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The University of Southern Mississippi

FIRST CRITICAL PERFORMING EDITION OF THE ZARZUELA MARIA LA O, BY ERNESTO LECUONA, ORCHESTRATED BY FELIX GUERRERO

by

Ivan del Prado

Abstract of a Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate School of The University of Southern Mississippi in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Musical Arts

December 2015

ABSTRACT

FIRST CRITICAL PERFORMING EDITION OF THE ZARZUELA MARIA LA O, BY ERNESTO LECUONA, ORCHESTRATED BY FELIX GUERRERO

by Ivan del Prado

December 2015

The First Critical Performing Edition of the Zarzuela *Maria la O* by Ernesto Lecuona (as orchestrated by Felix Guerrero), is the rescue of the complete score of one of the most important works by a Cuban composer. The complete but still unpublished original score to *Maria la O* will finally have a clear and accurate performing edition. This will serve, both expert performers in Cuban popular music and anyone else interested in the subject. In this new score, indigenous rhythms and other traditional performance practice issues have been fully written out.

This document will also include a brief history and overview of musical theatre in Cuba, as well as the facts and events involved in the genesis of the Cuban Zarzuela. It will undoubtedly bring assistance to those interested in the historic context of this genre. This project will also reveal, for the first time, the process by which *Maria la O* was developed and transformed from a simple one-act *sainete* to a more complex *zarzuela Cubana*. Finally, biographical information about the creators of *Maria la O* is included for the purpose of providing more background information about these individuals and about the culture in which they lived and worked.

It is my hope that this work will serve to aid in the preservation and dissemination of Cuba's musical heritage.

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2015

FIRST CRITICAL PERFORMING EDITION OF THE ZARZUELA MARIA LA O, BY

ERNESTO LECUONA, ORCHESTRATED BY FELIX GUERRERO

by

Ivan del Prado

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate School and the School of Music at The University of Southern Mississippi in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Musical Arts

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December 2015

DEDICATION

To my family, a special thanks to my mother for guiding me in this torrid path of music, and foremost to my wife, Mavy, and my children, Willy and Ana, for their support and understanding.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, I would like to thank Maestro Felix Guerrero who generously gave me his own score to *Maria la O*. Second, I would like to thank the *Teatro Lirico Rodrigo Prats* and its former General Director Concepcion Casals, without whose active and practical support this dissertation would not have been written. To my mentor Dr. Jay Dean, who, besides being an indispensable figure in my development over these years, has been an enthusiastic helper: His suggestions and precise criticisms invariably proved constructive and fruitful.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 2002, I was invited to be the conductor for an international tour that the *Teatro Lirico Rodrigo Prats* (Holguin, Cuba) made to South America. The selected repertoire included three masterworks, *Luisa Fernanda*, by the Spanish composer Federico Moreno Torroba, *Der Graf von Luxemburg* by the Austrian composer Franz Lehar, and *Maria la O* by the Cuban composer Ernesto Lecuona. Of these three titles, the only one that was unedited and unpublished was the Cuban work. The process of selecting and ordering the appropriate musical numbers in *Maria la O*, as well as finding a suitable Lecuona song that could fill the absence of a romanza for *Niña Tula* was very cumbersome.¹ The European works were already published and edited. *Maria la O* was a very different matter; it was a tangled puzzle with many options established by oral tradition and earlie*mise en scenes*.

Unfortunately, this is a common scenario when approaching Cuban musical works for the stage. Due to the absence of Cuban publishing agencies, as well as a lack of interest or responsibility on the part of the authorities in charge, a large amount of national musical values are still waiting to be catalogued, preserved, and correctly

¹ The original *Maria la O* does not have a Romanza or song for *Niña Tula*. This character is mute in the original version. She only appears at the end of the Zarzuela accompanying *Fernando*. Later a Romanza was given to the character by selecting any of Lecuona's songs depending on the tessitura of the actress-singer available for the occasion. "*Canta Ruiseñor*" ("The Nightingale") for coloratura soprano has been the song most frequently used for this purpose. Also, a song for the male character, *Fernando de Alcazar* is added in some "mise en scenes," that adds a spurious scene between *Fernando* and *Niña Tula*.

printed.² Frequently, the final result is the loss of an important part of the Cuban national musical heritage. In fact, today, *Cecilia Valdez* by Gonzalo Roig, *Maria la O* by Ernesto Lecuona and *Amalia Batista* by Rodrigo Prats, the three paradigmatic *Zarzuelas Cubanas*, are still unpublished and lack both performing and critical editions. To the best of my knowledge, *Cecilia Valdez* has received some attention from Maestro Sanchez Ferrer who created a performance edition of the zarzuela. However, I am not certain whether or not this project has been published.³

Regarding *Maria la O*, up until now it has only been performed using an inaccurate piano reduction or an unreadable photocopy of Felix Guerrero's orchestrations in a copy made by Ricardo Sanchez, plus an incomplete set of orchestral parts. All of these orchestral parts are handwritten, and most of them contain obvious errors. Even though Felix Guerrero made the original orchestration of the work, no one has ever had a reliable full score. The only score that has been available for rental was made by Evan Hause, the Publication Director of Edward B. Marks Music Company in New York City.⁴ However, as the British actor, theatre director, and music critic, Christopher Webber in his review of Hause's edition explains,

² Around 1999 I conducted the zarzuela *Cecilia Valdes* from Gonzalo Roig's original piano score, the only score available. I also conducted the opera *La Esclava*, from Jose Mauri's original manuscript.

³ Maestro Sanchez Ferrer once lent me his edited parts of the Salida of *Cecilia Valdez* for a concert that I had with the opera of Santo Domingo. On that occasion we talked at length about his job in the reconstruction of *Cecilia Valdes*.

⁴ Edward B. Marks Music Company. Classical. Accessed September 8, 2014. http://www.ebmarks.com/catalog/opera-stage/roig-gonzalo/cecilia-valdes/

Now he [Hause] has taken on an even more tricky assignment: the editing of a workable full score for Lecuona's Maria la O. Tricky, because the amount of contemporary orchestral material available is negligible, whilst memorial manuscripts, vocal scores and even copies of the libretto pose as many questions as they solve. The problems were almost insuperable, so Hause made the sensible decision to base his work on what we hear in the well-loved (abridged) recording arranged and conducted by Felix Guerrero, who had strong links with the composer and could be expected to know the kind of orchestral palette and counterpoint he had in mind.⁵

Hence, behind Hause's version there is not a single trusted resource, except well-trained ears and an abridged recording made by Felix Guerrero in Madrid, in 1956. (Montilla Records, Spain, 1956). However, by comparing the score in my possession with Montilla's recording, I discovered some differences in the orchestration. These differences are basically instrumental modifications made by Guerrrero for the sake of improving and updating the sonic realm of the work in a later revision. For example, "*La Ronda de los enamorados*" uses mandolins in Montilla's recording, while in Guerrero's score, the mandolins are replaced by a combination of *pizzicato* strings and flutes. Also, some words were adapted to conform to the vernacular of the spoken language in Spain, the audience for whom the 1956 recording was primarily intended.

For my performing edition of *Maria la O*, I have used three main sources. First, a copy of the original orchestration made by Felix Guerrero, copied by Ricardo Sanchez and given to me by Maestro Guerrero before he died.⁶ Second are all of the hand-written orchestra parts that are the property of the *Teatro Lirico Rodrigo Prats*, which have been used in all known performances of the zarzuela. And finally, I consulted a photocopy of

⁵ Zarzuela.net. Accessed January 12, 2015. http://www.zarzuela.net/cd/book/marks_maria-la-o.htm

⁶ The original manuscript of Guererro's score is presumed to be lost.

the vocal score-piano reduction that is also in manuscript. The completely legible copy of the manuscript score that I have in my possession has all of Guerrero's markings as well as his signature. The only exception is the Jose Inocente's Romanza No. 12, "*Mi Corazon herido sin piedad*," which does not have a full orchestral score, but rather a piano/conductor score with the signature of the famous zarzuela composer, Rodrigo Prats, as the orchestrator. I have reconstructed the full score to this Romanza from the instrumental parts and a comparison with Felix Guerrero's recording. Based on my comparison of this handwritten score with the handwritten orchestral parts, which were given to me by the *Teatro Rodrigo Prats*, most everything looks correct. However, because Maestro Guerrero was the orchestrator as well as the conductor, and therefore did not require that everything be completely written out, some important details were left out of the full score. For example, some Cuban percussion rhythms are not fully notated and some rhythmic figures had not been assigned to a particular percussion instrument.



Figure 1. Excerpt from the first page of the No 6 "*El Cabildo de Reyes*." Zarzuela *Maria la* O by Ernesto Lecuona as orchestrated by Felix Guerrero.

As in much indigenous music, the election of which instrument to play is left to the percussionists who know, by tradition, what rhythm to play and on which instrument, such as the *Tango Congo*, *Bolero*, *Habanera* or *Contradanza*.

I would like to also add that, based on my research on the subject, despite the relevance of the work of Ernesto Lecuona, little academic analysis on his work can be found and even less on *Maria la O*. The exceptions are the texts listed in the bibliography. Also, very little can be found about the life and work of Felix Guerrero, as well as on his active collaboration with Lecuona.

The purpose of this document, along with the first complete and edited performing edition, based on Felix Guerrero's original full score and orchestral parts, is to provide conductors with a clear and a more accurate performing version. I hope that this project will be an important contribution toward the recovery and maintenance of Cuba's rich musical heritage. It is my hope that it will result in the first published critical performing edition of the Zarzuela *Maria la O* by Ernesto Lecuona as orchestrated by Felix Guerrero.

CHAPTER II

AN OVERVIEW OF THE MUSICAL THEATRE IN CUBA IN THE 19th AND EARLY 20th CENTURIES

Cuban musical theatre in the 19th century is dominated by the presence of Italian, French, and Spanish opera, operetta and zarzuela companies that came from Europe to America and made *La Habana* their first mandatory stop, and often the only stop. *Opera buffa, vaudevilles, zarzuelas* and *sainetes* entertained the audiences as well as filled the pockets of impresarios. The only genre struggling for survival amid such a scenario was the Cuban *Bufo* Theatre. The Cuban *Bufo* Theatre (*Teatro Bufo Cubano*), on which all genuine Cuban lyric genera is constructed and originated, played a very important role in the foundation of the Cuban lyric scene, but was not as successful as the European genera due to its vernacular features and because of the political harassment to which its performances were subjected. Periods of strict censorship, bans, political and other factors prevented the Cuban *Bufo* Theatre from becoming fully developed.

The 19th century was a crucial time period in all aspects of Cuban history. It was a time when Cuba's national identity was being forged and maturing. The independence of United States of America and the independence of the Latin American colonies from the dominance of Spain and Portugal, created the decisive need for Cuban independence. The emergence of new bourgeoisie known as *Criollos*⁷ and their progeny *Rellollos*, with different viewpoints regarding trade and autonomy from their Spanish parents, dented the

⁷ Criollo was the name given to those born in Cuba of Spanish parents. Similarly Rellollos were those born in Cuba of native Cuban parents or Criollos.

colonial rules. Finally, the two major wars of independence⁸ allowed the birth of a genuine Cuban intellectual thought and identity.

Theatre, music and literature played a significant role in this struggle for a national identity. The fact that the Cuban music scene was uncertain, disorganized and mostly foreign is largely due to the intransigent reaction of the colonial authorities, who tried to stamp out everything that sounded genuinely Cuban. Events ranging from periods of apparent tolerance and freedom of the press⁹ to bloody incidents and daring cries for freedom, encouraged by the national theatre, condemned the Cuban musical scene to a long wait. Fear prevailed, which resulted in an obvious delays at stylistic, harmonic, and sonic aspects of Cuban musical productions during the early decades of the 20th century. *El Coliseo. El Principal and Tacon Theaters*.

The history of the Cuban musical scene can be best understood by looking at two major aspects: first, the role of the principal theaters in the diffusion of the lyric repertoire and, second, the occurrence of the two wars of independence (and the truce in between). *El Coliseo* was the first theater built in Cuba in 1776. Before that time, theatrical representations took place in domestic venues where illustrious aristocrats celebrated elegant soirees. As the city of Havana developed, the demand for a larger and more modern theater grew. In 1800 *El Coliseo* was demolished in order to build the *Teatro*

⁸ The first war, called the Ten Years War (*La Guerra de los diez años*, 1868-1878) and the Independence War (*La Guerra de Independencia*,) or The War of 1895 (*La Guerra de 1895*) lasted three years, 1895-1898.

⁹ In 1869, Domingo Dulce, at that time Captain General of the Island, decreed a freedom of the press that lasted only 34 days (from January 9 to February 11, 1869). At this time over 100 new publications, many of which spoke negative about Spanish dominance, were published. This freedom of the press was then politically unsustainable.

*Principal*¹⁰ in the same space. In 1810, *Teatro Principal* hosted a Spanish opera company that performed almost the same repertoire for about twenty years. Operas such as *Les deux prisonniers* by Dalayrac, *Il matrimonio segreto* by Cimarosa, *Il barbiero de Seviglia* by Paisiello, *Michel-Ange* by Méhul, *Le calife de Bagdad* by Boieldieu and many more operas of lesser importance formed this respectable repertoire that Havana's audience enjoyed.¹¹

In 1831, the saturated audience requested new singers, titles and productions, which is why the municipal authorities hired an Italian company which made its debut in Havana in 1834. A Romantic repertoire with operas by Bellini, Meyerbeer, Donizetti, and Mercadante prevailed, overshadowing eighteen-century compositions.¹² From that point, not only in the capital city, but also in other cities on the island, theaters were built as evidence of the economic and political power of the aristocratic slave-owning class. Therefore, the selected repertoire needed to be adequate to emulate that of a European metropolis.

Considering the modest geography and demographics of the island, the number of theaters built in Cuba in the 19th century was significant. Outside the capital, the most important theaters were the *Teatro Reina Isabel II (Reina)* in Santiago de Cuba (1850),

¹⁰ Henry Mazorra Acosta, "Los ingenieros militares y la arquitectura del edificioteatro en la Cuba colonial." *Atrio* (2009-2010): 37-46, accessed September 10, 2014, http://www.upo.es/historia_arte/export/sites/historia_arte/ATRIO/Atrio_15/Henry_Mazor ra_Acosta_Los_ingenieros_militares_y_la_arquitectura_del_edificioteatro_en_la_Cuba_colonial.pdf.

¹¹ Carpentier, Alejo. *Music in Cuba*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 172

¹² Ibid. 175

the *Teatro Principal* in Camagüey (1850), the *Teatro Manzanillo* in Manzanillo (1856), the *Teatro Sauto* in Matanzas (1863), the *Teatro La Caridad* in Santa Clara (1885), the *Teatro Casino Español* in Gibara (1890), the *Teatro Terry* in Cienfuegos (1889), and the *Teatro Milanes* in Pinar del Rio (1889).¹³ All of these theaters were built in the proscenium style with the traditional horseshoe shape. But it was in *La Habana* where the most important theaters were located, such as the *Teatro Tacon*, the *Teatro Albisu*, the *Teatro Payret*, the *Teatro Irijoa* (today *Teatro Marti*), the *Teatro Villanueva*, the *Teatro Albana*, the *Teatro Cervantes* (later *Lara*), the *Teatro Jane*, the *Teatro Politeama Habanero*, and the *Teatro Campoamor*.¹⁴ Of these, the first six theaters remain the most prominent in the Cuban musical scene. It is important to know about these theaters because these are the places where the most important musical performances in the country took place.

Today's *Gran Teatro de La Habana*¹⁵ began its life in 1838 as the *Teatro Tacon*, the most illustrious theater in the history of Havana. The most important dramatic and musical performers to visit the island since its inauguration have performed on its stage. Although the theater was inaugurated with the dramatic play *Don Juan de Austria* by

¹³ Except the *Teatro Reina* in Santiago de Cuba and *Teatro Casino Español de Gibara*, all of the other theaters are in perfect condition and still in use today.

¹⁴ Acosta, "Los ingenieros militares y la arquitectura del edificio-teatro en la Cuba colonial." 37-46.

¹⁵ It was named Teatro Nacional under the administration of the Centro Gallego and later demolished to construct the current Gran Teatro de La Habana. I had the privilege of serving as General Music Director of this institution from 2001-2007.

Mariano Jose de Larra,¹⁶ it bacame the main venue for opera and zarzuela. In 1846, the official opera season opened with Verdi's *Ernani*, only two years after its premiere in Venice. The 1857-58 season was dominated by the Italian divas Marieta Gazzaniga (*La Traviata*) and Erminia Frezzolini (*La Sonnambula*) as well as the Spanish Josefina Cruz de Gassier. It was from the Tacon stage that the most famous sopranos of the time, Adelina Patti and the "Swedish Nightingale," Jenny Lind delighted Havana's audience in 1862. All this led to the *Teatro Tacon* and its Italian troupe to becoming the cultural heart of the city until 1868 when the outbreak of the first Cuban independence war, started.

Tacon, Villanueva, Albisu, and Payret Theaters during the "Ten Years War" (1868-1878)

The Ten Years War was a difficult period for the arts in Cuba. The economic depression and panic caused by the battles paralyzed the eastern part of the Island and slowed down the development of the musical theatre in the capital. Many theaters were forced to close down due to the lack of audiences and extreme censorship. Other theaters were occupied by Spanish soldiers and converted to hospitals and barracks.¹⁷ Many playwrights, musicians, composers and actors went to fight in the war for independence, or went into exile. Others simply chose to live their lives in silence.¹⁸

¹⁶ Mario Lescano Abella, "Teatros Coloniales Habaneros" *Arquitectura La Habana*, no. 113 (December, 1942): 481-488. accessed September 18, 2014, http://www.galeriacubarte.cult.cu/g_critica.php?item=203&lang=sp

¹⁷ In 1869 the Theater Manzanillo in Manzanillo, Cuba was occupied by Spanish forces and converted in a hospital until 1874.

Because of the bloody events that occurred on January 21 and 22, 1869, just three months after the proclamation of Cuba's independence from Spain (October 10, 1868),¹⁹ the importance of the *Teatro Villanueva* was cemented in the history of Cuban theater. The *Villanueva* presented the Cuban Bufo Theatre, whose repertoire focused on political and social satire. The performance on January 21 ended with a shout of "*Viva Cuba*" (long live Cuba) without any major consequences except for a fine imposed on the owners of the theater, Jose Nin and Pons, as well as a reprimand for the singers for performing "subversive" songs.

The next night, at the end of the play *El Perro Huevero*, also in *Bufo* style, one of the actors recited "*Viva la tierra que produce la caña*" ("Viva the country that produces sugar cane"), and the tension between fundamentalists and independents was immediate. The colonialist faction, suspecting that the purpose of the event was to raise funds for the cause of independence (and it seems to have been so), alerted members of the *Cuerpo de Voluntarios* (an auxiliary military force of Spanish volunteers) who entered the hall in large numbers, instilling panic and bringing death to a defenseless audience. Persecution and more deaths followed the next day on streets such as *Villegas, Principe, Jesus del Monte* and the *Acera del Louvre* (Louvre sidewalk), which were places where young people, filled with the zeal of independence, would gather to conspire against Spanish rule. After the events at the *Villanueva*, the fate of the Cuban bufo, with its political satire, songs of double entendre and national scorn was sealed by censorship. The Italian

¹⁸ Leal, La Selva Oscura: de los bufos a la neocolonia, 112.

¹⁹ Between October 9 and 10, 1968 Carlos Manuel de Cespedes free all his slave and proclaimed the beginning of the independence. This historic event is known as *El Grito de Yara*.

opera, with its fatal, romantic heroines, the French operetta, with its naughty ladies singing, dancing and showing "more than they should"²⁰ and of course, the Spanish Zarzuela, helped to bury the Cuban Bufo for some time.

The main venue for the Spanish zarzuela was the theatre *Albisú*. Even though it was inaugurated with Rossini's Italian opera *Otello* in December, 1870, it was *La Zarzuela* that dominated the *cartello*.²¹ Between 1870 and 1872, Spanish zarzuelas and sainetes were presented there by the two Spanish production companies of Emilio Carratala and Joaquin Ruiz.²² Emilia Leonardi and Jose Palau were the most popular singers each season. In 1873, the zarzuela presentations continued featuring Elisa Zamacois and Enrique Ferrer in almost one hundred performances. Meanwhile in the *Teatro Tacon* the big attraction was the *gran tenore* Enrico Tamberlik who, together with Marietta Bulli, Fanny Nataly de Testa, Enrique Testa, Ercole Ronconi, a choir of 50 voices, an orchestra of 48 players under Carlos Ackermann's baton, offered ninety-four presentations of seventeen operas. These included Verdi's *Rigoletto* and *Il Trovadore, La Sonnambula* by Bellini, *Lucia di Lammermoor* by Donizetti, *Martha* by Flotow, and *Marina* by Arrieta.²³

In 1873, Italian opera gave way to the newly dominant French comic opera and operetta. A French company came from America under the direction of impresario Charles Chizzola and soprano Marie Aimee, delighting the public of Havana. The

²⁰ Leal, *La Selva Oscura: de los bufos a la neocolonia*, 86

²¹ Public placard where theatrical productions are announced each season.

²² Leal, La Selva Oscura: de los bufos a la neocolonia, 83.

²³ Ibid.

French, in their desire to please Havana's public, even dared to sing *guarachas*²⁴ and other vernacular selections. These were very successful. In 1875, the zarzuela continued to gain admirers. Its popularity made it the predominant form of public entertainment. Three zarzuela companies all worked at the same time in three different Havana theaters, the company of Gonzales Orejuela at *Cervantes* Theater, another company at *Teatro Lersundi* featuring the *tiple*²⁵ Amalia Ramirez, and a third company featuring tenor Juan Prats at the theater *Tacon*.²⁶

On January 22, 1877, the *Teatro Payret* opened its doors, becoming the great rival of *Teatro Tacon*. The opening production was *La Favorite* by Donizetti, with Elisa Villar de Volponi as the main character, a choir of 60 voices, and an orchestra of an equal number of players. The *Payret* was famous for presenting world-class artists. In addition to great opera singers, renowned actors such as Ernete Novelli, Tina di Lorenzo, Lydia Borelli, Ruggiero Ruggeri, André Broule and Sarah Bernhard graced its stage.²⁷ But, as Rine Leal tells us in his indispensable work *La selva oscura*, the impetuous onset of the Payret was marked by a number of problematic events during the first six years of this theater's existence. First, around 1876, the immense back wall of the theatre collapsed

²⁴ La Guaracha is a Genre of Cuban popular music that emerged in the late 18th century. During the 19th century it formed an intrinsic part of Cuban Bufo Theatre. Its binary structure alternates solo and chorus. Its lyrical characteristic is almost always picaresque and satirical.

²⁵ Tiple is the term given to the soprano voice in the Spanish Zarzuela.

²⁶ Leal, La Selva Oscura: de los bufos a la neocolonia, 96

²⁷ Mario Lescano Abella, "Teatros Coloniales Habaneros" *Arquitectura La Habana*, no. 113 (December, 1942): 481-488, accessed September 22, 2014. http://www.galeriacubarte.cult.cu/g_critica.php?item=203&lang=sp

during the final phase of construction. Next, there was an outbreak of fire during the first performance, followed by the north wall of the theater falling down, causing the death of four people, and even disastrous duels between audience members took place.²⁸ In 1883, six years after its inauguration, the *Payret* Theater closed its doors (until 1890).²⁹

Towards the end of the Ten Years War, the Cuban *bufo* began to timidly reappear on Cuban stages. The most remarkable bufo playwrights and *guaracheros*³⁰ returned from exile, and some successful pieces that had been performed before the banning of the genre at the beginning of the war were once again performed. Around 1877, *bufo* was played and presented, not only in small suburban theaters, but also in the important theaters of the capital, where only opera and zarzuela had been performed before. In that year, *bufo* companies presented performances at *El Teatro Cervantes* on February 28, *El Teatro Tacon* on June 9, *and El Teatro Payret* on June 27.³¹ At this time the Cuban *bufo* resumed the critical and satirical tone that it had had before 1868. In 1876, *Capitan General* Arsenio Martinez Campos³² was appointed as Cuba's Governor. His political and military abilities forced the Cuban Independent Army to sign the infamous *Pacto del*

²⁸ Leal, La Selva Oscura: de los bufos a la neocolonia, 103

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ The term *Guarachero* term applies equally to the composer, the performer and dancer of *Guaracha*, the main musical genre of Cuban Bufo Theater.

