta en nuestro pueblo. Venga vino y estemos alegres. Ropas viejas y gaznates limpios, deudas en abundancia, créditos escasos. Anoche hubo camorra en nuestra vecindad, a veces también en casa. Mantengámonos en alegría mientras estemos en un lugar, jarro al lado. Como que nuestro fin será en un hospital, adelante, San Sebastián. Bailemos ahora. Casi vamos más allá de la mitad. El que baila tiene los pies ligeros. Si no los tuviera, no luciría; pero éste danza lindamente. ¡Son tan grandes las ventajas del vino! Con el agua fría, sin beber vino, nuestros corazones están fríos. Ayer mañana a la taberna, bebí media azumbre. Confíese yo ahora la verdad: el agua fría me mató mi sed. El vino y las cartas son mis amigos; no amo a nadie más, ni mujeres, ni tengo compañeros: estoy enamorado del vino. ¡Oh qué pena el no tener vino! Es toda la pena de mi corazón. El agua fría me mata, el buen vino me resucita... Que en bien se nos vierta todo el vino que hoy hemos bebido.

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