³¹ Leal, La Selva Oscura: de los bufos a la neocolonia, 106

³² Arsenio Martinez Campos was a Spanish officer who conceived a successful strategy that thwarted the independence of Cuba during the First War.

Zanjon,³³ by which Cuba's independence from Spain and the abolition of slavery were thwarted. Thus began a period of relative peace which was called *La tregua fecunda* (Fecund Truce) by José Martí.

Irijoa (Teatro Martí) and Alhambra Theaters during the Truce (1878-1895)

This period was very important for the consolidation of the national Cuban theater. Bufo Theater developed into what was called El Estilo Alhambra (Alhambra Style,) a style that greatly influenced what would later become the Zarzuela Cubana. In 1778, the opera season presented more than thirty comic operas such as Offenbach's La vie Parisienne. The famous opera singer Mme. Lambele Alhaiza performed at *Teatro* Tacon while the Italian diva Elena Veressi delighted audiences at Teatro Payret. 1879 was not as successful as the year before, first because of the economic effect of the postwar period (not everyone was willing to pay for a ticket), and second due to a veiled negative reaction to any foreign spectacle, including opera. In June of that year, an English comic opera company dramatically closed its season at the *Tacon* Theater after offering just one performance of Gilbert and Sullivan's H.M.S Pinafore. The same thing happened with the Italians who withdrew and dissolved their productions in September. Also, a minstrel group coming from Louisiana had only one mediocre and unsuccessful presentation,³⁴ after which they left Cuba. All of these things benefited the *bufo* groups *Caricatos* and *Provinciales*, which launched a season full of premieres and novelties.

³³ The Pact of Zanjon was a treaty that ended the first Cuban Independence War. Major Cuban military figures signed the truce, except for General Antonio Maceo, who left Cuba for Costa Rica in self-imposed exile.

³⁴ Leal, Rine. La Selva Oscura: de los bufos a la neocolonia, 166.

The year 1880 completely belonged to the *Cuban Bufos* and especially the Salas Bufos Company that led the season. Bufo companies performed everywhere, including those venues reserved only for the opera and zarzuela such as *Tacon, Albisú and Payret*. At the same time, a demoralizing campaign against the *Cuban bufo* began attacking the *Danzon*³⁵ for being not only immoral, but foreign due to its African roots. Also, some journalists asked for the substitution of the more "proper" Spanish genera *Rigodon* and *Cuadrilla* instead of using "vulgar" genera such as *Danza* and *Danzon*.³⁶

The main critics also denounced the excessive vulgarity and loud music of the Cuban Bufo Theater. As a matter of fact, all criticism had racist and classist overtones more than cultural or moral ones. These criticisms pointed to Cuban natives as indolent and indecent, due to their racial and mental inferiority. Hence, all products, including theater and music, were discredited, which was a way of establishing colonial, cultural domination. Regarding this, Rine Leal offers a clear explanation in his book *La Selva Oscura*

if before La_Demajagua³⁷ the creative virtues of Cubans and our ability to work and organize were praised...after the Zanjon, native Cubans were accused of irresponsibility, laziness and indolence. To defend the right of slavery and colonialism, the Mulata is mythologized as an element of social dissolution. These are the years of the Landaluze paintings,³⁸ curros, ñañigos, and the

³⁷ *La Demajagua* is the place where Carlos Manuel de Cespedes declared the independence of Cuba from Spain on October 10, 1868. This date marked the beginning of the First War of Independence, known as the Ten Years War.

³⁸ Victor Patricio Landaluze was a Spanish painter who is considered, in spite of his strong allegiance to Spain and conservative political views, the initiator of Cuban painting.

³⁵ Genre derivative from the creole Danza.

³⁶ La Habana Elegante, August 19, 1888.

"country of chocolate," in other words, the scam. ...Behind the concept of morality, a negative class conscience is hidden.³⁹

The *teatro bufo* heyday lasted until 1882, when it began to decline. The battle between different *bufo* companies, in order to maintain supremacy in both quality and box-office sales, unquestionably affected the quality of the written plays as well as the *mise en scene*. At the same time, the boom generated by the popular acceptance of the genre created a large number of small performing groups of dubious theatrical and musical quality. These groups presented productions consisting largely of rude jokes accompanied by *danzones* and *guarachas*. The *anti-bufos* and the colonial critics earned a point in their favor against the vernacular genre as evidenced in the newspaper *El Triunfo* in 1882: The Bufos have become prostituted and must die forever. ... the bufo genre in Cuba is a dead corpse ...⁴⁰

While the *Bufo* was fading away, opera was returned to *Teatro Tacon* by two French companies. The first company featured the widely famous soprano Paola Marié, along with a choir of thirty voices and one hundred orchestral players. The second company presented the tenor, Victor Capoul as its principal figure. A huge repertoire was presented that season, including operas by Offenbach, Bizet, Donizetti, Gounod, Halévy, Lecocq and Bazin. The Italians, on the other hand, opened their season with the Spanish

⁴⁰ Leal, *La Selva Oscura: de los bufos a la neocolonia*, 180

³⁹ Si antes de la Demajagua se alagan las virtudes creadoras del cubano y nuestra capacidad de trabajo y organizacion ... Despues del Zanjon se paso a las acusaciones de irresponsabilidad y vagancia o indolencia. Asi como a la mitificacion de la Mulata como elemento de disolucion social ... Son los años de las pinturas de Landaluze, de los curros y ñañigos, del "pais del chocolate", es decir, del chanchullo. ... Detras de la moral se escondia una mala conciencia clasista.

tenor Andres Anton at the *Albisú* Theater. Economically, 1883 was not a very good year for musical theatre in Cuba; the French had to lower the prices of their presentations, and the Italians went into bankruptcy toward the end of the year.

Excitement was created in1884 by the inauguration of a new theater, *Irijoa*, today *Teatro Marti*. This theater presented all kinds of genera from opera to public dances and social parties. It was the house of the vernacular, i.e. *bufo* theater, and both Puccini's *La Boheme* and *Tosca* had their Cuban premieres on its stage. In 1899, *Teatro Irijoa* was renamed *Teatro Marti* in honor of Jose Marti, the apostle of Cuban independence. At the same time, the *Payret* Theater closed due to a partially collapsed roof; the abandoned property eventually became the property of the government.

From 1886 until 1888, two Italian impresarios, Vicente Antinori and Napoleen Sieni, presented all of their operas at *El Teatro Tacon* with mediocre companies and without any success.⁴¹ Only the French operetta productions with Mme. Judic (Ana Damiana) pleased Cuban audiences during those years. Meanwhile, the zarzuela continued its normal Spanish repertoire featuring the singer *La Rusquella* as its main figure. Poor quality continued in1889 with more of the same types of productions, except for the zarzuela that presented Amalia Rodriguez, who was considered one of the best Spanish sopranos of the time. During this time, the *Bufo Theater* fought like their European congeners to maintain a presence on the scene, sometimes successfully and sometimes not. These three years were also marked by a strong national economic depression and a rejection of the mediocre music scene by the public. Simultaneously, a

⁴¹ Leal, La Selva Oscura: de los bufos a la neocolonia, 197

new political conspiracy was brewing in Cuba to carry out what would be the final fight for independence.

In 1890, *El Teatro Alhambra* opened its doors with, as usual, a Spanish zarzuela. The *Alhambra* was intended for use as a summer theater because of its excellent ventilation. It was intended to present works from *el genero chico* (small genre) and, for almost eight years, its programming consisted of zarzuelas, boudevilles and *sainetes*. The theater was erected on what was a vilified skating rink, a location known as being a place of licentiousness and prostitution.⁴² This new venue was well received by theatergoers, who saw it as a center of "art and decency."⁴³ But the compliments did not last long and, just three months after it was inaugurated, harsh criticism began because it became known as a place where rudeness and bad taste were cultivated. However, the *Alhambra* would play an important role after the War of Independence in the history of the Cuban musical theater thanks to the administration of Regino Lopez and playwright Federico Villoch.

In 1891, impresario Napoleen Sieni started the opera season at *El Teatro Tacon* without renowned figures, but with a good quality cast of singers. On January 16, the most remarkable event to occur in theater that year was the Cuban premiere of Wagner's *Lohengrin*. ⁴⁴ Across the street the newly renovated *Payret* opened by presenting the Spanish tenor Antonio Aramburu, who was famous not only for his vocal abilities but also for his personal eccentricities. In 1892, a theatrical crisis was at its peak due to

⁴² Union Constitucional, 10 de septiembre de 1890.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Leal, La Selva Oscura: de los bufos a la neocolonia, 310

political and economic turmoil. The operatic season and vernacular productions plunged into mediocrity. The *Alhambra* Theater was still open only because its presentations were almost pornographic. Cuban *bufos* continued to be presented despite an indifferent audience and a press that classified them as an "unfortunate business."⁴⁵

The year 1892 brought two American groups to *El Payret*, McCabe and Young's Minstrels, and the Frank Deshon Company, which premiered Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Mikado* in Cuba. Zarzuela presentations continued at *Teatro Albisú*, where it had been confined, while the Italians, with the impresario Sieni, maintained the operatic genre, on a mediocre level. Two significant events marked the 1893 season, the premiere of Arrigo Boito's *Mephistopheles*, as well as a performance by The Noss Jollity Musical Comedy, an American traveling company. Although a high quality of musical theatre existed in the United States at this time, the only companies that came to Cuba brought only mediocre variety shows, minstrels and musical comedies. As noted by Rine Leal, "...Spain never accepted the United States as an intellectual rival ... and Cuba followed the rules of Madrid despite the warning of some brilliant minds..."⁴⁶

The United States was not taken seriously as a cultural center by the Spanish, which caused the colonized Cuban public to continue to embrace more traditional European musical tastes. In the year following, *El Teatro Alhambra* continued its repertory of dubious morality plays, and the *Irijoa* seemed to follow its example with its

⁴⁵ Leal, La Selva Oscura: de los bufos a la neocolonia, 315

⁴⁶ Ibid, 320

España no aceptaba a los Estados Unidos como rival intellectual y en Cuba se seguian esos dictados madrileños a pesar de algunas mentes despiertas.

presentation of the Zarzuela *Libros Pornograficos* (Pornographic Books) whose title speaks for itself. The same musical panorama continued to dominate in 1894. The Alhambra continued its usual almost pornographic repertoire, the impresario Sieni's opera company at *Teatro Tacon*, and the Spanish zarzuela at the *Albisú*. In 1895, La verbena de la Paloma (The Fair of Dove Street) by Tomas Breton and libretto by Ricardo de la Vega premiered in Cuba at with enormous success. At the same time El Teatro *Tacon* continued presenting Italian opera, while the *Payret* continued presenting internationally known artists. The *Albisu*, as the Spanish zarzuela palace, presented *El rey* que rabió (The Rabid King) by Humberto Chapí and Alhambra representing Cosas y Quesos (Things and Cheeses) and the sexual parody La verbena del palomo. The only new remarkable events that year were the public presentations of the Edison Kinescope in the plaza Manzana de Gomez and later presentations of the Lumiere Cinematographe introduced in Havana a few months after its debut in Paris on December 28, 1895.⁴⁷ On February 24, 1895, uprisings on the east side of the island, led by Jose Marti against Spanish domination, ended the seventeen-year-old truce. The final war for independence had begun.

The outbreak of the Second War of Independence had much more impact on Havana's life than the first. This time the battles reached the western part of the island, having an even more negative effect on the already depressed economy. Although the cultural life in the capital did not cease completely, it did suffer the consequences of war. The Cuban lyric scene, although active, no longer presented the great European singers, as it had done before. In October 1895, *El Teatro Tacon* opened its season with the

⁴⁷ Leal, *La Selva Oscura: de los bufos a la neocolonia*, 326

Abelardo Barrera-Jose Palou Opera Company, while the Mexican Popular Opera performed at the *Albisú*. The scenario of the zarzuela during that year was the same; audiences still enjoyed the Spanish repertoire, but without any outstanding singers on the stage.

On January 10, 1896, Sieni disembarked from Italy with a company of sixty-two magnificent Italian singers, Libia Drog, and baritone Sinori Ughetto, among them. Their arrival promised a great season that turned out to be the shortest of all. Sieni, known in Cuba as the "Napoleon of Opera" quickly realized that Havana was not the same as it had been in earlier days, and after offering only a few special presentations, the Italians left just eighteen days after their arrival.

Those who benefitted the most during these scrambled times were the Cuban *Bufos*. They used their popular and pornographic language to express political criticism both for and against Cuba's independence as well as regarding politics in general. They laughed at everything and everyone, including the imminent possibility of North American interference in the war. Nothing on the Cuban musical scene was significant during this period. The expansion of the war, with the intervention of the United States, caused temporary but widespread closure of theaters. Indeed, a bomb exploded at *Irijoa* after the explosion of the U.S.S. Maine incident. ⁴⁸ Finally, when the war ended only five months later, the new Cuban republic took over from the American interventionist

⁴⁸ In 1898, under the guise of securing the interests of Americans living on the island, the American government sent the second-class battleship Maine to Havana without notifying local Spanish authorities. This was contrary to customary diplomatic practices. Three weeks later, on February 15, 1898 at 9:40 p.m., in an act of alleged terrorism, the U.S.S Maine was blown up, killing 268 men. This event precipitated the American intervention in the war between Cuba and Spain that began in April 1898.

government that was determined to keep its hegemony. Coinciding with these events was the premiere of the first Cuban opera, *Yumuri*, by Eduardo Sanchez de Fuentes.⁴⁹

In 1898 the coexistence in Havana of the three forces involved in the war, the Spaniards who were waiting to be evacuated back to Spain, the American interventionist army, and the *Ejercito independentista Cubano* (Cuban Independence National Army) made for a very complex political and social scenario. There was a mixture of cultural interests and political tensions. Havana's musical scene was filled with Cuban patriotic performances, while American popular music was gaining public attention. The Alhambra was renamed Casino or Jardin Americano (American Garden), and also, the repertoire was planned in accordance with the times, including productions whose titles were in English such as *Rooms to Let*, *English Spoken* and *Two Step* by Federico Villoch.⁵⁰ The *Albisú* offered bilingual shows so that "...the new audience could understand the show...³⁵¹ and an array of American artists arrived in Havana, including various minstrel shows. The opera came back with Italian and French companies at the Tacon and Payret, and the impresario Antonio Aramburo was still in the Albisú with more than two thousand zarzuela performances. The most important premiere at that time in Cuba was the opera *Patria*⁵² by the Dutch-Cuban composer Hubert de Blanck who spent most of his life in Cuba.

⁴⁹ Sanchez de Fuentes would become one of the most important and controversial Cuban composers from this period. He wrote six operas and one of the most celebrated Cuban melodies *"Habanera Tu."*

⁵⁰ Leal, La Selva Oscura: de los bufos a la neocolonia, 446

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² *Patria* is considered the first Cuban opera with a revolutionary subject.

The year 1899 witnessed the resurgence of *El Teatro Alhambra* under the new administration of Villoch "Pirolo" Arias who not only reconstructed the venue, but restored its original name. His new enterprise brought together the best librettists, performers, set designers, and composers in order to create what Leal called the *Estilo Alhambresco⁵³* (Alhambra Style).⁵⁴ It was this particular style that was one of the main antecedents of the *zarzuela cubana*. The *Alhambra* was also famous for being a maleonly enclave. The new *Alhambra* was such a success that all of its reconstruction debts were paid for in just three months after reopening. The name *Alhambra* was synonymous with Cuban theatre until 1935, when a fire destroyed the venue. Overall, it was in this scenario that the Cuban zarzuela was formed. It incorporated elements from each musical genera; opera, operetta, zarzuela, sainete, and much from the Cuban *Bufo*. In fact, many of what we call today *Zarzuelas Cubanas*, are really just *bufo* plays in the *Estilo Alhambresco*.

Origins of a National Genre: The Cuban Bufo Theatre

What today is considered *Zarzuela Cubana* is the final product of the mixture of genres such as zarzuela, sainete, stage *tonadilla*,⁵⁵ and above all, the *Teatro Bufo Cubano* (Cuban Bufo Theater). Francisco Covarrubias (1775-1850) is considered the father of the

⁵⁵ *Tonadilla escenica* (Stage Tonadilla) was first a musical, usually sung, final number at the end of a *sainete*. Gradually this added number took its own dramaturgical and thematic subject becoming a new genre named stage *Tonadilla*.

⁵³ Leal, La Selva Oscura: de los bufos a la neocolonia, 456

⁵⁴ The Alhambra Style masterfully combined text and popular Cuban music. The farce in all its forms: political, topical and even fantastic, was the preferred genre. The dialogues reflecting everyday life and social context, allowed a vulgar words also the improvisation of the actors.

Cuban Bufo genre. Around 1811, he started to parody Spanish works, and realized that the typical Spanish characters such as dandies, lowbrow braggarts, gypsies, moors, and others presented in *Sainetes* and *Tonadillas* could be replaced by Cuban types such as the *guajiro* (white poor peasant), the *Negrito* (comic black man), the *Gallego* (Galician) and the *Mulata* (mixed-race woman). Although, at the beginning, Covarrubias' parodies were still loyal to Spanish peninsular types, he added new indigenous musical elements. In 1814, the Cuban melody *"La Cirila"* was added to *Las tertulias de La Habana* and Covarrubias himself sang *"Tata, ven aca"* in *Los Velorios de La Habana*.⁵⁶ But, as has been pointed out by Leal, we must not identify Covarrubias' works as *Bufo* Theatre, but rather as one of its predecessors.

The Cuban *Bufo* was inspired by the *Bufos Madrileños* who traveled to Cuba from Spain in 1887, after a successful season in Madrid. Led by Francisco Arderíus, the Spanish troupe arrived in Havana and presented *El joven Telemaco*, a *zarzuela-bufa* in two acts, with a libretto by Eusebio Blasco and music by Jose Rogel. The scalding political satire, burlesque and caricature of popular types presented by this group caught the attention of Cuban actors who adopted their style in order to address Cuban contemporary issues. These actors called themselves *Bufos Habaneros*. Francisco "Pancho" Fernandez, Miguel Salas, Jose Castellanos, Luis Cruz, Jacinto Valdes y Diego Garcia were, if you will, the "camerata habanera," who gave birth to the new Cuban *Bufo* Theatre. So, popular characters of the early Covarrubias', Creto Ganga's *negros curros* as

⁵⁶ Carpentier, *Music in Cuba*. Minneapolis, 215

well as the Enrique de Zafra's *guajiros* immediately became part of the bufo's cast because they seamlessly matched this new artistic interest.⁵⁷

Cuban characters, parodies, and indigenous music are the most significant elements found in the Cuban bufo genre. These three characteristics made it very popular and successful. Alejo Carpentier notes that ... [Cuban types] "are the kind of folks that later enlivened the Cuban zarzuelas of the Alhambra Theater, with the twentieth century in full swing"...⁵⁸ But, also along with the characters came the music that identified this new *bufo* art. As noted Rine Leal, this national music was used by Covarrubias, Creto Ganga and their followers in ever-increasing amounts, resulting in what would later become the Zarzuela Cubana.⁵⁹ The seguidilla, villancicos, tonadilla among other Spanish genres gave way to the *guajiras*, *decimas*, canciones (Cuban songs), and above all the guaracha. La Guaracha became the ideal and preferred genre because of its musical form, which contained antiphonal alternation between the soloist and chorus that allowed the soloist the freedom to improvise. The improvised sections created the possibility of enlarging the dramatic action, as well as the opportunity to include critical commentary on the daily political and social affairs with true popular flavor. The guaracha was performed using guitars, tres, guiro, tumbadoras (congas) and later the

⁵⁷ Creto Ganga, whose real name was Bartolomé Crespo Borbón and Enrique de Zafra were the successors of Francisco Covarrubias in the development of the Cuban Bufo Theater. Like Covarrubias, both play-writes introduced vernacular characters and music into their librettos.

⁵⁸ Carpentier, *Music in Cuba*, 217

⁵⁹ Leal, La Selva Oscura: de los bufos a la neocolonia, 18

cornetin (cornet).⁶⁰ The *guaracha* was so popular that *la tanda de guaracheros* (a group of guaracha dancers) with their attractive outfits, colorful shirts, white pants, and colorful robes became a standard and integral part of the grand finale of every show.⁶¹

Considering all the above features, one can assert that the Cuban *Bufo* Theatre was mainly musical theatre. In fact, because only few librettos are extant, it is only through the surviving songs and *guarachas* that once belonged to the bufo, that historians and musicologists can get an idea of what may have been a bufo mise en scene. Bufo was a type of vernacular lyric theatre that reacted against the dominance of foreign opera and Spanish zarzuela. Its structure combined spoken scenes with songs and *guarachas*, most of them with double entendres that might or might not be relevant to the subject. Improvisation was an intrinsic part of the show, which gave a tireless quality to multiple performances of the same play. The requirements for *bufo* performers were quite demanding in that they had to know how to act, sing, dance, and improvise. Because most of the pieces were not published, scholars and researchers have had to rely on critical reviews in order to form a panoramic view of the genre. The inconsistency of names given to the types of plays by their creators; *juguete comico* (comic plaything), cuadro de actualidad (actual picture), pieza (piece), comedia (comedy), descarrilamiento (derailment), latigazo comico burlesco (whiplash comic-burlesque), desconcierto bufo

⁶¹ Leal, La Selva Oscura: de los bufos a la neocolonia, 20

⁶⁰ Argeliers, Leon. *Del canto y el tiempo*. (La Habana: Editorial Pueblo y Educacion, 1974).

(bufo disorder) or *ajiaco dramatico* (dramatic gumbo)⁶² made the process of cataloging extremely difficult. This issue was a problem in the early days of Cuban zarzuela, especially when both the *bufo* and Cuban zarzuela existed in the same time and place.

The Bufo Theatre repertoire played a remarkable roll in the development not only of the *Zarzuela Cubana*, but in the dissemination, popularization and acceptance of Cuban popular music. It was on the *Buf*o Theatre stage where both urban and rural songs were brought to life, and black culture finally achieved its place fostering one of the most pervasive movements in Cuba, Afro-Cubanism.⁶³ The Afro-Cubanism movement developed during the first twenty years of the 20th century and expanded until late 1940. It was not only a spontaneously popular movement, but one that was pushed by artists, researchers, composers and scholars⁶⁴ who were interested in the study of the integration and impact of African elements on Cuban culture. With the racialized Cuban characters inherited from the Cuban *bufos* and the preference for nineteenth-century plots,⁶⁵ the *Zarzuela Cubana* played an important role in the development and dissemination of the new Afro-Cuban trend.

⁶⁵ Thomas, Susan. *Cuban Zarzuela: Performing Race and Gender on Havana's Lyric Stage*. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

⁶² Leal, La Selva Oscura: de los bufos a la neocolonia, 25-26

⁶³ Carpentier, *Music in Cuba*.

⁶⁴ The most important figures in this regards are Fernando Ortiz, Alejo Carpentier,, composers such Amadeo Roldan and Alejandro G. Caturla. Poets such Nicolas Guillen and Emilio Ballagas. Painters: Eduardo Abela and Wifredo Lam.

La Zarzuela Cubana

The Zarzuela Cubana is a term that includes diverse genera such as sainetes, revistas,⁶⁶ bufos, Zarzuelas, and also operettas. General characteristics of a Zarzuela *Cubana* are that the work is based on a Cuban theme and it also contains traditionally Cuban melodies and rhythms. In Cuba it was a common practice to call any Cuban musical play that was not an opera or a Spanish Zarzuela, a Zarzuela Cubana. Cuban audiences would go to theaters to enjoy Zarzuelas Cubanas regardless of the exact genre to which the play actually belonged. Even scholars, journalists, and connoisseurs still called many of the *bufo* plays presented at the *Alhambra* simply Zarzuelas. Those productions were almost always identified by sub-generic labels such as comic, fantastic, plaything, etc. These labels were usually given by librettists in order to provide a hint of the plot rather than suggesting the musical morphological structure.⁶⁷ To this, we may add that most of the studies on this topic have been written by theatre historians and not by musicologists. Hence, appropriate musicological research and investigation addressing the specific problem of classification, identification, and cataloging are urgently needed in order to protect and preserve these works.

As always in the history of the Cuban stage, the birth and development of a genre is tied to the building of a new venue. *El Teatro Regina*, like the *Alhambra*, was erected on the site of the *Molino Rojo*, a male-only venue with a very bad reputation. The new

⁶⁶ The *revista* comes from the French genre *reveu* brought to Cuba from Spain, where it was very popular. It is often a one-act musical play with musical and dance numbers. The plot is always an excuse to promote spectacle rather than dramatic action, and there is no essential dramatic relationship between the musical numbers.

⁶⁷ Thomas, *Cuban Zarzuela: Performing Race and Gender on Havana's Lyric Stage*, 21-22

theater, now called *Regina*, played an important role in the early stages of the Cuban Zarzuela. Unlike other theaters that opened their doors with an opera or Spanish Zarzuela, the *Regina* opened it doors with a *sainete* and a *revista*, *La Niña Rita* and *La Tierra de Venus*, both by Ernesto Lecuona. These were true examples of Cuban zarzuelas. These two works by Lecuona are considered by many to be the precursors of a trend of nineteen-century plots that would fill the Cuban Zarzuela for many years.⁶⁸

There is not a definite structure for the *Zarzuela Cubana* because of its own multigeneric characteristic mentioned above. Many of the titles lean more towards the light *revista*, such as Gonzalo Roig's *La Habana de noche* and Rodrigo Prat's *La Habana que vuelve*, while others are true zarzuelas (*genero grande*) with multiple acts, like Roig's *Cecilia Valdez*, *La hija del sol*, and *Cimarron*. In my opinion, the *Zarzuela Cubana* has three main periods. First, when the genre was developing from the *Alhambra*'s bufo plays, second, when the early *zarzuela Cubana* left the *Alhambra* as a new form of musical theatre, and third, a more mature period where we have the two maximum exponents of the Cuban Zarzuela, which were Roig's *Cecilia Valdez* and Prats' *Amalia Batista*. When the early *zarzuela Cubana* ent to other Havana's theaters such as *Marti*, *Payret*, and above all *Regina*, composers and librettist had already created a formula for the new genre. It is important that we take into account that the *Alhambra* was a maleonly enclave. Therefore, by taking the *Zarzuela Cubana* out of the *Alhambra* the composers and librettists were not only changing venues, but also reaching new

⁶⁸ Thomas, Cuban Zarzuela: Performing Race and Gender on Havana's Lyric Stage, 20

audiences. Hence, substantial changes in the use of language and dramatic structure were essential.

This new Cuban zarzuela was intended to attract and please a vast and multigender audience just like the opera or Spanish Zarzuela. Like the Spanish Zarzuela, the Cuban Zarzuela has two types: short, one-act works that resemble the *genero chico* (small genre) and other larger multiple-act works with a more operatic style that resembled the *genero grande* (big genre). The small pieces tended to have a minimum instrumentation, and sometimes the musical numbers had little to do with the drama. However the most elaborated zarzuelas have a more colorful and complex orchestrations, as well as dramatic unity.

Cuban Zarzuelas are numbered lyric works based on Cuban themes, divided in different scenes often in one or two acts. Something that characterize and differentiates the Cuban from the Spanish Zarzuela is its tragic ending. While dramatic conflicts in Spanish Zarzuelas are almost always resolved in happy weddings, Cuban Zarzuelas usually have fatal endings, emulating the Italian *verismo* so enjoyed by Cuban audiences. What makes the *Zarzuela Cubana* unique is the presence of elaborate, popular Cuban rhythms and the *salida*, a truly Cuban invention. The *salida* (entrance aria) is very similar to the cavatina. Sung by the female protagonist it is usually divided into two parts, first a grand orchestral and choral introduction, followed by a slow, melodic section where the character describes her own personality. The second part is a fast "dance action" that contains virtuosic singing. In this part different Cuban rhythms such as *Guaracha, Tango Congo*,⁶⁹ *Danzon*⁷⁰ *or Contradanza*⁷¹ take place. The coda always ends with a very high note,by which the protagonist displays her vocal prowess. The *salida* is not only where the *Mulata* presents herself, but also where the future, dramatic end is subtly announced through her passionate confession of being able to kill for love.

It was Ernesto Lecuona who invented and established the use of the *salida* as a standard convention in Cuban Zarzuela around 1930. It was so popular that from then on every Cuban Zarzuela contains a *salida*, whether the principal female character is a *mulata* or not. By just looking at the titles of some of the Cuban Zarzuelas written by Lecuona in the first half of the twentieth century, such as *Maria la O, Rosa la China, Maria Belen Chacon, and Lola Cruz,* one can say that the plots centered on female characters, and the scores showcased the voices of these almost always mixed-race women. The *mulata* came from the vernacular Cuban Bufo where she was an intrinsic part of the dramaturgical, *Gallego-Negrito-Mulata* (Galician-Black-Mulata) comic formula. However, librettists and composers reworked the role of the *mulata* in the new genre by turning her from a frivolous and vulgar character into a dramatic one. Librettists realized that they had a very good source of dramatic material by exploiting

⁶⁹ Vocal-instrumental genre of urban origin inserted in the context of the Cuban song. It is basically a simple melodic line with instrumental accompaniment running a stable rhythmic pattern. It's a simple binary structure in 2/4; and is interpreted in a slow tempo

⁷⁰ The *Danzon* or Cuban Danzon is a rhythm and dance of Cuba. Its origin comes from another musical genre called Cuban Habanera or *Danza Criolla* (Creole Dance). Danzon was created by composer Miguel Failde Matanzas y Pérez in 1879. Also, Danzon as augmentative of Danza.

⁷¹ Genre that its origin is in the contradance (country-dance) arrival in Cuba in 1789 after the French Revolution, by French immigrants, as well as blacks and mulattoes from Haiti, Louisiana and New Orleans.

the *mulata*'s complaints of miscegenation and second-class designation, as well as her struggles to become recognized and accepted by an extremely racist society. The character of the *mulata* reflects a gender and also symbolizes Cubanism in all its significance. It is also through this conflicted mixed-race figure that librettists expressed their discontent against racial discrimination and class struggle in the new Cuban Republic era.

Ernesto Lecuona's La Niña Rita was conceived by mixing a love story with musical scenes showcasing popular Cuban music and dance. These scenes were made in the *revista* style and have nothing to do with the main plot of the play. These musical pictures are usually choreographed and they are musically elaborate. The scenery is always lively and attractive in order to be visually appealing. Generally, a spoken dialogue followed these numbers resuming the story again. This blending was a Lecuona's own formula that he exploited in almost all of his stage works. La Tierra de *Venus* is the *summum* of the female voice showcasing four leading sopranos who sing, among other Cuban songs, two of Lecuona's most enduring melodies: Siboney and Canto *Indio.* Interspersed, we have dressed dancing and choral numbers in order to please the audience. This successful structure was the invention of the fruitful collaboration of the composer Ernesto Lecuona and librettist Gustavo Sanchez Galarraga. La Niña Rita and La tierra de Venus contain all musical, dramatic, and scenic characteristics that infused all of Lecuona's later works including *El Cafetal* (1929), which is considered the first truly Cuban Zarzuela, and Maria la O.⁷²

⁷² Thomas, Cuban Zarzuela: Performing Race and Gender on Havana's Lyric Stage, 33-35

CHAPTER III

LA ZARZUELA MARIA LA O

Maria la O is undoubtedly Lecuona's best-known zarzuela. It was premiered with enormous success on March 1, 1930 at Payret Theater, and even today, remains one of the most performed zarzuelas in the Cuban lyrical repertoire. With a libretto written by Gustavo Sanchez Galarraga, the play takes place in Havana in the mid-nineteenth century. The main drama evolves around a passionate love triangle relationship between the beautiful and voluptuous *mulata Maria La O* (soprano), a wealthy young *criollo* Fernando de Alcazar (tenor), and a young white girl, Niña Tula, Fernando's fiancée. The jealous Maria, who knows her lover is officially engaged to Niña Tula, swears to kill him if he ventures to abandon her. At the same time, a colored man, *Jose Inocente* (baritone) who loves the *mulata*, but cannot win her favor, is determined to punish anyone who tries to harm Maria. In the end, Niña Tula eventually wins Fernando's love and they finally get married. On the day of their marriage *Jose Inocente* plans to go to Havana's harbor in order to avenge the name of his beloved. However, when the happy couple arrives at the harbor to depart for Madrid on their honeymoon, Maria arrives and stabs Fernando herself.

Even the structure of *Maria la O* is a matter of controversy. It was first presented in 1930 as a *Sainete Lirico en un acto* (Lyric Cuban Sainete in One Act).⁷³ However, many bibliographies and sources cite *Maria la O* as a two-act zarzuela. Those affirmations are based on the way that the zarzuela was stretched and structured after

⁷³ Enrique Rio Prado, "Repertorio historico-Zarzuelas Cubana." *Liricocuba*, accessed November 14, 2014, Enrique Rio Prado Especialista del Centro Nacional de Investigaciones de las Artes http://www.liricocuba.cult.cu/zarzcub.html

1956. Back in the late 1920s and early 1930s, Lecuona's works were mostly *Sainetes Liricos* in one act like *El Cafetal* (1929) *and Rosa la China* (1932). They were presented in pairs, or with another short play as a filler. During this time, all of these early Cuban zarzuelas were a living part of a particular venue where flexibility was required for economic, artistic or logistical reasons. These works were not anthologies as they are today, but were mere productions intended to entertain the public, and would adapt to current events and even casting considerations. In this regard, in her great book *Cuban*

Zarzuela. Performing Race and Gender on Havana Lyric Stage, Susan Thomas said:

It was typical for new musicals numbers to be added in the days and weeks following a work's premiere, possibly because the work wasn't entirely finished by opening day, or as a marketing tool to further ticket sales, or to furnish showcase numbers for famous additions to the cast who were contracted once the work was deemed a success.⁷⁴

In fact, the original *Maria la O* structure more resembles a Cuban Bufo play in Alhambra style because it has many of the Bufo's characteristics such as choreographed musical numbers, the obligatory *Tanda de guaracheros* at the end, and comic scenes featuring the *Gallego* (Spaniard) and *Negrito* (black man), which have nothing to do with the primary dramatic plot. Later on, works belonging to the mature period of the Cuban Zarzuela like *Cecilia Valdez*, *Maria Belen Chacon* or *Amalia Batista* have more dramatic unity, and leave out these kinds of choreographic scenes that have nothing to do with the main story.

⁷⁴Thomas, *Cuban Zarzuela: Performing Race and Gender on Havana's Lyric Stage*, 113.

In my opinion, *Maria la O* was originally a short, one-act work that was expanded to two acts because of its dramatic potential, its great success, and the possibility of presenting it complete without any additional musical fillers. For example, *Maria la O* was premiered in Madrid on July 2, 1953. On the second part of the show was performed *"Final de Fiesta"*,⁷⁵ during which Lecuona himself played some of his most popular songs and Luis Carbonell, a famous reciter of poetry, delighted the audience with selection of Antillean poems. After 1956, *Maria la O* was expanded to become a large dramatic zarzuela as opposed to the original shorter *Sainete* version. The process of expansion was made by adding an orchestral prelude, repeating musical scenes, adding musical numbers, intermezzos, and a finale. Also, additional vocal selections were given to some of the characters who were mute in the original *sainete*. Some versions, like the one made by the *Estudio Lirico*⁷⁶ around 1995, went so far as to add compositions from other Lecuona zarzuelas, as well as new incidental music written for the occasion by Gonzalo Romeu:

I wrote several arrangements of Lecuona's songs that were included in the production we did with Alina [Sanchez]. The [original] zarzuela had about ten musical numbers. The version we did doubled them. We did a recording of that invention. The Gran Duo (Duet) was cut by Nelson Dorr, and the violin solo that appears at the middle of the Romanza was arranged as a grand [separated] instrumental number accompanied with Bata drum rhythms. I also composed some incidental music to support certain scenes that, according to some Lecuona's fans who were still alive at that time, neither Galarraga nor Lecuona would have imagined using in *Maria la* $O...^{77}$

⁷⁵ Ramon Estrada Fajardo, eds., *Ernesto Lecuona: Cartas*, vol. 2 (La Habana: Ediciones Boloña, 2012), 11.

⁷⁶ *Estudio Lirico Nacional de Cuba* was a lyric company founded in 1986 and by the renewed Cuban soprano Alina Sanchez.

⁷⁷ Gonzalo Romeu, e-mail message to author, July 7, 2013.

I have not yet found a single document containing the original numbering and structural layout of *Maria la O*. Up to now, scholars, researchers and connoisseurs have simply relied on and referred to the 1956 recording, conducted by Felix Guerrero. However, the 1956 recording had obvious structural modifications, to please the Spanish public, and to comply with standard commercial requirements of the recording industry. In the same way, the zarzuela was modified in 1953 to conform to the censorship imposed by Francisco Franco's dictatorship. The Franco government was relentless in forcing submission to its rules of censorship. Writers and authors were forced to cut and edit anything with which the censors did not agree. It was mandatory to make a special presentation of each new work for censors who were responsible for enforcing the rules of prohibition. For this reason Lecuona asked the Spanish Zarzuela librettist Guillermo Fernandez Shaw to conduct a review of all of his libretti that were to be performed at *Alvarez Quintero Theater* in Madrid in order to adapt, delete, or rework any passages that did not conform to local regulations. Regarding this, Fernandez Shaw said,

Although I am honored to be included among the authors of *Maria la O*, in my work, which has been minimal, I have limited myself to made small interventions, serving the wishes of Lecuona....⁷⁸

Yo escribí varios arreglos de canciones de Lecuona que fueron incluidas en la puesta que hicimos con Alina, pero que no pertenecían a la zarzuela. La zarzuela tenía alrededor de 10 intervenciones musicales. Esta puesta tenía el doble. Por ahí hay una grabación de aquel invento. Al llamado Gran Dúo, Nelson Door le cortó la mitad de su contenido. El solo de violín de la parte central de la Romanza se convirtió en un gran tutti orquestal acompañado de tambores batá. También tuve que inventar alguna música incidental para apoyar ciertas escenas que ni Sánchez Galarrága ni Lecuona hubieran podido imaginar para aquella María La O.

⁷⁸ Fajardo, eds., *Ernesto Lecuona: Cartas*, vol. 2, 13.

However, the censors were implacable; when the performers returned to Havana, one of the actresses involved in this presentation, Mimi Cal, in an interview said,⁷⁹

I had to say a rare dialogue in *Maria la O* written by Fernandez Shaw, who is a very good writer, but I am sorry, what's Cuban is Cuban. [...] Before the first *Maria la O* presentation, we had to perform the zarzuela before three gentlemen, who were dressed in little, tight, black suits. They sat in the front row with the script in hand and forbade me to say 'el sol de Jesus Maria'' ("the sun of Jesus Maria"). "It is a Catholic phrase" said one, while the other crossed out the words in the script.

In the same way, and for the same reasons, the original ending of the story was changed to Fernando and Tula happily departing for Spain, leaving out the fact that the *mulata* carrying Fernando's unborn child. The new ending, more in line with Spanish regulations, displayed the lonely and despair of the *mulata* always beautiful, desired, but rejected.

The 1956 Montilla Record project is the oldest *Maria La O* sonic document that we have today. This recording was made for the *Safiro* record label, and orchestrated and conducted by Felix Guerrero. This is where I believe the *Maria la O* expansion process began. This recording included all of the musical modifications made for the Spanish premiere, including Guerrero's Preludio and Finale,⁸⁰ as well as the additional vocal and instrumental parts. If we extract these sections, we can see how the original work would have looked.

Order of the 1956 Maria La O Montilla Recording:

No. 1- Preludio (Prelude composed by F.G)

⁷⁹ Ibid. 14

⁸⁰ Lucy Provedo, interview by author, La Habana September 22, 2014. "After hearing the Preludio and Finale that Maestro created for the Zarzuela, Lecuona, who highly praised Guerrrero's orchestrational talent, approved the use of them to replace other numbers that had been composed perhaps by Lecuona, or another composer."

No. 2- Coro general y Salida de Maria la O.

¡Viva, dichosa, viva! la bella Caridad. Viva, viva siempre, la Reina del Manglar

No. 3- Romanza de Jose Inocente

Mi corazón herido sin piedad

No. 4- Ronda de los enamorados

(in other sources La Ronda del amor or Los enamorados)

Amor dime donde has ido

No. 5- El Cabildo de Reyes

Aquí está el Cabildo, sí señor,

No. 6- Duo

Me engañabas traicionando mi passion

No.7- Los Curros del Manglar

Ojo alerta, que aquí está el cheche.

No. 8- Las Chancleteras

La mulata soy yo

No. 9- Intermedio (instrumental arrangement made by F.G of the No. 7 Los Curros del

Manglar)

No. 10- Ronda de los Guaracheros.

Mulatica Sandunguera yo te quiero

No. 11- Intermedio (instrumental arrangement made by F.G

of the original Los Enamorados)

No. 12- Romanza de Maria la O

Mulata infeliz, tu vida acabo.

No. 13- Finale. (Composed by F.G)

In the recorded version, four numbers were added: Nos. 1, 9, 11 and 13. Because the new Preludio was added, the original No. 1 (*Coro general*), which is short, is now part of No. 2, and connected to the *Salida* of Maria Ia O. In addition, the original No. 4, *Los enamorados "Hoy es la fiesta de Reyes,"* was substituted for the more Spanish "*Amor dime donde has ido.*" No. 10, *Tanda de Guaracheros*, is a perfect example of the adaptation that *Maria Ia O* suffered in order to please foreign ears, commercial interests and the censors. The *Tanda de guaracheros* in the original *Maria La O* is a *Chancleteras*, a genuine *guaracha* in duple meter featuring all the usual stylistic *guaracha* characteristics. However, on the recording, the selection identified as the *Tanda de Guaracheros* does not, in any sense, belong to a *guaracha* genre; it was replaced with a polka entitled "*Mulatica Sandunguera yo te quiero.*" Perhaps this was done in order to appeal to a more European taste. In addition, specifically Spanish words and idioms were used, such as allusions to soldiers, *toreros* (bullfighters) and the city of Madrid. These obviously have nothing to do with Cuba, but were changed to fit Spanish interests.

Mulatica Sandunguera yo te quiero

Mulatica Sandunguera yo te quiero	Little mulata sandunguera, I love you
Mulatica retrechera por ti muero	little alluring mulata, I die for you
Para ti va mi cancion	for you is my song
Temblorosa de passion	trembling with passion
Mulatica, flor canela de mi amor	my little cinnamon flower.
Guarachero compañero jaranero	Guarachero, roistering comrade
Con tu planta de soldado y de torero	with your good looking soldier and bullfighter

Cuando vayas a Madrid	when you were in Madrid
Aprovecha la occasion	took the opportunity
De decirle que me muero por su amor	to tell him that I am dying for his love
Y que la cancion que te canto aqui	and that I will fill his love some day
Fuera un dia con mis besos en Madrid	with my kisses in Madrid.

If we know from the original programs, and Lecuona's personal letters that *Maria La O* was originally about ten musical numbers in length, and that the musical expansion process began around 1956, by removing the four added numbers on the 1956 recording, what is left is probably the original one-act *sainete* version of *Maria la O*.

Original 1930 Sainete Version of Maria La O

No. 1- Preludio y Coro General (currently No. 2)

¡Viva, dichosa, viva! la bella Caridad.

No. 2- Salida de Maria la O.

Viva, viva siempre, la Reina del Manglar

No. 3- Romanza de Jose Inocente

Mi corazón herido sin piedad.

No. 4- Ronda de los enamorados

Hoy es la fiesta de Reyes.

No. 5- El Cabildo de Reyes

Aquí está el Cabildo, sí señor,

No. 6- Duo

Me engañabas traicionando mi passion

No.7- Los Curros del Manglar

Ojo alerta, que aquí está el cheche.

No. 8- Las Chancleteras

La mulata soy yo

No. 9- Romanza de Maria la O

Mulata infeliz, tu vida acabo

No. 10- Postlude (instrumental arrangement of No.9)

This order above perfectly fits a one-act production since the scenes flow easily without any technical or scenic interruptions. The dramatic action develops in three main locations: the house of Caridad, the Manglar Neighborhood, and the *Alameda de Paula* near Havana's harbor. In between these dramatic settings are three dance scenes, *Cabildo de Reyes, Los Curros del Manglar* and *Chancleteras*. The approximate duration of the original work in this form is about 45 to 50 minutes, the typical length of a one-act *sainete*.

Today *Maria La O* is presented in a longer, two-act version. In this form, it has more locations in which the story develops and, of course, more musical numbers. Besides Felix Guerrero's Prelude and Finale, new musical numbers are included by adding two new love scenes in the first act. The first is between Niña Tula (who was a mute character in the original version) and Fernando de Alcazar. The second such scene is between Maria la O and Fernando as well. In the first new love scene, one or two new musical numbers could be interspersed according to the interest of the production. The preferred Lecuona song for *Niña Tula* is often *Escucha al Ruiseñor* (The Nightingale), a virtuoso song written for soprano leggero with coloratura. However, another song can be inserted if the available singer does not have the leggero, coloratura characteristic. Also, another song is often sung by Fernando, in a *Romanza* style. The common practice of adding such selections is made by choosing any of Lecuona's love songs that are dramaturgically meaningful to the scene. The second love scene is a *Duetino* for Maria and Fernando in which they express their idyllic love. The rest of the additions are partial or complete repetitions of existing numbers, especially the colorful choral dances that are made for scene changes, or for the sake of dramatic unity. Another modification we find is the moving of the baritone Romanza "*Mi corazon herido sin piedad*" from its original position as No. 3, to No. 12 in the second act. Also, the use of *Ronda del amor "Amor dime donde has ido*" used in 1956 recording, was used as a prelude to the same act.

Common Modern Performance Structure of Maria la O

Act I

Preludio

No. 1- Cuna de Caridad.

¡Viva, dichosa, viva! la bella Caridad

No. 2- Salida de Maria la O

Viva, viva siempre, la Reina del Manglar

No. 3- Duetino

En mi crees tú mi dulce amor

No. 4- Ronda de los enamorados

Hoy es la fiesta de Reyes.

No. 5- Canta Ruiseñor

Escucha al Ruiseñor

No. 5b- Lecuona's song for Fernando

No. 6- El Cabildo de Reyes.

Aquí está el Cabildo, sí señor,

No. 7- Gran Duo

Me engañabas traicionando mi passion

Act I Finale- (almost always a repetition of the Cabildo)

Act II

Ronda de los enamorados (used as an instrumental prelude)

Amor dime donde has ido

No. 8- Los Curros del Manglar

Ojo alerta, que aquí está el cheche.

No. 9- Romanza de Jose Inocente

Mi corazón herido sin piedad.

No. 10- Las Chancleteras

La mulata soy yo

No. 11- Romanza de Maria la O

Mulata infeliz, tu vida acabo

No. 12. Postlude Finale

(Instrumental postlude)

The Composer: Ernesto Lecuona, Life and Works

Ernesto Lecuona y Casado was born on August 7, 1895, in the village of *Guanabacoa* in Havana. His father, Ernesto Lecuona Ramos was an *Isleño* (in Cuba referring to a person who is a native of the Canary Islands). His mother, Elisa Casado, was a native Cuban born in *Matanzas*. Of their fourteen children, only seven survived,

and Ernesto was the youngest. His musical genius became evident at a very early age. When he was only three years old, he was able to play the piano and exactly imitate the pieces his sisters Ernestina and Elisa practiced at home. It was at that point that Ernestina took her brother's talent seriously and became his first musical teacher. This family musicianship connected them in a musical relationship that would last Ernesto's entire life. At the age of five, he presented his first piano recital at Havana's Hispanic Club.⁸¹ It was there that he was labeled a prodigy by extremely favorable reviews. His first piano compositions came at the age of ten, while studying with Antonio Saavedra and Joaquin Nin in the *Conservatorio Payrellade*. After that, Lecuona was accepted by Hubert de Blank in the *Conservatorio Nacional*, where he studied four years. On April 4, 1913, at the age of seventeen, Lecuona graduated and received the gold medal for his performance of Robert Schuman's A minor Piano Concerto.⁸²

Lecuona's first attempt at musical theatre can be found in his early adolescence, when he wrote music for three plays written by his brother Fernando: *Fantasia Tropical*, *El banquete del Gallego* and *Cuadros Nacionales*. These short one-act *sainetes* were selected by the impresario Julian Santacruz to be performed at the *Teatro Marti* around 1909. After that series of performances, Lecuona continued collaborating with the Company of Hermanos Velasco and Julian Santacruz at *Teatro Marti*, where he was hired as an orchestra conductor and composer. *El Teatro Marti* was a very important place for

⁸¹ Gloria Castiel Jacobson, "The Life and Music of Ernesto Lecuona" (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1982).

him; it was there where he premiered his first well-known works, *Domingo de piñata* (Sunday of the Pinata), *La Liga de las Naciones* (The League of Nations) in 1919, and *Diabluras y fantasias* (Mischief and Fantasies) in 1922.

In 1922, Lecuona completed the first of many successful tours that would take his music and piano performances around the globe. Because of this opportunity, he appeared for eight consecutive weeks at the Capitol Theater in New York. In 1924, he was invited by the Spanish-based International Society *"Concierto Daniel"* to present a concert series in Spain as a solo pianist, and accompany the Cuban violinist Marta de la Torre Campuzano. It was there that Lecuona not only performed works from the standard classical repertoire such as *Polichinelle* Op. 3, No. 4 by Sergei Rachmaninov, Etude, Op. 52, *La Jongleuse* by Moritz Moszkowki, and the *Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2, S.244/2* by Franz Liszt, but he also performed his own *Danzas Cubanas* and *Suite Andalucia.*⁸³ His tour was such a success that he was invited to write music for Spanish productions such as *Al caer la nieve*,⁸⁴ an operetta with a libretto by Manuel Meriño and Antonio Paso, *Levantate y anda*, a musical revue with libretto by Mario Vitoria.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Fajardo, eds., *Ernesto Lecuona: Cartas*, vol. 1, 15

⁸³ Ramon Estrada Fajardo, eds., *Ernesto Lecuona: Cartas*, vol. 1 (La Habana: Ediciones Boloña, 2012), 14-15

⁸⁴ All of these works were conceived by Lecuona in a Spanish style. There is almost no trace of Cubanism. They were such a success that today they are considered part of the Spanish repertoire. This group of pieces, along with Lecuona's paternal origin and voluntary exile after 1960, is the reason why Lecuona is considered by some scholars and reference texts to be a Spanish composer.

In 1928, Lecuona was invited by his former teacher Joaquin Nin to travel to Paris, where he performed two successful concerts at *Salle Pleyel* and *Salle Gaveau*. During this tour he met important musical figures such as the pianist Robert Lortat and George Gershwin, who was very impressed by Lecuona's performance of his *Rhapsody in Blue*. During this trip, Lecuona also met Maurice Ravel while being at Nin's summer villa in San Juan de Luz. Ravel was so interested in Cuban music and Lecuona's works that he took notes *on La Comparsa* and *Danza Negra* and made very complementary comments about Lecuona's music.⁸⁶ After his return to Cuba, Lecuona premiered his *Danza de los Ñañigos* and Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue* accompanied by a jazz band conducted by Gonzalo Roig at *Teatro Payret*. European tours also changed Lecuona's perception of and plans for his future artistic endeavors, as he stated in an interview that appeared in the magazine *Carteles* in 1942:

I noticed that my struggle to become a universal figure as a concert pianist would be very difficult because my last name does not end in "wsky' or other rare combination of letters. ... Also, I noticed that in a concert, when "Lecuona" played Lecuona, the audience in Havana or Madrid became more excited. ... My popular compositions were greeted with wild enthusiasm and as something characteristic, different from other composers of the same genre. ... [Then] I wanted to be unique. Being Lecuona. Lecuona's Theater, Lecuona's dances, Lecuona's songs, Lecuona's piano... Being Lecuona in my country, in Spain, Argentina, Norway, China and Russia ...⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Fajardo, eds., Ernesto Lecuona: Cartas, vol. 1, 22

⁸⁷ Adverti que mi lucha, para universalizarme como estricto concertista de piano, iba a ser terrible, no terminando mi apellido en wsky o en otra rara combinacion de letras, ... Adverti tambienque, aun en el concierto, cuando Lecuona interpretaba a Lecuona, el public, lo mismo en La Habana que en Madrid, vibrava de entusiasmo. ... Mis composiciones populares eran acogidas con un entusiasmo loco y como algo caracteristico, distinto a lo del mismo genero de otros compositors. ... Tuve la ambicion de ser unico en lo mio. Ser Lecuona. Teatro de Lecuona; danzas de Lecuona; canciones de Lecuona; piano de Lecuona...Serlo en mi pais, y en Espana, y en la Argentina, y en Noruega, y en China, y en Rusia ...

After his Europeans tours, Lecuona was occupied with writing some of his most popular zarzuelas: *Niña Rita* (1929), *El Cafetal* (1929), *El Batey* (1929), and *Maria la O* (1930), as well as performing in Central America. In 1931, Metro Goldwyn Mayer (MGM) contracted Lecuona for what would be his first Hollywood experience as a musical director, for the motion picture *The Cuban Love Song* directed by Woodbridge van Dyke. For this occasion, MGM also contracted other Cuban artists such as the soprano Carmen Burguette, dancers Sol Pinelli and Armando Mario, and *La Orquesta de los Hermanos Palau*. Simultaneously, with this same Cuban troupe, Lecuona prepared a program of his music that was presented for several weeks with great success at the Paramount Theater in Los Angeles. Even though this Hollywood experience was socially and artistically very important for Lecuona, according to him, the movie was a disaster.

The film? Another American movie. What we did was ridiculous. ... I could not help at all, I did not go to Hollywood as the director of the film, but only as the composer and conductor of the orchestra. I argued and yelled; but was like preaching in the desert. What the director wants is the only thing that matters. The film is a disaster, because everything Cuban is distorted in it. [...] Regarding my music, my biggest disagreement was when the director, Van Dyke, decided to reduce the orchestra to an "octeto de sones," for a countryside scene, and he refused to use trumpets and contrabass because he told me that in 1917 these "octets" or *Son* ensembles had no trumpet or contrabass. ... I went to my house and decided from that moment that I was not going to the studio any more, except for an extraordinary event.⁸⁸

There are other Hollywood movies with partial or complete works by Lecuona

including Carnival in Costa Rica, Always in My Heart, One More Tomorrow, Susan

Lenox, Suicide Fleet, A Free Soul, and Pearl Harbor.

⁸⁸ Bohemia, La Habana, 22 de Noviembre 1931, pp. 42-43

On April 2, 1932, Lecuona departed for Spain in order to present a Cuban music concert series that lasted until the end of January 1933. He recruited for the occasion soprano Maria Fantoli and other Cuban artists including the singers Miguel de Grandy and Carmen Burguette, as well as *La Orquesta Encanto* that he renamed *La Orquesta Lecuona (Lecuona 's* Orchestra) for this tour. The reviews were splendid, including those of Adolfo Salazar and Joaquín Turina. The successful tour would come to a sudden end when Ernesto contracted double pneumonia that seriously threatened his life. Because of this, he returned to Cuba. However, his orchestra fulfilled all of the contracted engagements to which he had committed. After a year and a half of performing in Spain, the ensemble was contracted by the impresario Sergio Vermel to perform at the Lido Hotel in Venice. The result was the birth of the famous orchestra the Lecuona Cuban Boys, which was named by Vermel with the full authorization of Maestro Lecuona.

On September 13, 1935, Lecuona's operetta-review *Lola Cruz* was premiered. It was acclaimed as the greatest success of the season. Meanwhile, he was devoted to organizing *La Orquesta de La Habana*, a symphonic ensemble dedicated to performing Cuban music. This orchestra made its debut on April 14, 1935.⁸⁹ On October 11, Lecuona was awarded the *Diploma y Joya de la Orden Nacional de Merito Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, en grado de Caballero* (Diploma and Jewel of the National Order of Merit of Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, in the Order of Chevalier).⁹⁰ On March 29, 1936, Lecuona departed with a group for Buenos Aires in order to fulfill an exclusive

⁸⁹ Fajardo, eds., Ernesto Lecuona: Cartas, vol. 1, 61

⁹⁰ The Diploma and Jewel of the National Order of Merit Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, in Order of Chevalier, was for many years the highest award given by the Cuban government.

contract with the Radio El Mundo (El Mundo Radio Broadcast). This troupe,

commercially known as *Embajada de arte Cubano* (Cuban Art Ambassadors) included his sister Ernestina Lecuona, guitarist Jose Llensa, and soprano Esther Borja. For the next four years, Lecuona would stay very busy leading the Cuban Art Ambassadors in Buenos Aires, and touring from there through the main South American cities and Europe. However, he was still working on musical projects in Cuba. In 1938, he found *La Orquesta Femenina de Cuba* (Female Orchestra of Cuba), an orchestra consisting of 56 young female players. ⁹¹ Their debut took place at *Teatro Auditorium* in February 4, 1938.

On March 24, 1943, in recognition of his work in the cultural arena, Lecuona was appointed Honorary Cultural Attaché to the Cuban Embassy in Washington D.C. A week later, Lecuona and soprano Esther Borja presented a concert at Washington's Pan American Union. This event began what would be a busy musical journey in America. The next month he presented a piano recital at Steinway Hall in New York, and signed new contracts with Edward B. Marks Music Publishing Corporation. Lecuona performed in a variety of NBC radio programs that were broadcast from City Music Hall. Also, he was accompanied by the Andre Kostelanetz Orchestra in another broadcast on CBS. On October 10, 1943, he presented a memorable concert at Carnegie Hall celebrating Cuba's Independence Day. In this concert he premiered his *Rapsodia Negra* and *Aragon*, accompanied by a symphony orchestra created for the occasion under the baton of

⁹¹ Fajardo, eds., *Ernesto Lecuona: Cartas*, vol. 1, 122

Gonzalo Roig. The concert, which was broadcast by CBS and NBC, included his sister Ernestina and the singers Carolina Segrera, Luisa Maria Morales and Esther Borja.

Lecuona's fame as a composer and performer was captured in several American films that used his music. In 1942, *Always in my Heart*, a motion picture directed by Jo Graham bearing the same name as of one Lecuona's songs, had its premiere. Because of this film, the song *Siempre en mi Corazon* in its English version, created by American songwriter Kim Gannon, reached such popularity that it was nominated for "Best Song" in the 1943 Academy Awards. Two years later, Twentieth Century Fox invited him to write the music for the film *Carnival in Costa Rica*, directed by Gregory Ratoff. The premiere took place on March 28, 1947, at the Roxy Theater in New York City. During 1948, Lecuona returned to America to perform at Carnegie Hall, Constitution Hall in Washington, D.C., and of the Academy of Music in Philadelphia as part of a tour organized by the Artist Management Agency.

In 1950, the *Ernesto Lecuona y su Compañia de Estampas Liricas* traveled to Madrid in order to present some of his scenic works. However, the productions did not actually take place until 1953, when a successful season was launched at *El Teatro Alvarez Quintero* with the zarzuelas *El Cafetal, Maria la O* and *Lola Cruz.*⁹² Meanwhile, in Cuba on December 5, 1951, *Maria la O* was selected to be the first scenic work to be televised by the CMQ in a new program series named *Gran Teatro*. Other of Lecuona's works broadcast in 1952 were *El Cafetal* (February 6), *La Plaza de la Catedral* (April 9),

⁹². Fajardo, eds., *Ernesto Lecuona: Cartas*, vol. 2, 11

Rosa la China (April 23), *La de Jesus Maria* (May 7), and *El Batey* (June 18).⁹³ In October 1955, Lecuona started a meticulous review of his scores to *Maria La O, Rosa la China* and *El Cafetal* with the assistance of Felix Guerrero, who would take care of new orchestrations for the recording in Madrid of these three zarzuelas.

In 1959, Lecuona joined the popular effervescence caused by the Cuban Revolution. He participated and organized diverse events like the one held on March 1, 1959, at *El Teatro Nacional*, during which thousands of *pesos* for the reconstruction of the areas affected by the war were raised. In addition, he donated \$1,665 *pesos* to support the reconstruction of the city *Sagua de Tanamo*. However, a group of opportunistic and envious composers, among them Cesar Portillo de la Luz and Rocendo Ruiz Quevedo, began a campaign to discredit Lecuona's personal and artistic career, accusing him of having sympathized, participated and belonging to the deposed government of the dictator Fulgencio Batista. In a destructive letter addressed to the journalist Luis Aguero, signed by both of the composers, they stated,

Again, we request your responsible and revolutionary attention. Unfortunately, the other side of the musical coin of Maestros Gonzalo Roig and Ernesto Lecuona is that for more than fifteen years they have been the most "notorious instruments" used by the BIGGEST MONOPOLIES OF AUTHORIAL EXPLOTATION IN CUBA.⁹⁴

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Portillo de la Luz and Rosendo Ruiz Quevedo to Luis Agüero, December 1, 1959, in *Ernesto Lecuona: Cartas*, ed. Ramón Fajardo Estrada, vol. 2, (La Habana: Ediciones Boloña, 2012)

En esta ocasión nuevamente solicitamos su atención responsible y revolucionaria. Señalandole que, lamentablemente, el otro lado de la medalla musical de los maestros Gonzalo Roig y Ernesto Lecuona, es que han sido durante más de quince años los "instrumentos gloriosos" utilizados por los GRANDES MONOPOLIOS DE EXPLOTACION AUTORAL EN CUBA. These accusations against Lecuona, who always resisted fierce criticism, never recovered from these allegations concerning his honesty. He said,

I never performed my music in the Columbia military camp. I have never attended birthday parties, or any kind of party in any government residence. I have never received checks or privileges from any Cuban government official in exchange for my music. I've never represented my country for the exchange of a few pesos, or any bureaucratic position in the government. I have never wandered into any government ministry seeking anything in return. I did not need any of that. [...] I've never had anything to do with the government of Cuba. They haven't given me anything. The copyright of my music abroad has allowed me to live comfortably without the help of any government [...]⁹⁵

Although there were many who were opposed to such a calumny and offered their

support, the damage was done. Given the political circumstances, Lecuona was forced to

flee Cuba. He first went to Tenerife, where he worked until he established himself in

Tampa, Florida, until his death on November 29, 1963, at the age of 68. Ernesto

Lecuona's remains are in The Gate of Heaven Cemetery in New York City.

The Orchestrator: Felix Guerrero, Life and Career

Félix Guerrero was born in Havana on January 13, 1917. He started his musical

studies with his father, Félix Guerrero Reina, a renowned classical guitarist. He also

received music lessons from Isidoro Laguna and the composer José Mauri before being

⁹⁵ Fajardo, eds., Ernesto Lecuona: Cartas, vol. 2, 82

Nunca ofrecí mi música en el Campamento de Columbia. Nunca he asistido a fiestas ni saraos en ninguna residencia gubernamental. NUnca he recibido cheques ni prebendas de ningún gobierno cubano a cambio de mi música. Jamás he ido en embajadas artísticas al extranjero representando a mi país por el trueque de unos cuantos pesos o un puestecito burocrático en el Estado, como tampoco nunca he deambulado por los ministerios buscando nada a cambio de mi nombre. Nada de eso me ha hecho falta. [...] nunca he tenido nada que ver con los gobiernos de Cuba. Ni me han dado nada. Los derechos de autor cobrados por mi música en el extranjero me han permitido vivir cómodamente sin necesidad de que ningún gobierno me ayude a bien morir.

accepted into the *Conservatorio Municipal de La Habana*, where he studied piano with the well-recognized piano pedagogue Cesar Perez Sentenat, harmony with conductor Pedro Sanjuán and, composition with Amadeo Roldán. In 1952, Guerrero attended a composition summer camp at the Juilliard School, where Cuban composer Harold Gramatges urged him to enroll in the International Summer Program at Palace of Fontainebleau in France. Guerrero was accepted at Fontainebleau where, after being awarded first prize for the composition of a piano sonatina, he received a scholarship to study at the Paris Conservatory with Nadia Boulanger.

Guerrero grew up in a musical environment that undoubtedly nurtured his passion for the art form. Because his father was the President of the *Solidaridad Musical de Cuba* (Musical Solidarity of Cuba.),⁹⁶ the most important early twentieth-century Cuban musical figures came to his home in order to procure their copy and broadcasting rights. Among them was Ernesto Lecuona, who made a great impression on the young Félix.

The true passion of Maestro Guerrero was orchestration, a skill in which he became a master. His first orchestration attempts were of Cuban popular songs, including some by Lecuona that he orchestrated at a very young age. These scores, today unfortunately lost, were apparently orchestrated with only the intention of autodidactically learning and developing the technique of orchestration.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Solidaridad Musical de Cuba was an organization that protected copy and broadcasting rights of Cuban composers. This organization played a very important role in the regulation and protection of the rights of Cuban composers before 1959. All professional Cuban composers of the time belonged to the Solidaridad Musical de Cuba.

⁹⁷ Lucy Provedo, interview by author, La Habana September 22, 2014.

Although Guerrero's academic musical training was at a very high level, he began his professional career in the field of the popular music. In 1930, he played the banjo in the *Orquesta de los Hermanos Martinez*. He later joined the *Orquesta de los Hermanos Palau* as a banjoist and guitarist. It was with the Palau orchestra that Guerrero traveled to Hollywood in 1942 as one of the musicians selected by Lecuona to participate in the aforementioned film, *The Cuban Love Song*. In 1940, he joined the *La Bellamar* jazz band founded and directed by Armando Romeu. In 1955, Lecuona asked Guerrero to undertake new orchestrations of the zarzuelas *María la O, Rosa La China* and the *El Cafetal* for a new recording project that was about to take place in Madrid. For the occasion, Guerrero conducted an exhaustive selection of Spanish singers in order to find the right vocalists. He also conducted the Orquesta de *Cámara de Madrid* for this recording. In 1957, he was hired by the Radio Mil 10 radio station as a composer, conductor, and orchestrator.

Guerrero's music followed the Cuban musical nationalistic style⁹⁸ or Afro-Cubanism that was started by composers such as Amadeo Roldan and Alejandro Garcia Caturla at the beginning of the twentieth century. His symphonic piece *Homenaje al Sóngoro cosongo*, considered to be one of his most important works, was inspired by this nationalistic Cuban trend. One of the things that stands out in Guerrero's compositions is his careful attention to orchestration, as well as evidence of his Impressionistic influences. These latter characteristics, together with the use of Cuban popular rhythms, created his own unique style that was aptly called *Impresionismo Tropical* (Tropical

⁹⁸ "Sinfonia para un Guerrero," directed by Armando Linares. ICRT, Mundo Latino. 200

Impressionism) by Cuban composer Tulio Peramo.⁹⁹ Guerrero's compositions have been performed and recorded by renowned performers such as saxophonist Paquito de Rivera and conductor and producer Arturo "Chico" O'Farril.

In 1962, Félix Guerrero founded the *Teatro Lírico Nacional de Cuba* and, as General and Artistic Director, conducted and premiered many operas and zarzuelas. In 1976, Guerrero was appointed professor of composition and orchestration at the *Instituto Superior de Arte* where he shared his passion with his students. Maestro Guerrero worked actively as a composer, conductor, and arranger at the *Ballet Nacional de Cuba* until his death on December 21, 2001.

The Librettist: Gustavo Sanchez Galarraga, A Man of the Theatre Gustavo Sanchez Galarraga was born into a wealthy family in Havana on February 2, 1892. He began writing poems and plays for the stages at very early age. A poet with a deep catholic roots, he studied at *Colegio Catolico de Belen* (Catholic School of Belen). However, in the opinions of many, his talent is most evident in the field of drama. In 1912, *La verdad de la vida*, the comic play that gave him fame and national recognition as a writer, premiered at the Payret Theater. His dramatic works, published between 1918 and 1929, are considered to be mostly Spanish because the plots and characters belong to the European tradition, they lack Cuban cultural connections or identifications. In the late 1920s, Galarraga worked together with the composer and

⁹⁹ Ibid.

This nationalistic trend, or Afro-Cubanism, reached its full musical importance during the mid-twentieth century when Cuban composers turned to Cuban folklore for their inspiration in creating new art music (works for the concert hall) with a unique sound and vitality.

conductor Jorge Anckermann on the preparation of various libretti for the Alhambra's Bufo Theatre. *Bocetos de Cuba* and *Agua mala y ¡Solavaya!* are two of the many successful titles he wrote for the Alhambra that have survived today, works in which plots, characters and local manners placed these among the favorites of the Cuban bufo genre.

Galarraga's works were a source of controversy among critics and connoisseurs. His writings received many extremely positive reviews, as well as many destructive criticisms. Some critics blamed him for being negligent and banal, while others asserted that much of his poetry was of poor quality. Some critics went so far as to connect his "lack of literary talent" with his elite and privileged family origin. Nevertheless, Sanchez received awards twice from the *Academia Nacional de Artes y Letras* (National Academy of Arts and Letters), as well as being given the Simon Bolivar medal for his poem *Bronce Heroico* (Heroic Bronze). Also, in 1922, he was awarded *La Cruz de Isabel la Catolica* by King Alfonso XIII. In addition, Galarraga also held several important literary positions in Cuba. He was president of both the *Sociedad Pro-Teatro Cubano* (Pro-Cuban Theatre Society) in 1916, and the *Sociedad Cubana de Autores Teatrales* (Cuban Society of Authors) in 1934. In 1927, he founded the *Compañia Hispano Cubano de Autores Nacionales* (National Company of Hispanic Cuban Authors).

Sanchez Galarraga and Ernesto Lecuona established a deep friendship and professional relationship that lasted until Galarraga's death on November 5, 1934. With the 1919 premieres of both the operetta *El Recluta del amor* and the zarzuela *La Caravana*, the well-known collaborative team of Lecuona-Galarraga began. Later on they wrote significant works for the Cuban lyric stage such as *El Cafetal, El batey, La flor del* sitio, and *El amor del Guarachero* in 1929; *Maria la O, El Maizal, El Calesero* in 1930; *La guarachera Musulmana, Rosa la China* in 1932; *Julian el Gallo* in 1934 and, *Lola Cruz* in 1935. Lecuona's enjoyment of for Galarraga's neo-romantic and sentimentalist poetic style is evinced by the numerous poems he set to music. It should also be noted that Galarraga occupied an important place in the emotional life of Lecuona who, after Galarraga's early death, was severely emotionally and psychologically affected. When analyzing the history of Cuban journalism in the first half of the twentieth century, the writings of Galarraga are considered to be among the most important. However, his reputation as a writer rest strongly on his being the librettist for the most popular zarzuelas ever written in Cuba. The name of Lecuona will forever be connected to that of Galarraga.

Maria la O: A Controversial Plot

Maria la O's libretto is a loose adaptation of the novel *Cecilia Valdez o La loma del Angel (Cecilia Valdez or The Angel Hill)* written by Cirilo Villaverde. It was published in Havana in 1839, and the final revised version was published in New York in 1882. The novel was one of the most important Cuban works written in in the nineteenth century, and it is considered to be one of the best in the genre of the anti-slavery novel. Lecuona's first intentionwas to set the original novel to music, but Villaverde's heirs refused to give him the rights.¹⁰⁰ Because of these circumstances, Lecuona went to

¹⁰⁰ This was told to me by my teacher Armando Suarez del Villar during my studies in opera and drama at the Superior Institute of Art.

veteran *Bufo* librettist Sanchez Galarraga who, after making major changes and modifications, was able to save Lecuona's idea.

Cecilia Valdes is a tragic love story framed in a political context critical of slavery and Spanish colonial rule. In the novel *Cecilia*, a mix-raced *mulata* is courted by the wealthy white Leonardo Gamboa who, unbeknownst to her, is really her half-brother. Cecilia has a daughter by Leonardo that he refuses to recognize. He decides to leave Cecilia to marry the white, socially-acceptable Isabel Lincheta. A free black man, Jose Dolores Pimienta, a jilted admirer of Cecilia's, in order to avenge his true love, stabs and kills Leonardo at his wedding at the door of the Havana Cathedral. This dramatic discourse of racism, murder and love became a vessel for Villaverde to reveal the evils of slavery, as well as the need for independence from Spain.

In his libretto, Galarraga changed the main character names, dropped the incestuous plot from the story, and changed the locations where the action took place. The characters of Villaverde's novel *Cecilia Valdes*, Leonardo Gamboa, Jose Dolores Pimienta and Isabel Lincheta became *Maria la O*, Fernando de Alcazar, Jose Inocente and Niña Tula in Lecuona's *Maria la O*. The ending was also changed; *Maria la O* stabbed her white lover, becoming a Romantic character who was able to take her own revenge. Unlike *Cecilia Valdez*, *Maria la O* is not racially ambiguous; she is not only conscious of being a product of miscegenation, she is proud of it. She does not pretend to be part of middle-class society living within Havana's walls and attending well-mannered society salons, she is a wild and violent *mulata* who moves freely throughout the *El barrio del Manglar*, one of Havana's most dangerous suburban neighborhoods. Lecuona

and Galarraga's version of this dramatic story was not meant to be a political denunciation, but only an exotic spectacle.¹⁰¹

Due to the multiple adaptations and changes that *Maria la O* has suffered, two alternative endings in addition to the original survive. In the original ending, Maria stabs Fernando in the last scene. The second ending is the one in which the jilted lover Jose Inocente arrives first and avenges Maria by stabbing Fernando. The third possible ending is the one where Maria begs Jose Inocente not to kill Fernando, the father of her unborn child. Out these three choices, the second option is preferred by most artistic directors, hence the one most performed today.

Finally, I have found that the very name of *Maria la O* without the preposition 'de', i.e. *Maria de la O*, catches the attention of non-Spanish speakers. Indeed, controversies and disagreements surround her name, the origin of which is somewhat

obscure and indeterminate. In the Catholic Online Encyclopedia one can read:

The feast of 18 December was commonly called, even in the liturgical books, "S. Maria de la O", because on that day the clerics in the choir after Vespers used to utter a loud and protracted "O", to express the longing of the universe for the coming of the Redeemer (Tamayo, Mart. Hisp., VI, 485). ... This feast and its octave were very popular in Spain, where the people still call it "Nuestra Señora de la O". [Juan Tamayo de Salazar, Martyrologium Hispanum (Lyon, 1651-59)¹⁰²

The original Spanish name Maria de la O was subsequently converted to Maria la

O, to fix the dialect of Spanish language spoken in Cuba. Fricatives such as d, b or g, are

¹⁰¹ Thomas, Cuban Zarzuela: Performing Race and Gender on Havana's Lyric Stage, 49

¹⁰² Catholic Online Encyclopedia. Accessed January 5, 2015. http://www.catholic.org/encyclopedia/view.php?id=4498

always significantly weakened or even omitted when occurring after a vowel. Such is the case with *Maria* (*de*) *la O*. The musical reference of the name can be traced to the origin of the *Rumba*, *Guarachas* and *Guaguancó such as La Nenguita*:¹⁰³

"Me llaman Maria la O	"My name is Maria La O
Y no hay negra como yo	and there's not a black girl like me
Mas bonita asi la Habra	prettier perhaps
Pero mas graciosa no."	But funnier no."

The Felix Guerrero Score

The original Maria la O orchestration that was used for the premiere in 1930 is

presumed to be lost. It is probable that Lecuona shared the first Maria la O orchestration

with his colleagues and friends Gonzalo Roig and Rodrigo Prats for two reasons. First,

upon Lecuona's request, Gonzalo Roig orchestrated some of Lecuona's works as stated

in the following epistles:

Dear Gonzalo: I would appreciate if you would copy for me this potpourri, and as soon as you finish, orchestrate it for Marti [Theatre]. At the same time I will give you other numbers for a *Revista* I intend to premiere on the 23 of this month... (*Letter to Gonzalo Roig on January 14, 1920*)¹⁰⁴

[Dear Gonzalito]... I've heard of the success of my *Comparsa*. And of course arranged and conducted by you it had to be! (*letter to Gonzalo Roig on July* 17,1924)¹⁰⁵

Dear Gonzalo: There you have the full number already finished. The Romanza is the same one you already know, but it is in C minor and C major. A tone lower, so

¹⁰³ Maria Teresa Linares "La guaracha Cubana, imagen del humor criollo" Revista Cubana de antropologia, No. 0. 1999, p. 94-104

¹⁰⁴ Fajardo, eds., *Ernesto Lecuona: Cartas*, vol. 1, 13

¹⁰⁵ Fajardo, Fajardo, eds., Ernesto Lecuona: Cartas, vol. 1, 16

the protagonist can sing it comfortably... (Letter to Gonzalo Roig on October 27, 1947)¹⁰⁶

Second, in the score and parts of the zarzuela *Maria la O* that I have in my possession, the only musical number not orchestrated by Felix Guerrero is the *Jose Inocente romanza*. This single selection was orchestrated by Rodrigo Prats; the difference in the sonic realm of this number is obvious when it is compared to the rest of the zarzuela orchestrated by Guerrero.

The Guerrero score is a copy of a manuscript written by the copyist Ricardo Sanchez. This copy was given to me by Felix Guerrero in 1995. I know that the *Teatro Lirico Nacional de Cuba* has a similar copy of this manuscript in its library, and it appears to be the same copy that is owned by other Cuban lyric companies. However, the thing that makes the copy in my possession unique is that it was Maestro Guerrero's personal score from which he conducted *Maria la O* many times. The score is not bound and each number is separate, which is the reason that I call it a "collection of scores." Every part has performance cues and indications, as well as his conducting markings and signature. In addition, I have all of his separate instrumental parts to *Maria la O*, a resource that has been very valuable and helpful, especially when transcribing the missing Cuban percussion parts.

In these "collected scores" all musical numbers are fully orchestrated, with the exception of the Jose Inocente's *romanza*, which is the only section orchestrated by Rodrigo Prats. This *romanza* does not have a complete full orchestra score, but only a

¹⁰⁶ Fajardo, Fajardo, eds., *Ernesto Lecuona: Cartas*, vol. 1, 337

piano conductor's score. However, I have been able to reconstruct the Jose Inocente *romanza* from the hand-written instrumental parts, which are also in my possession.

The Maria la O instrumentation used by Felix Guerrero is:

2 Flutes (Piccolo)

2 Oboes

2 Clarinets

1 Bassoon

2 French Horns

3 Trumpets

2 Trombones

Timpani

Percussion (Bass drum, snare drums, cymbals, triangle, orchestra bells)

Cuban Percussion

Harp

Strings

Because the harp is not an instrument that has a place in Cuban vernacular music, the use of it is worth noting in the above orchestration. The use of it denotes Guerrero's genuine interest in adding a new orchestral color to the zarzuela, and the strong influence of French Impressionism on his music.

What is critically missing in Guerrero's score is fully annotated Cuban percussion parts. This omission is not accidental, but very common in such scenic works. In Cuban zarzuelas, nearly every musical number belongs to a specific vernacular genre such as the *Cancion, Guaracha, Tango Congo, Bolero, ¹⁰⁷ Danza, Contradanza, Son, ¹⁰⁸* or a combination of them. Each of these genres has its own particular rhythm that generates a particular way to play the Cuban percussion instruments. Although each genre has its own basic rhythmic cell, and almost always a rhythmic formula, it is improvisation that is the most essential part of this formula. This is what gives the performance a truly Cuban flavor. Because it is very difficult to find a proper way to annotate these improvisatory rhythms, composers would simply notate a general pattern (the rhythmic formula) and leave the rest to the ability of the percussionists. This is why Guerrero brought all of his percussionists to Madrid from Cuba for the *Maria la O*, 1956 recording.¹⁰⁹

Below is a detailed description of each of the parts of *Maria la O'* according to Guerrero's score. The bold and underlined numbers correspond to the current common modern performance structure of *Maria la O*.

Prelude

This brilliant, short, instrumental introduction (only 24 measures long) is based on the second theme of the *Maria La O'* romanza.

Title: Preludio

Number: not numbered.

Key: G Major

Tempo Indication: Pesante ad libitum

¹⁰⁷ Musical genre originating in Cuba and developed in several Latin American countries. The *Bolero* roots are in the contradance of the eighteenth century. Rhythmic elements from others genres such as *Danzon* and the *Habanera* are clearly identifiable.

¹⁰⁸ Vocal and instrumental genre, which is one of the basic form in Cuban music. It has elements of *Bantu* and Spanish music. The Son arose in the late nineteenth century.

¹⁰⁹ Lucy Provedo, interview by author, La Habana September 22, 2014.

Instrumentation: Picc1121-2220-Timp., BD, SD, Cym., Gong, Harp, Strings Remarks:

- This section of the score has three staffs marked as *Saxofones* (Saxophones).
- The score has a blank piano staff.

No. 1

Before the composition of Guerrero's Prelude, the first 18 measures of this No.1 served as a prelude. It is a compound ternary form, A-B-A', in *danza* rhythms with a final coda. This number is also known as *"Cuna de Caridad."*

Title: *Maria la O*. Introduccion del Cuadro Primero, Caridad, Charo, Lola, Mersé y Coro General.

Number: marked as No. 1

Key: G major

Tempo Indication: not indicated.

Choir: SATB

Instrumentation: 2221-2320-Timp., BD, SD, Cymb, C. Percussion, TC-Harp-Strings.

Remarks

- The Cuban percussion system, labeled as *Bateria Cubana*, has no assigned instruments. Special Cuban percussion indications: mm. 27: *guiro-timbal Cubano*.
- There is not a standard choral notation, i.e., SATB, only a melody line, as a conductor's guide, with the generic indication *mujeres y hombres* (women and men).
- At the end of this number there is the signature of the copyist, Ricardo Sanchez.

This Number, also known as *La Salida de Maria la O (Maria la O's* entrance), was truly an Ernesto Lecuona invention. This scene is one of the most complex of the entire zarzuela because of the large number of people on stage, as well as the many musical issues involved, including solo parts, duos, choir, dance, and acting. It is also the scene where the protagonist is presented. Each part features a Cuban popular genre and they are connected with a transitional, modulatory passage that introduces the new key. It is in binary form A-B, which is well defined by key areas, with an introduction and a *codetta*. The *Salida* resembles the two-part *Cabaletta* form. Overall, its structure is as follows:

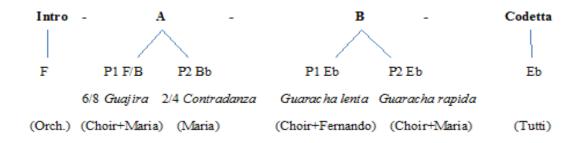


Figure 2. Formal Analysis No.2 *Salida Maria la O*. Zarzuela *Maria la O* by Ernesto Lecuona as orchestrated by Felix Guerrero.

Title: Salida de Maria la O. Niño Fernando y Coro.

Number: marked as No. 2

Key: F major – B flat Major - E flat Major

Tempo Indication: not indicated.

Solo vocal parts: Maria (soprano,) Fernando (tenor,) Choir.

Choir: SATB

Instrumentation: 2221-2320- Timp., BD, SD, Cym, Trg., Cuban Percussion. –Harp – Strings.

Remarks:

- The Cuban percussion system, labeled as *Bateria Cubana*, has no assigned instruments, but some rhythmic patterns are written out.
- Maria la O and Fernando solo parts are identified as Voces.
- No standard choral notation, i.e. SATB. Two staffs, one for SA and another for TB. No harmonization is written, only the main melody as a conductor's guide with the indication *mujeres y hombres* (women and men)

No. 3

Duettino: This title is given to this first duo between Maria and Fernando in order to differentiate it from No. 6-*Gran Duo*. It is a combination of a *Bolero* and a *Canción Cubana* (Cuban song). This is one of the musical numbers added to the original *Maria la O*. Its structure belongs to a basic binary song form: A-B

Title: Duo. Maria la O, y el Niño Fernando

Number: marked as No. 3

Key: E major – E Minor – A Major – E Major

Tempo Indication: Moderato

Solo vocal parts: Maria La O (soprano) and Fernando (tenor)

Instrumentation: 2221-2320- Timp., BD, SD, Cym, Trg., Cuban Percussion. –Harp – Strings.

Remarks:

- The Cuban percussion system, labeled as *Bateria Cubana*, has no assigned instruments. Special Cuban percussion indications: mm. 28 *guiro-paila*, mm. 42 *paila* col *guiro*,
- Maria la O and Fernando solo parts are identified as Voz.

This number can be found under different names such as *Ronda de los enamorados, Enamorados,* or *La fiesta de Reyes*. It is a choral number that represents the idyllic relationship between La Niña Tula and Fernando, and comes just before the Niña Tula's *cancion Cubana*. In the 1956 *Maria La O* recording, Felix Guerrero used mandolins in the introduction because of the instrument's popularity in Spain. The mandolin parts are recreated in this version by the use of *pizzicato* in the strings. The structure of this number is a simple ternary form A-B-A' with an instrumental introduction.

Title: no title.

Number: It has a double numbering, one in black as No. 4, and another in red as No.3. Key: E flat Major

Tempo Indication: Allegro Moderato/Tempo de Vals (moderato)

Choir: SATB

Instrumentation: 2221-2320- Timp., BD, SD, Cym, Trg., Lira (bells), –Harp –Strings. Remarks:

- The choir is written on two staffs, divided into women and men. It is identified as *Voces*.
- At the end is written: *copio* and the illegible signature of the copyist.

"Canta Ruiseñor" is the only Lecuona song included in Guerrero's score to be sung by Niña Tula, who was a mute character in the original 1930 version. This demanding vocally number was composed for a lyric soprano with coloratura. The form is a simple binary song form: A-B

Title: Canta Ruiseñor

Number: No. 4A

Key: E flat Major

Tempo Indication: Ad libitum – A Tempo moderato

Solo vocal parts: Niña Tula (soprano)

Instrumentation: 1121-2000- Timp., BD, Cym., SD, Trg,, -Harp -Strings.

Remarks:

- The solo part is indicated as Voz

No. 6

El Cabildo de Reyes or *El Cabildo* is the most colorful scene in *Maria la O*. This number is the first dance-scene of the zarzuela. It combines dance and choral parts with Afro-Cuban rhythms. This number also brings us a hint about the date on which the *Maria la O* story develops. In 1683, the *Capitan General de la Isla de Cuba* (Spanish Governor of Cuba) started the *El Cabildo de Reyes* tradition, which was a celebration held every January 6. In this celebration free black men were allowed to sing, dance and play music on their way to the *El Palacio de los Capitanes Generales (Palace of the General Captains)* in order to receive an *aguinaldo* (special gift for the Epiphany celebration.) The overall form of this number is a rounded binary form A-B-A' with an introduction.

Title: El Cabildo de Reyes

Number: marked as No. 5

Key: D Major – G Major

Tempo Indication: Allegro no molto

Solo vocal parts: Rey (male voice) and Reina (female voice)

Choir: SATB

Instrumentation: 2221-2320- Timp, BD, SD, Cym, Trg., Cuban Percussion . –Harp – Strings.

Remarks

- Solo parts Rey and Reina are marked as Voces.
- The Cuban percussion system labeled as *Bateria Cubana*, has no assigned instruments. Special Cuban percussion indications: mm. 3 *tumbas*, *guiro*, *cascabeles*, etc. mm. 15 states "ad lib." meaning improvisation. mm. 41 *bongo agudo* solo. mm. 43 *cascabeles*. mm. 112 *cascabel y tumbadora*.
- At the end there is the signature of Conductor Manuel Duchesne Cuzan dated 15/7/75.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Manuel Duchesne Cuzán (1932-2005) was a Cuban conductor, violinist and trumpet player. In 1960, Duchesne, together with Enrique Gonzales Mantici, founded the National Symphony Orchestra.

This duo, between Maria and Fernando, is known as the *Gran Duo* in order to differentiate it from the first duo called *duettino*. It is a very dramatic scene where Maria and Fernando confront each other about their love and confidence. The form belongs to simple ternary form: ABB'.

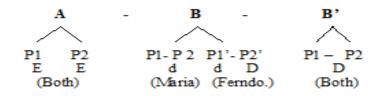


Figure 3. Formal Analysis No.7 *Gran Duo*. Zarzuela *Maria la O* by Ernesto Lecuona as orchestrated by Felix Guerrero.

Title: (Duo) Maria la O y Niño Fernando

Number: marked as No. 6 Final, Cuadro 3ro.

Key: E Major- D Minor – D Major.

Tempo Indication: Allegro

Solo vocal parts: Maria la O (soprano) and Fernando (tenor)

Instrumentation: 2221-2320- Timp, BD, SD, Cym, Trg., Lira (bells), Cuban Percussion. -

Harp – Strings.

Remarks

- Solo parts are marked Voz.
- The Cuban percussion system, labeled as *Bateria Cubana*, has no assigned instruments. Special Cuban percussion indications: mm. 83 *maracas*.

Los Curros del Manglar is the second dance scene of the Zarzuela. This number, like all dance-scenes, combines choral selections, dances and Afro-Cuban rhythms. It belongs to *Tango Congo* genre. The vernacular Cuban rhythmic cell of *Bantu* origin has had a controversial existence, and has been known by different names given by musicians, historians and musicologists. It was first inserted in the *guaracha*, and later into other rhythms, adding its own flavor to those genres. The title *Los Curros del Manglar* referred to free black men, who were owners of the criminal underworld (*Curros*). They lived in marginal neighborhoods of Havana such as *El Manglar* (Mangrove forest). The form is a simple rounded binary form ABA.

Title: Los Curros del Manglar.

Number: marked as No. 7

Key: D Major.

Tempo Indication: Moderato

Solo vocal parts: *El* (he) and *Ella* (she)

Choir: SATB

Instrumentation: 2221-2320- Timp, BD, SD, Cym, Trg., Lira (bells), Cuban Percussion. – Harp –Strings.

Remarks

- The Cuban percussion system, labeled as Bateria *Cubana*, has no assigned instruments.

- Special Cuban percussion indications: mm. 1 ritmo Tango Congo (bongo, etc)

Jose Inocente's *romanza* is a traditional Cuban song. This number is a true example of Lecuona's compositional style for Cuban songs. It is written for baritone, and can usually be sung in its original key, F Major, or a whole step down in E flat Major. The structure is a rounded binary form: A-B-A. This is the only number not orchestrated by Felix Guerrero, but by Rodrigo Prats.

Title: Romanza de Jose Inocente

Number: marked as No. 8

Key: F Major (original key) or E flat Major

Tempo Indication: not indicated.

Solo vocal parts: Jose Inocente. (baritone)

Instrumentation: 2121-2210- Timp, BD, SD, Cym, Lira (bells)–Harp –Strings.

Remarks

- No full score, only original piano conductor score.
- Two versions, one in F Major another in E flat major.

No. 10

La Mulata Chancletera, also known as Las Chancleteras, is the third and last dance-scene of the Zarzuela. Like previous dance-scenes, this section combines choral parts and dances, but this time features one of the most genuine Cuban vernacular genres, *la guaracha*. The *Chancleteras*, is a classic *tanda de guaracheros* number which was used to finish any Cuban bufo play. The novelty here could be that this time it is only a *tanda de guaracheras* (group of female guaracha dancers) instead the mixed gender group *guaracheros*. The name *chancletera* referred to those who weore *chancletas*, a type of sandal made of wood. This popular footwear produced a particular sound called *chancleteo* due to being made of wood. It was usually identified as the sensual sound produced by *mulatas* when they walked through the cobblestone streets of Havana. This number usually includes a complex rhythmic duel between two groups of dancers by tapping the floor with their *chancletas*. The structure is a ternary form: ABA'.

Title: La Mulata Chancletera

Number: No. 8 (crossed out)

Key: E flat Major

Tempo Indication: Allegro Tempo di danza

Choir: SA

Instrumentation: 2221-2320- Timp, BD, SD, Cym., Cuban Percussion. –Harp –Strings. *Remarks*

- The Cuban percussion system, labeled *Bateria Cubana*, has no assigned instruments. Special Cuban percussion indications: mm. 1 *solo imitando las chancletas*.

No. 11

The *Romanza of Maria La O* contains the most popular melody of the zarzuela. This signature melody identified the entire work, as well as Maria herself. This melody was used by Felix Guerrero to create the Prelude as well as the Postlude. Maria la O's romanza combine two Cuban genera, the *cancion* (song) and the *bolero*. The *Romanza* is originally written in E flat Minor/E flat Major key, but it can be transposed one step high to F Minor/F Major key. The form is a simple ternary form: ABA'.

Title: Romanza Maria la O

Number: no numbered.

Key: E flat minor – E flat Major

Tempo Indication: not indicated

Solo vocal parts: Maria (soprano)

Instrumentation: 2221-2310- Timp, BD, SD, Cym., Cuban Percussion. –Harp –Strings. Remarks:

- The Cuban percussion system, labeled *Bateria Cubana*, has no assigned instruments. Special Cuban percussion indications: mm. 1 *ritmos*
- The score has an empty staff labeled as Coro
- Maria la O staff is labeled Voz.
- At the end is the signature of the copyist, Lidia Rubi[0] (illegible)

No. 12

Maria la O Finale or Postlude was specially created by Felix Guerrero.

Essentially, this Postlude is the exact repetition of the last part of the Maria la O romanza including her own vocal part with the accompaniment of a solo violin.

Title: Maria la O. Finale

Number: marked as 10

Key: E flat Major

Tempo Indication: not indicated.

Solo vocal parts: Maria (soprano)

Instrumentation: 2221-2310- Timp, BD, SD, Cym., -Harp -Strings.

Remarks

- There is no Cuban percussion system, nor a Cuban percussion instrument assignment. However, due to performance practice and tradition in Cuba, their inclusion is obvious.
- The Maria la O staff labeled *Voz*.

CHAPTER IV

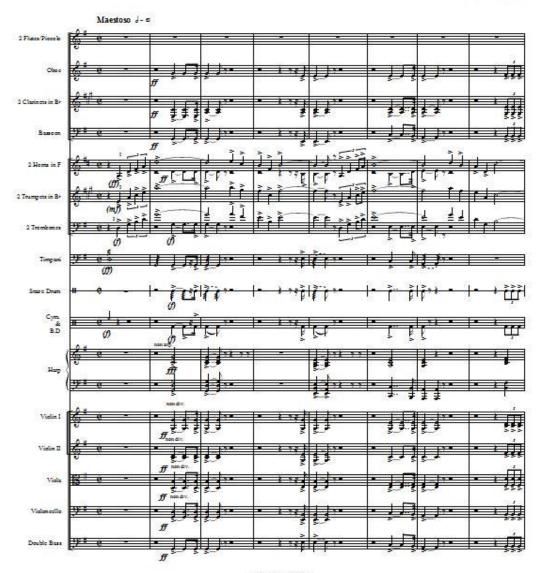
THE NEW EDITION OF THE ZARZUELA MARIA LA O,

AS ORCHESTRATED BY FELIX GUERRERO

Maria la O

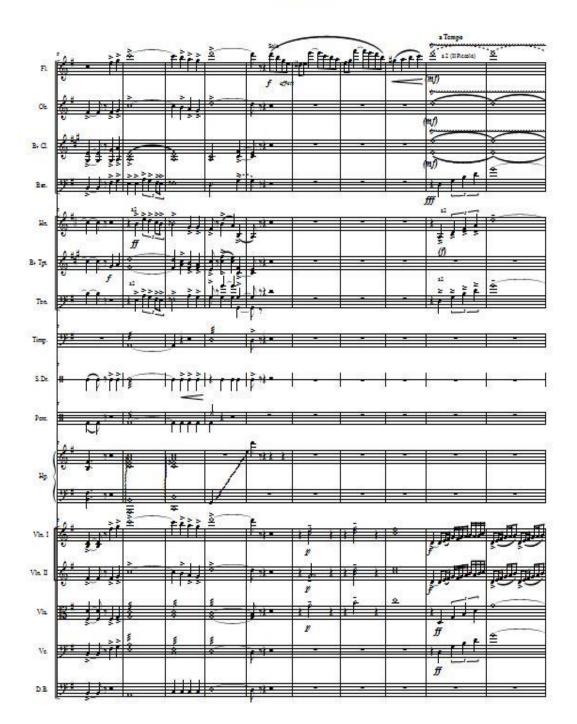
Preludio

Ernesto Lecuona Felix Guerrero



©ivandelprado

Maria la O

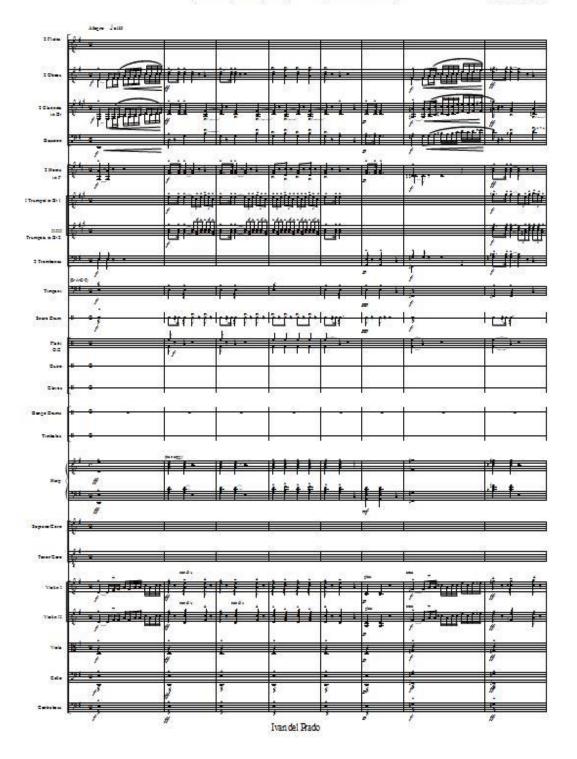


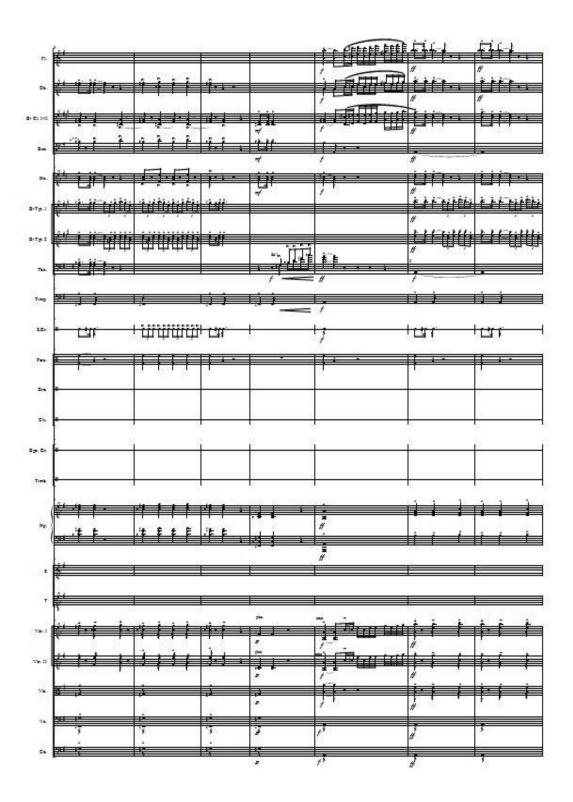


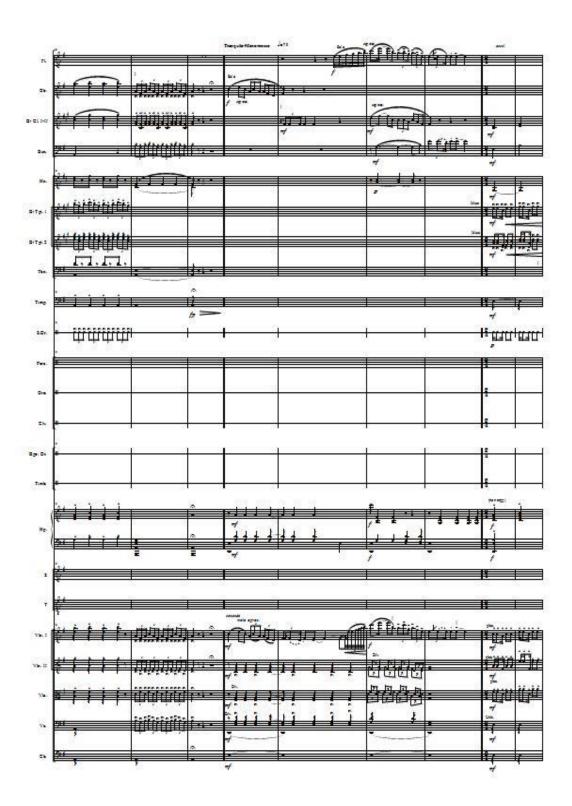


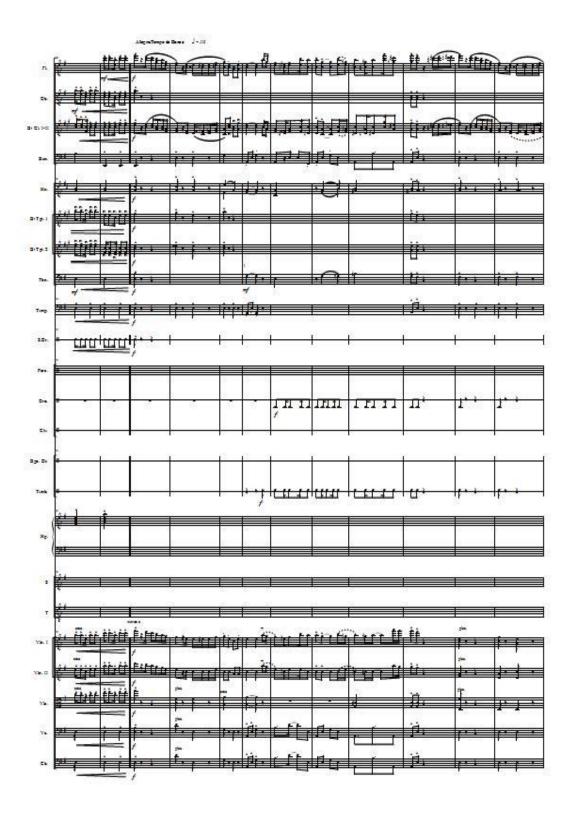
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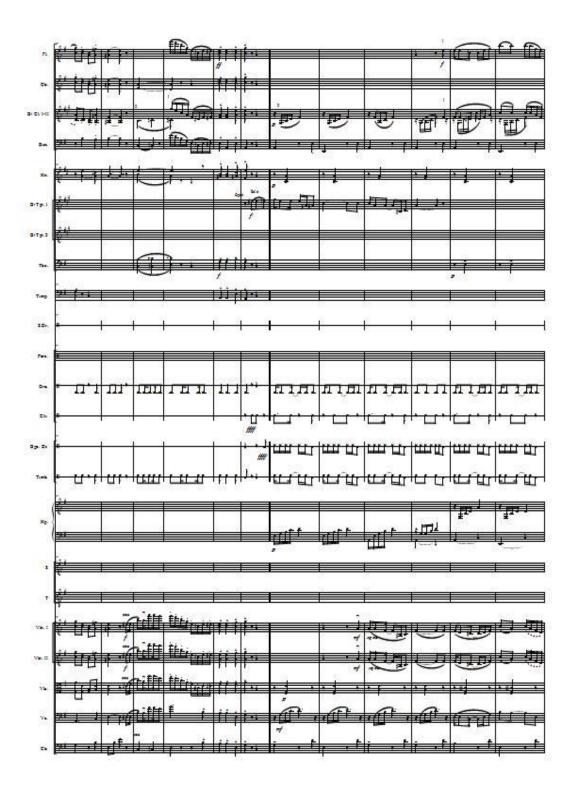
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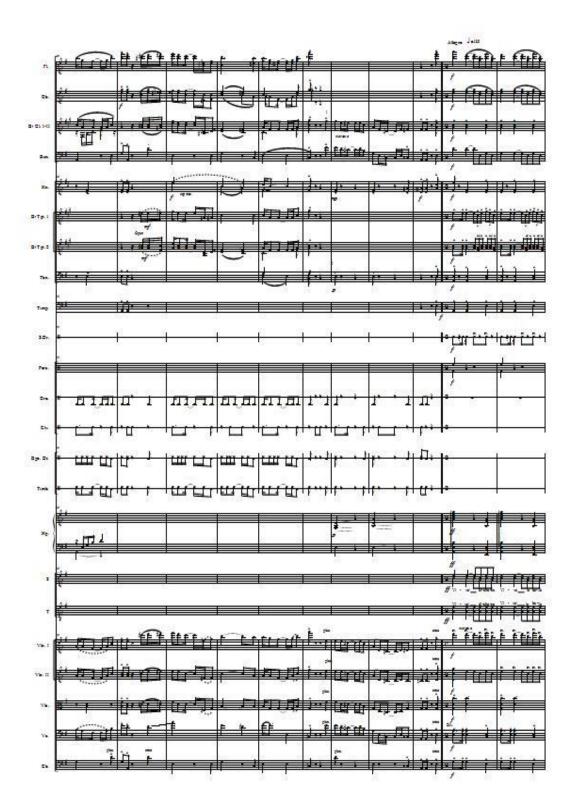


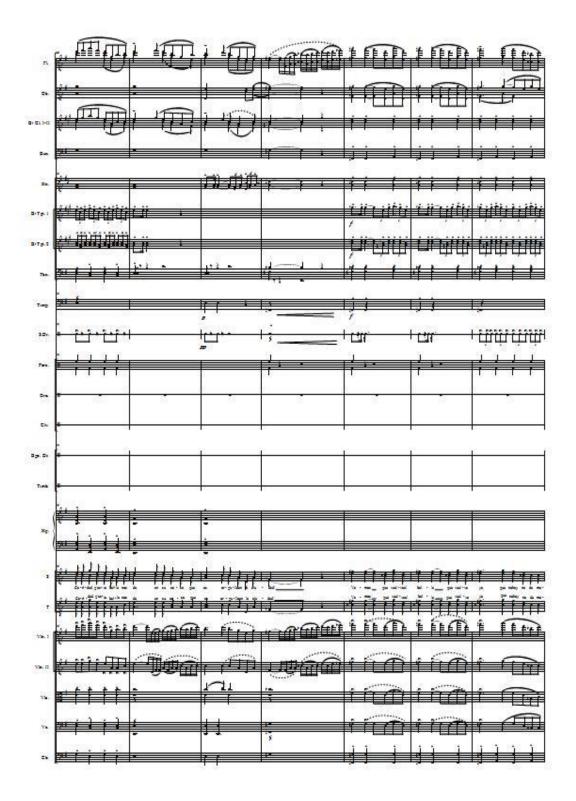


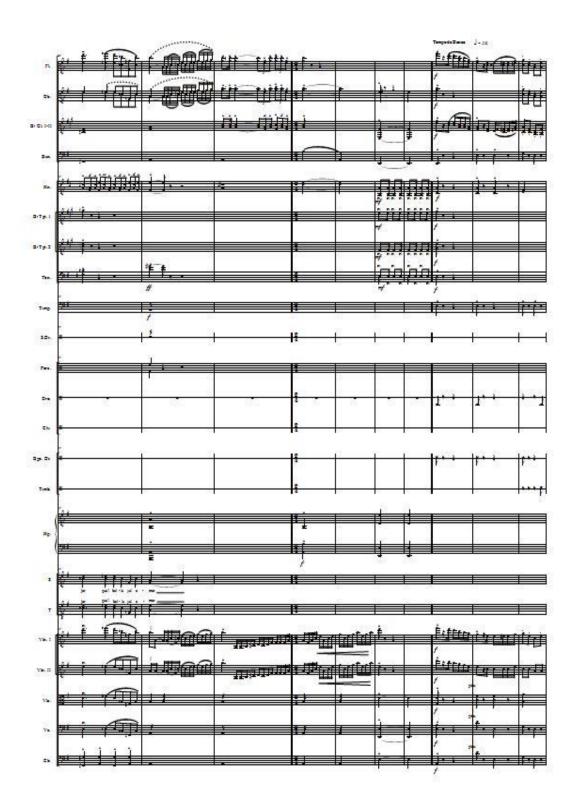


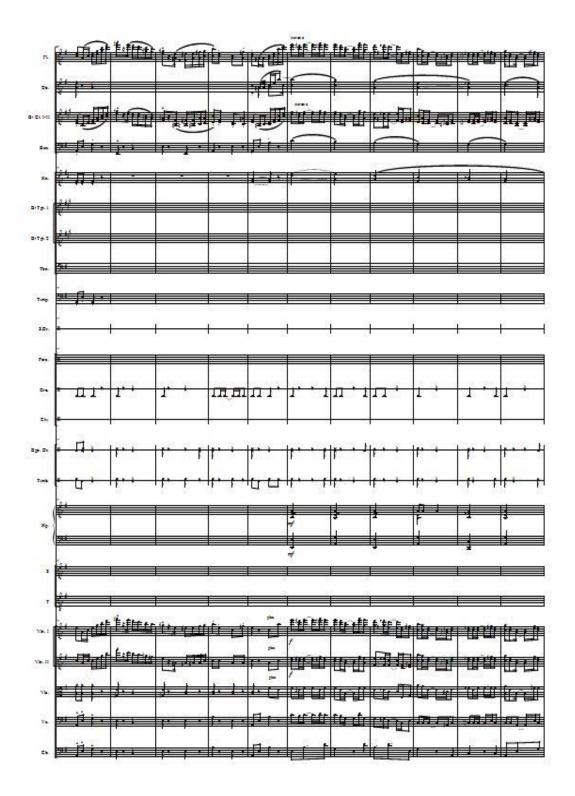


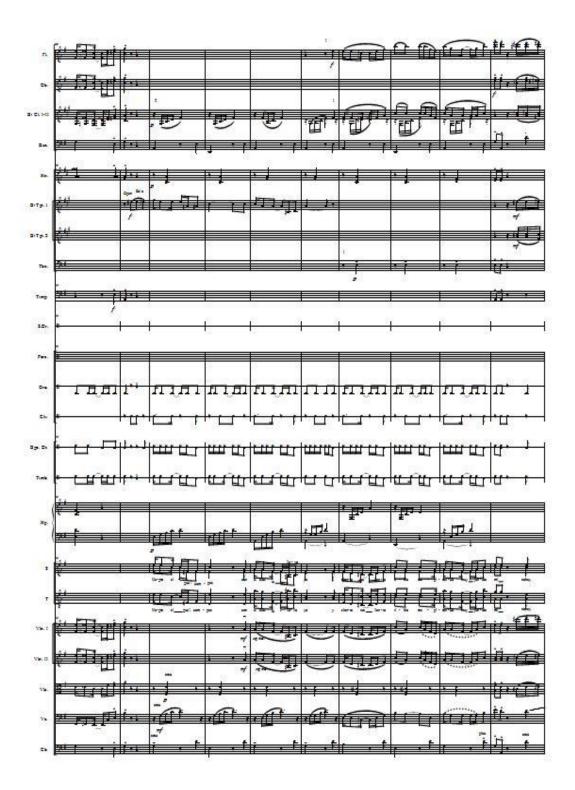


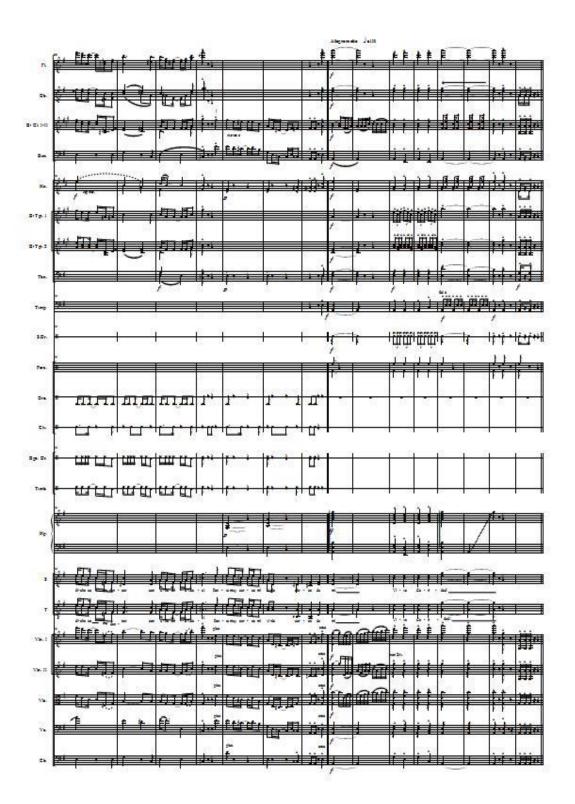






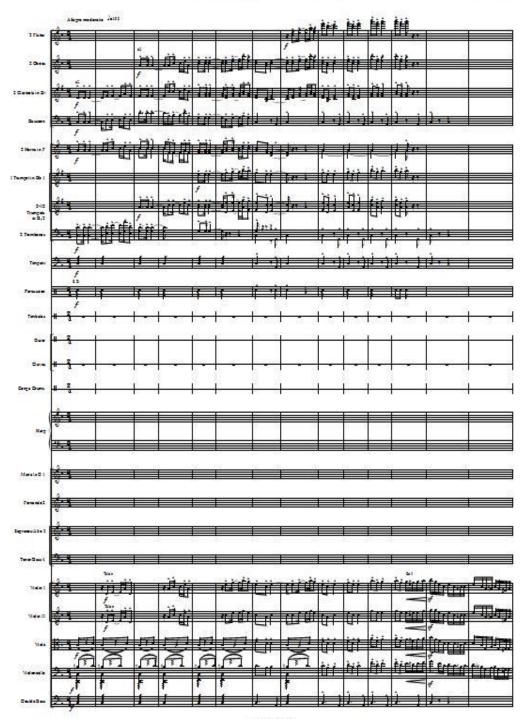




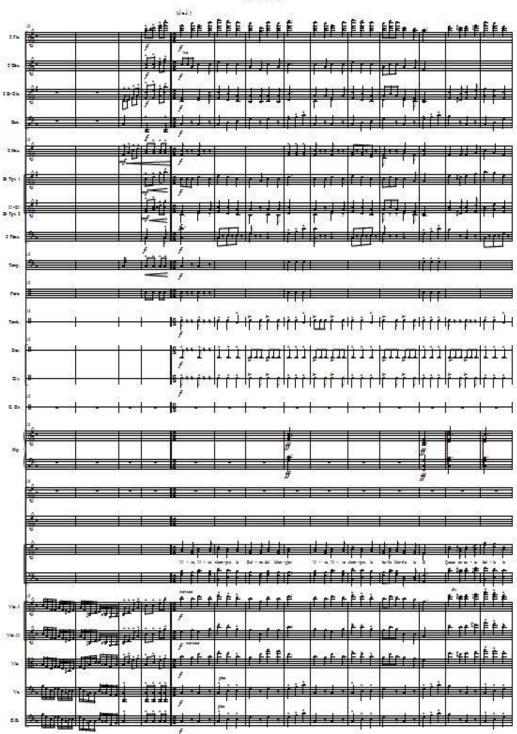


No. 2 Salida de Maria la O (Maria, Niño Fernando y Coro general)

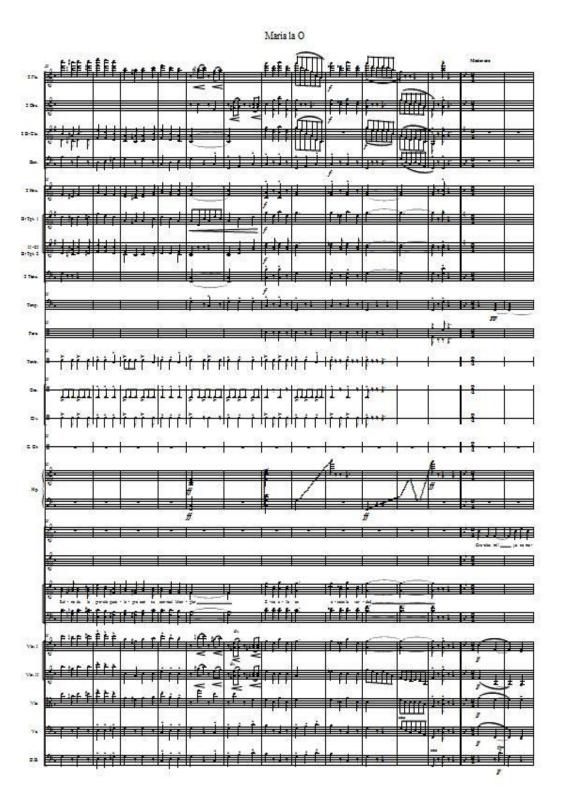
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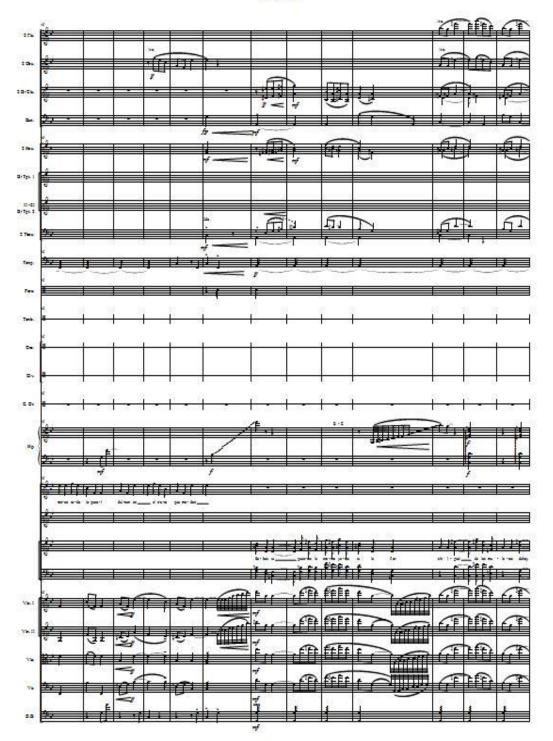


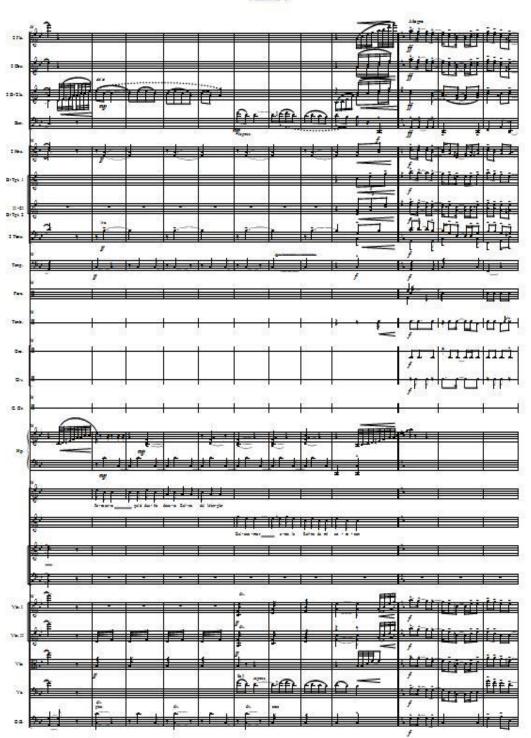
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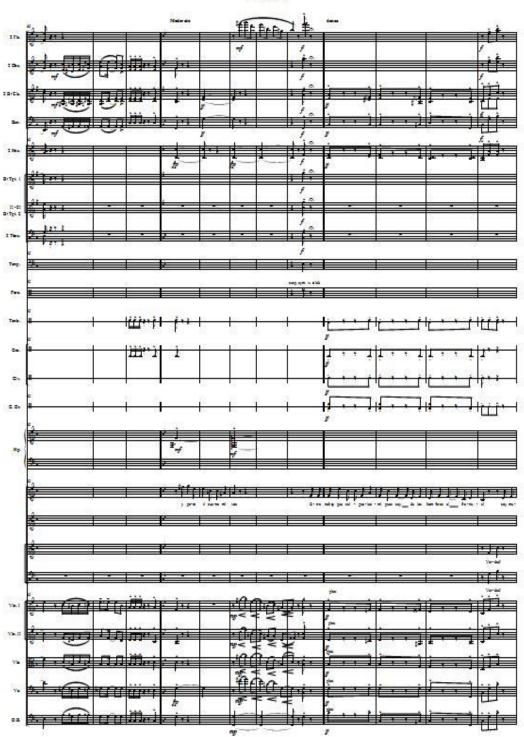


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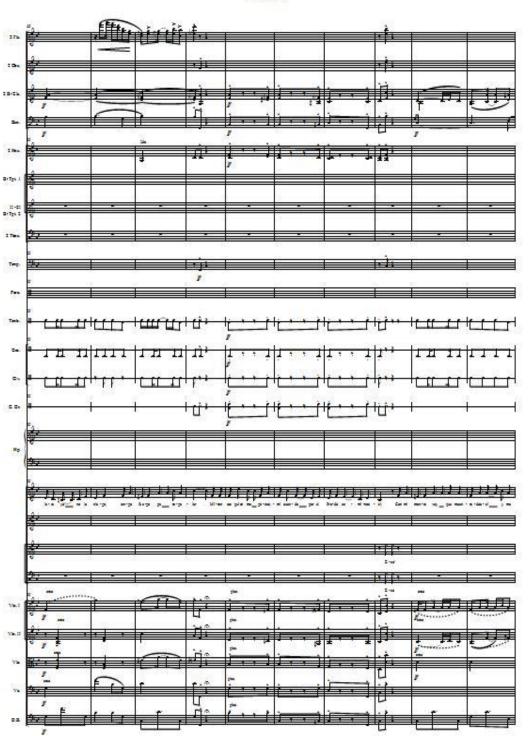




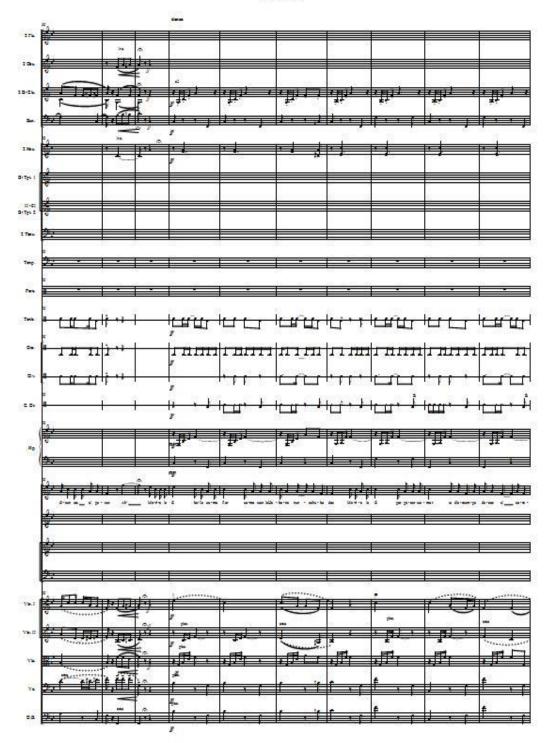




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Maria la O

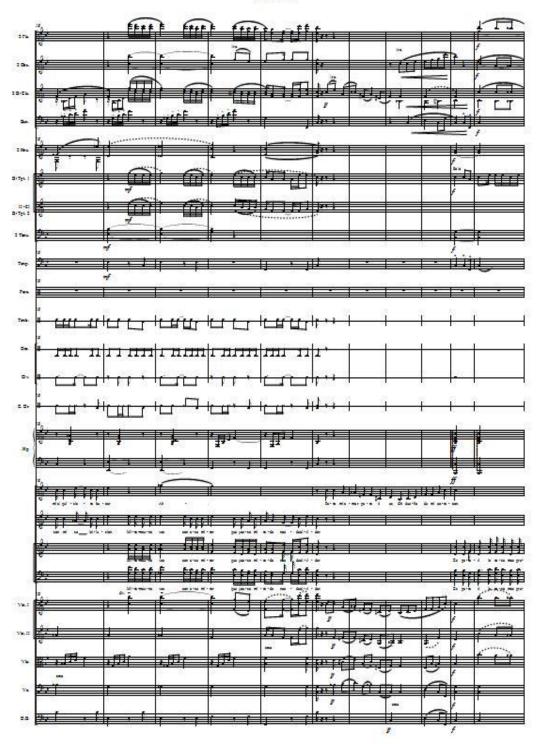




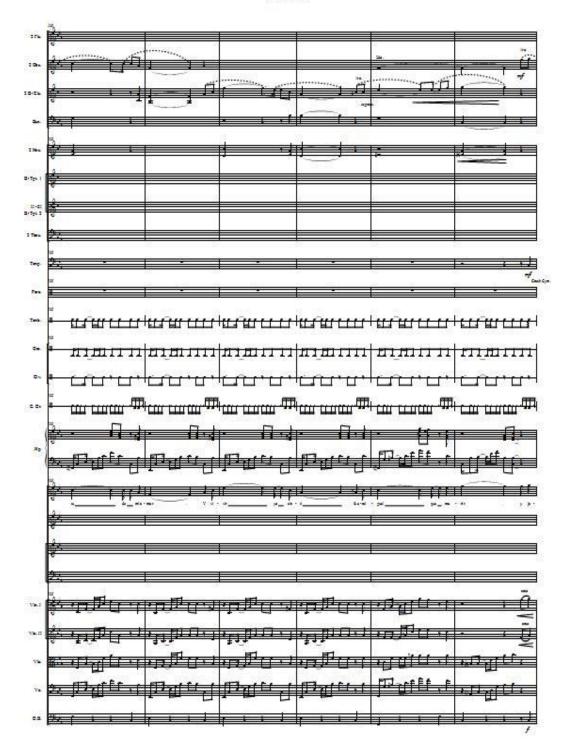
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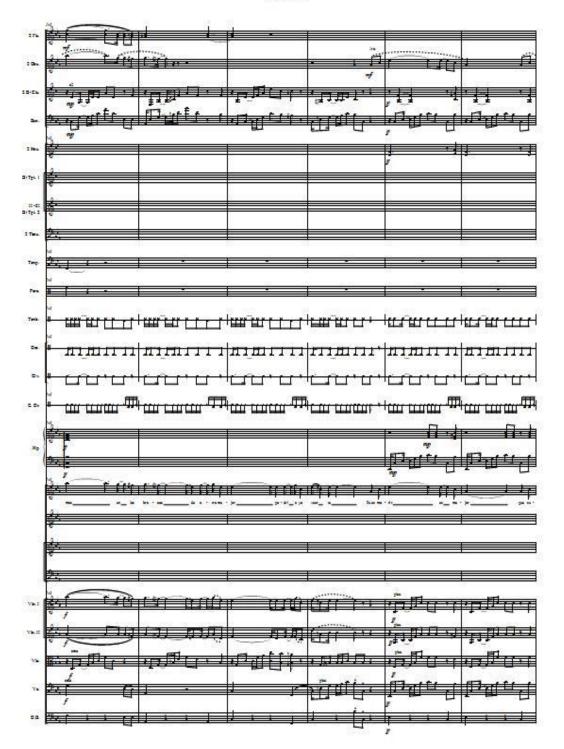
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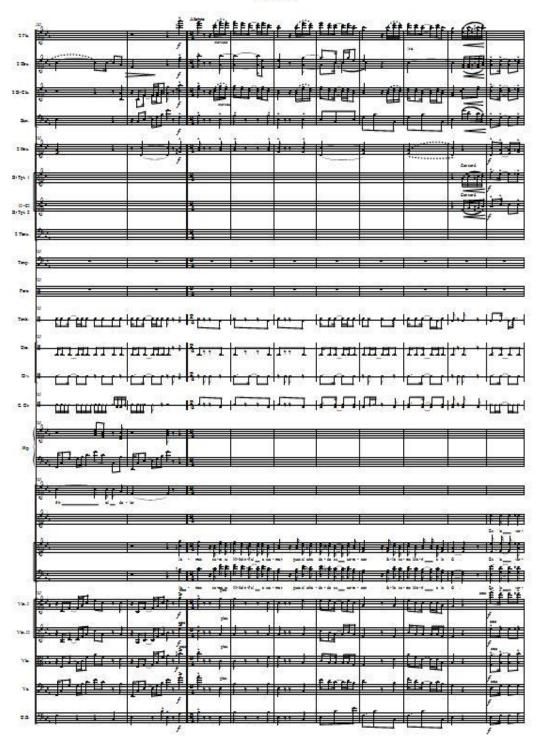
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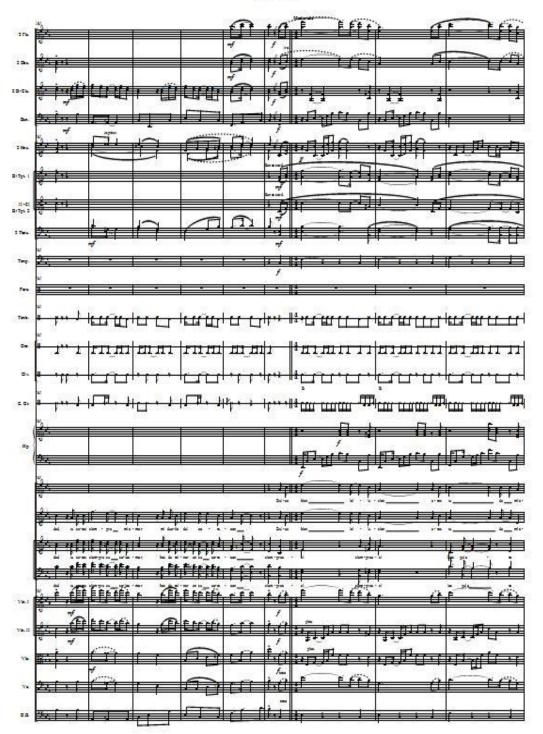


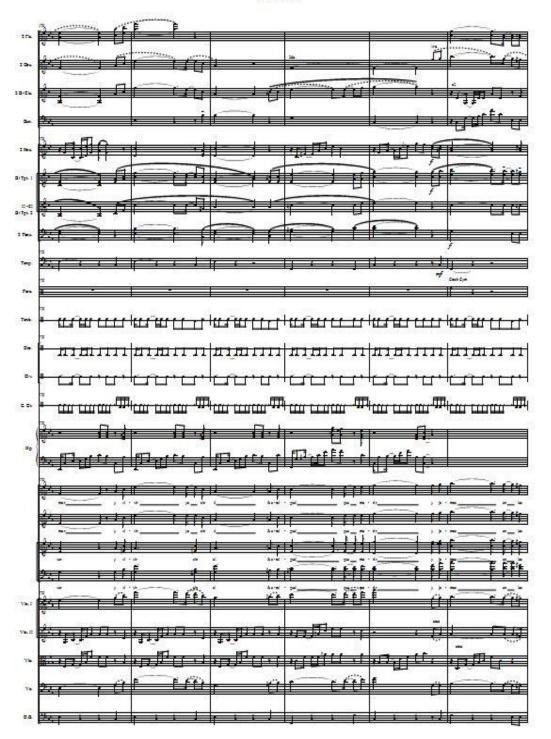






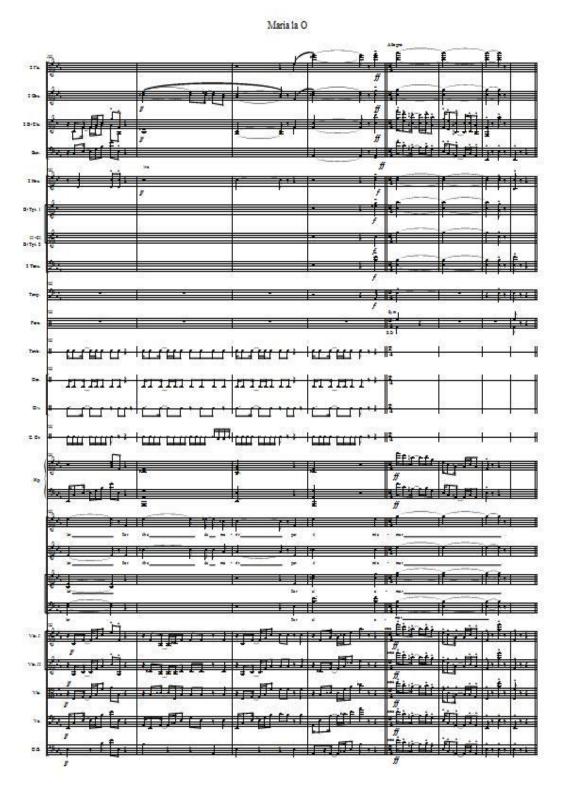


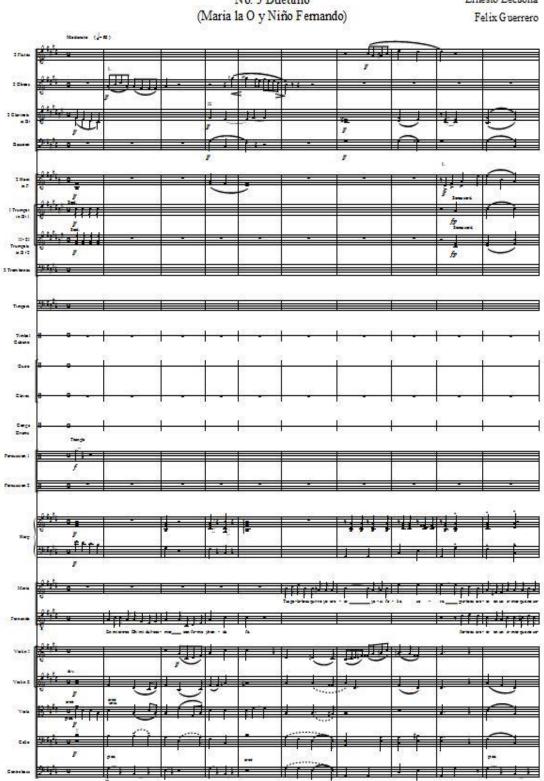




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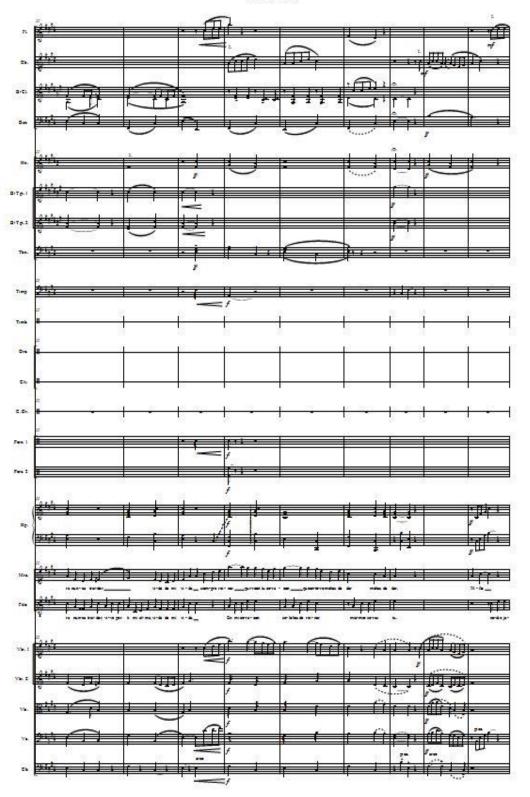
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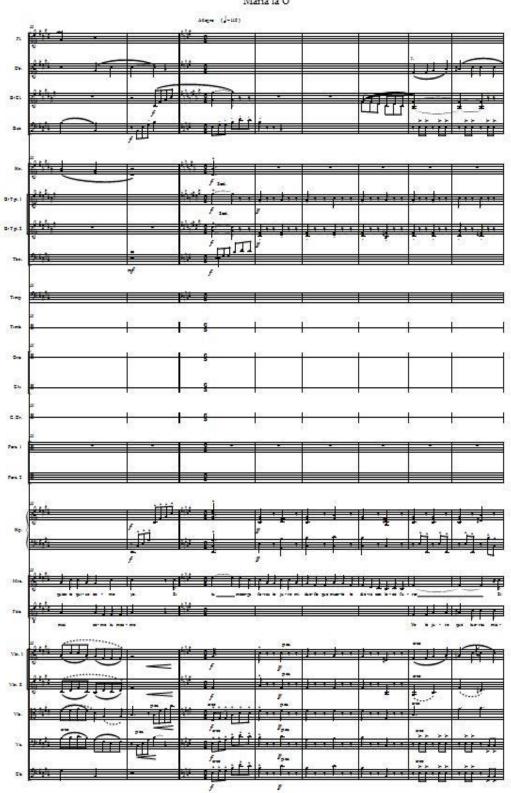




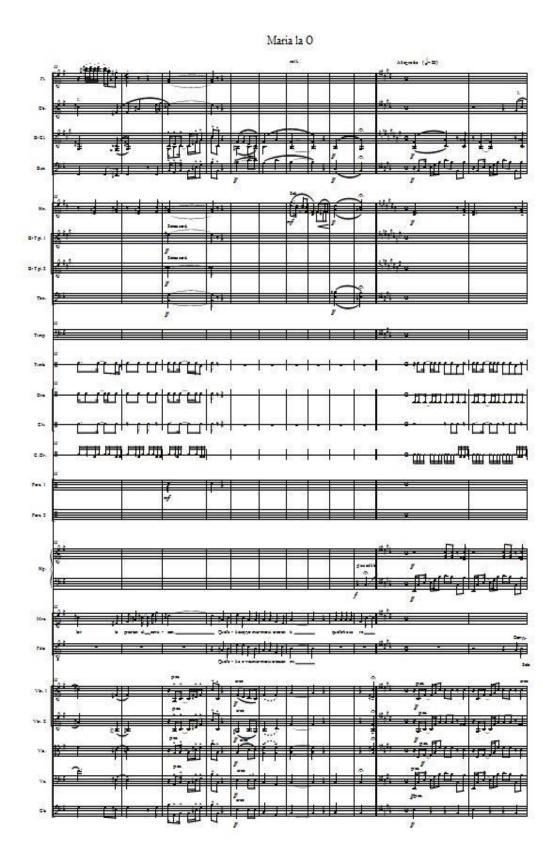
Maria la O No. 3 Duettino

Ernesto Lecuona











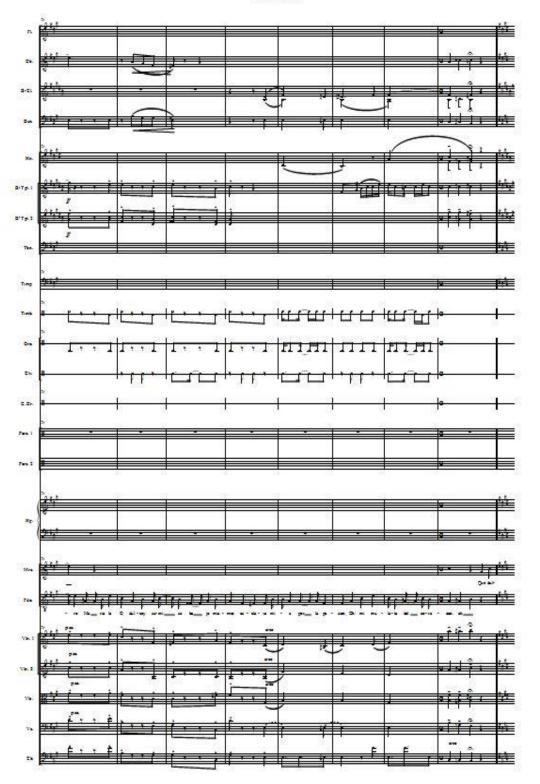


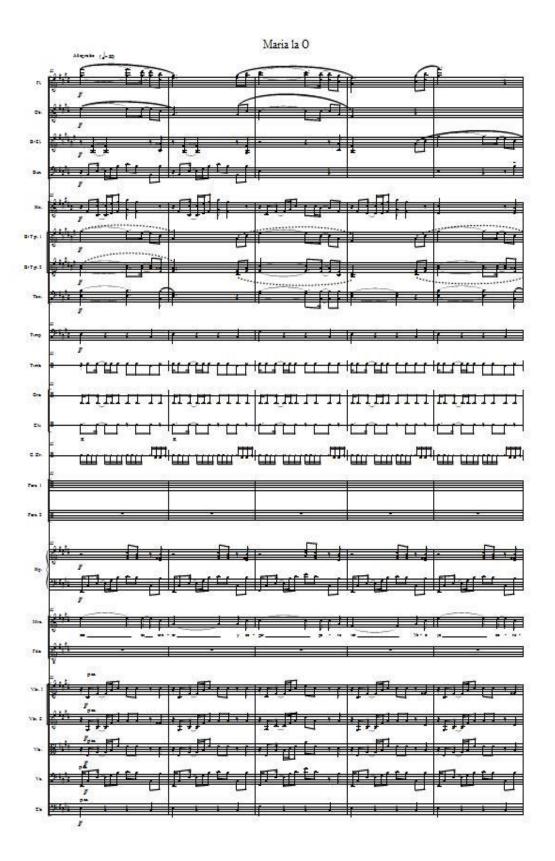
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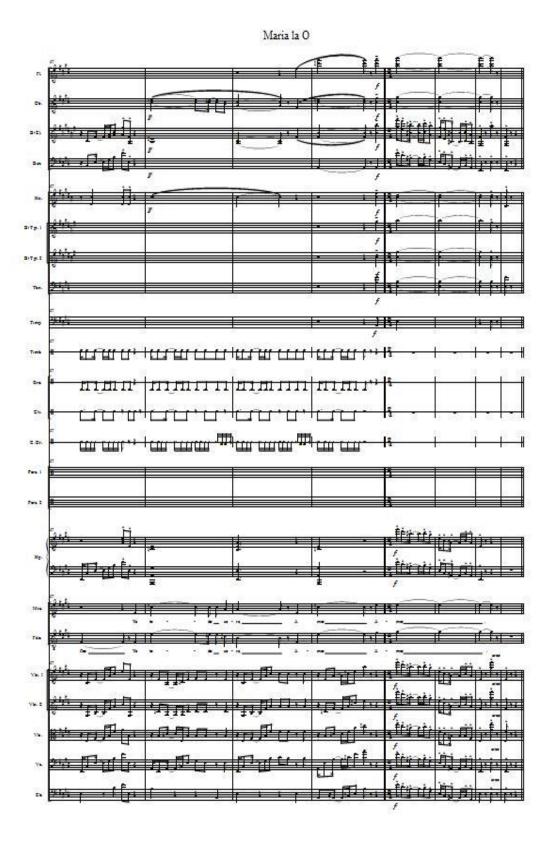
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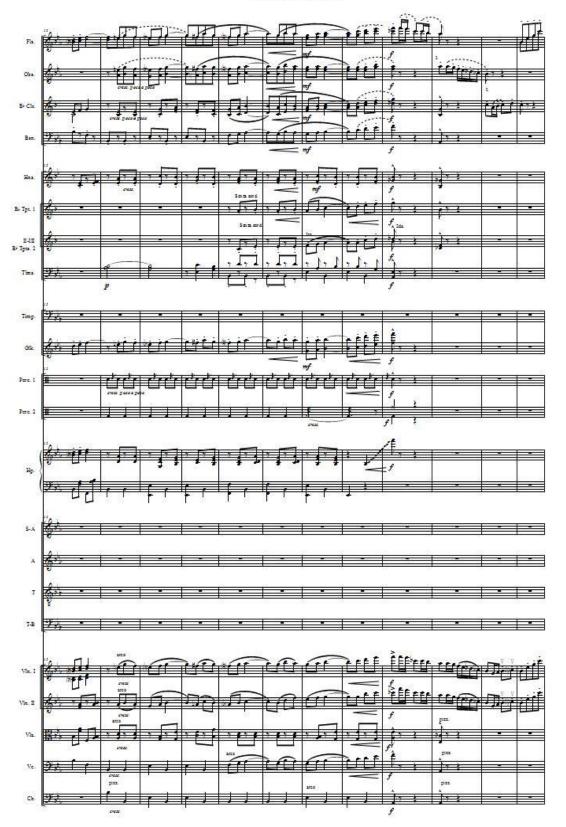






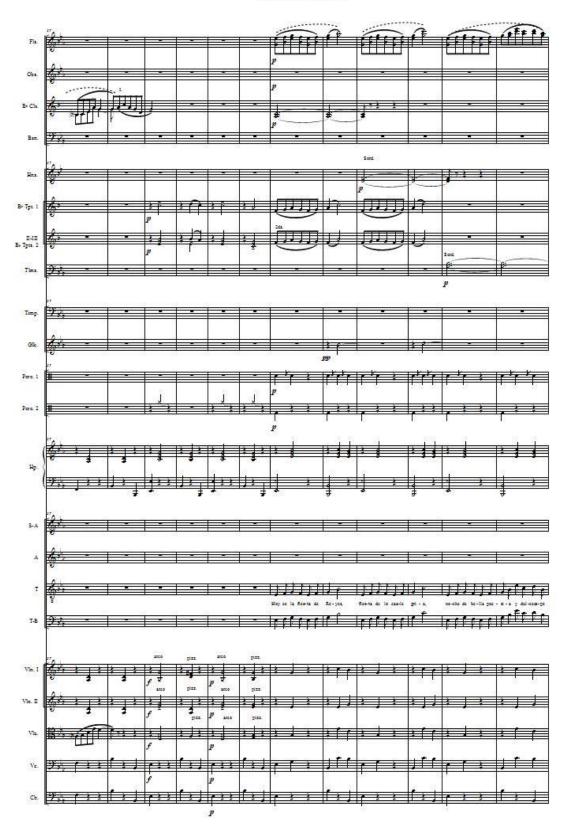








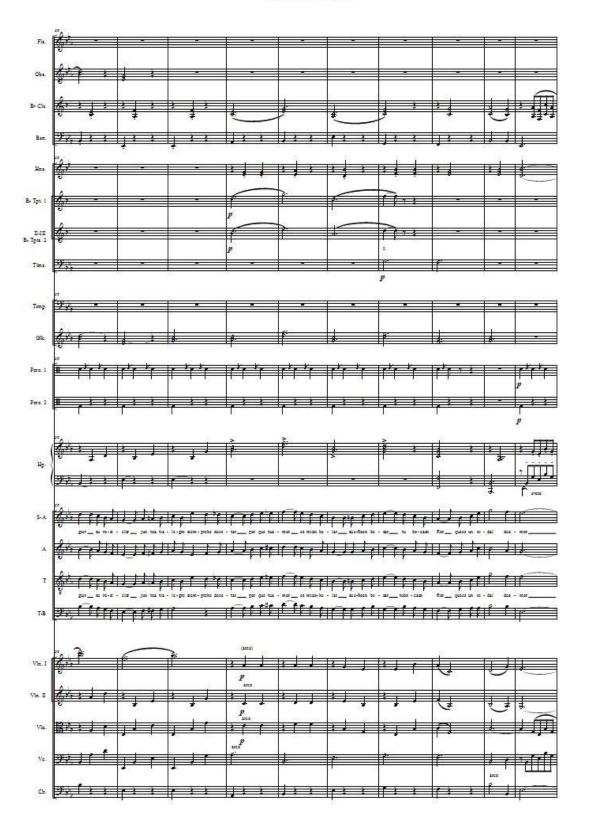
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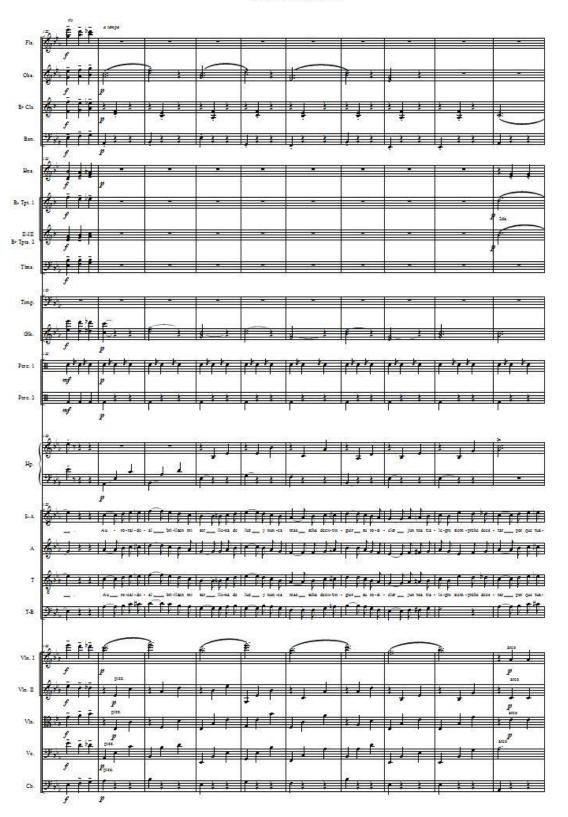








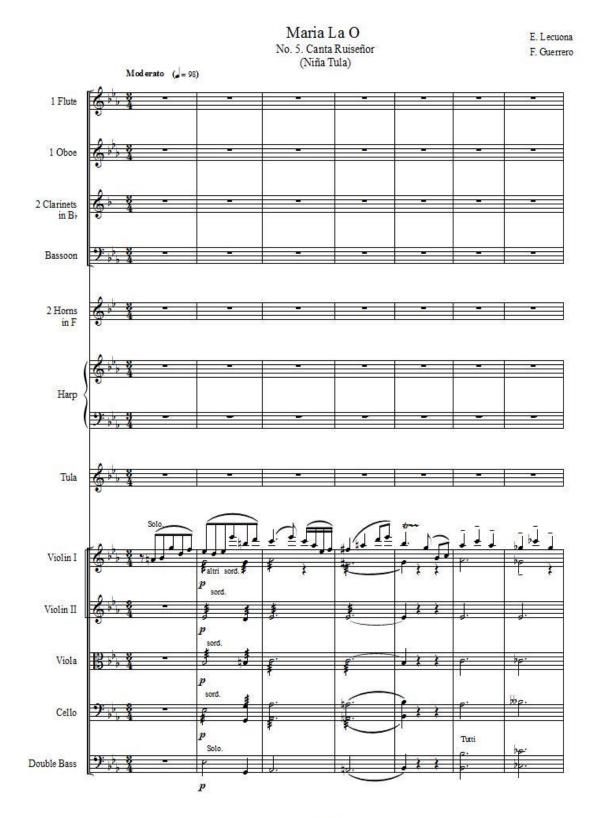




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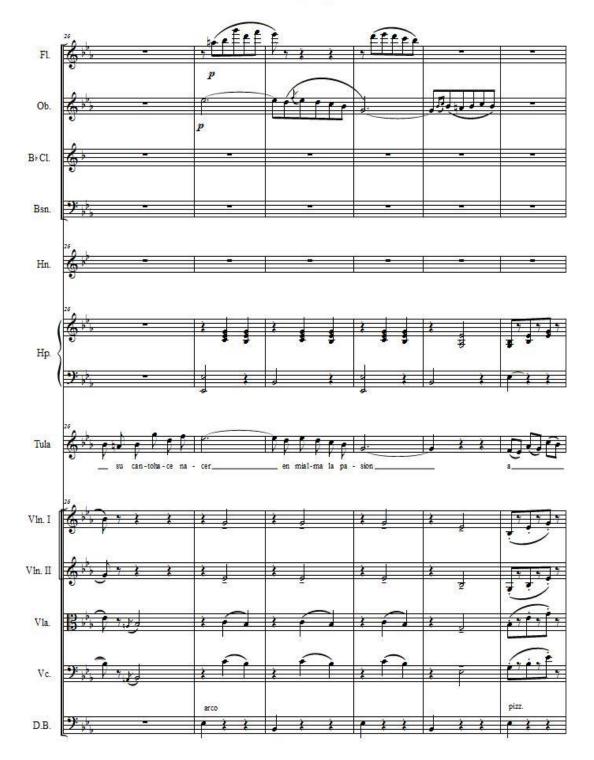
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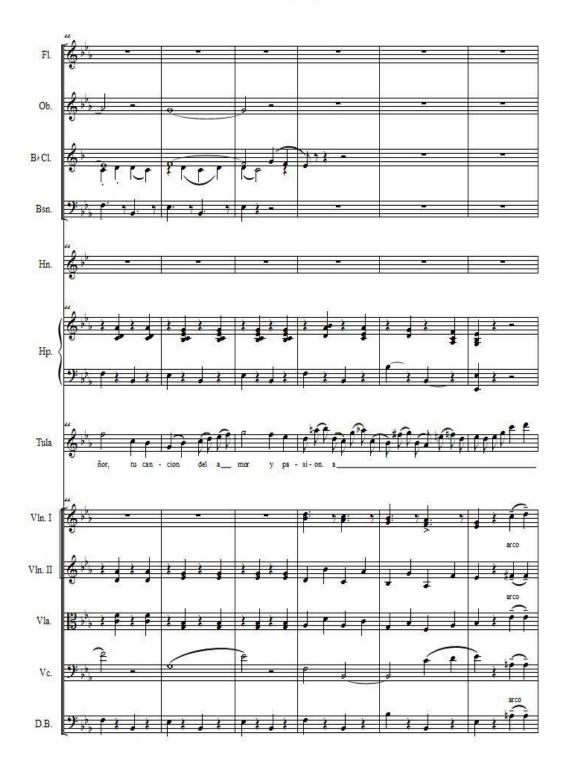








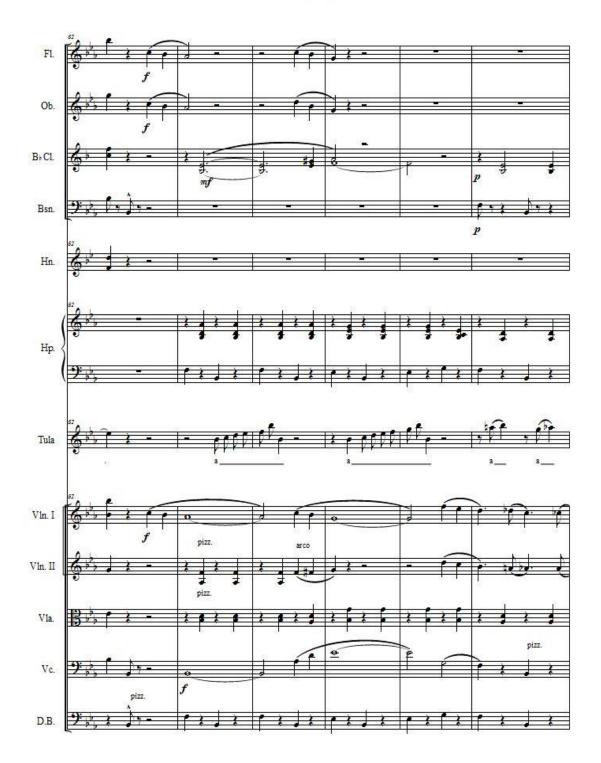












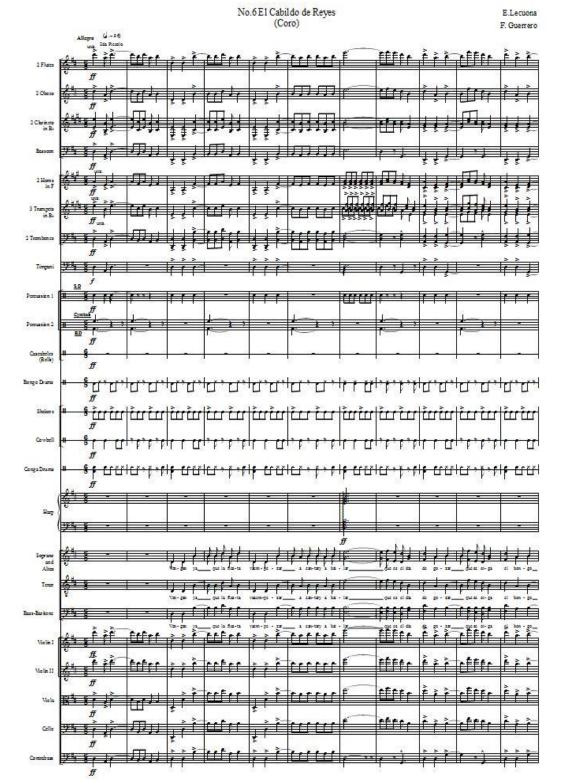




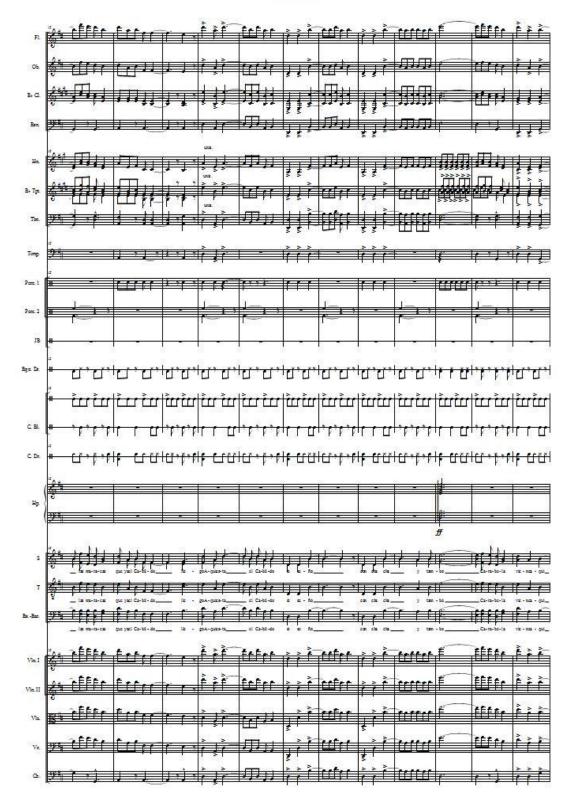


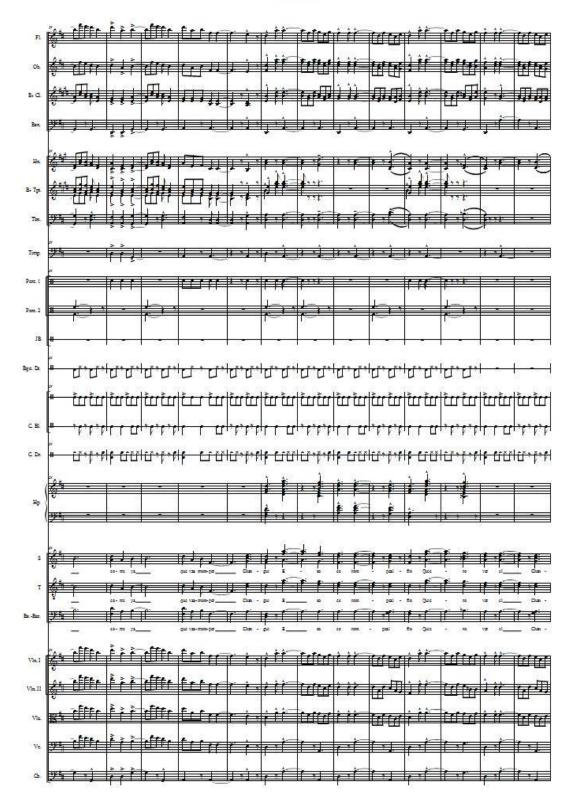




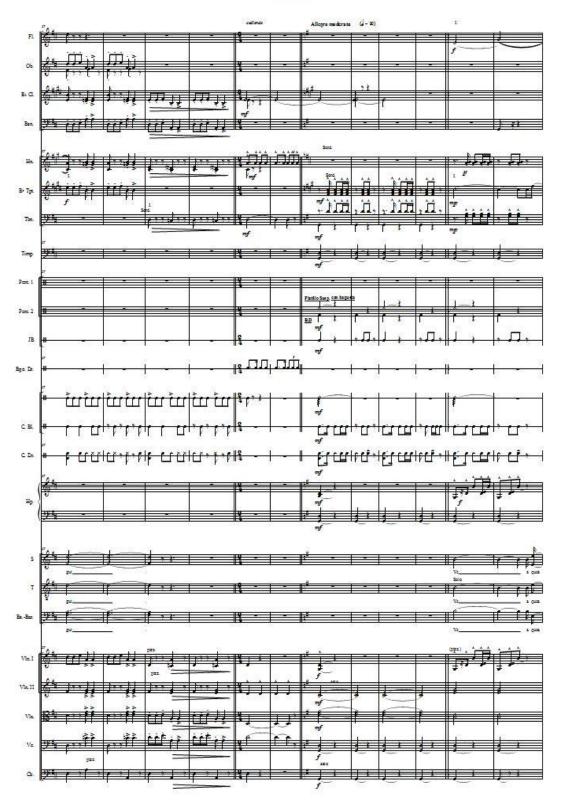


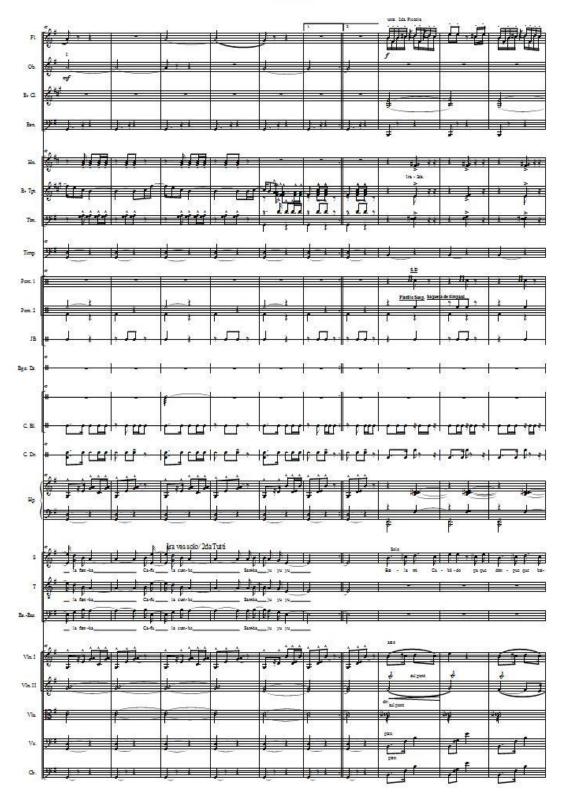
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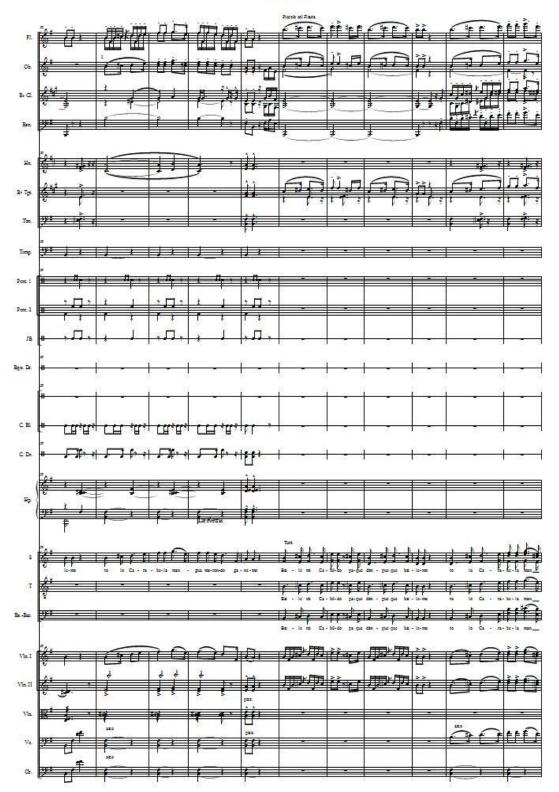


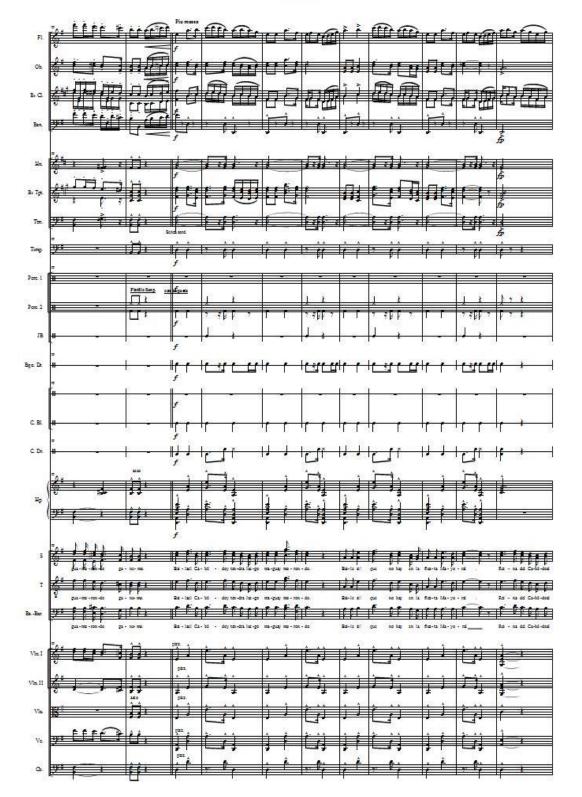


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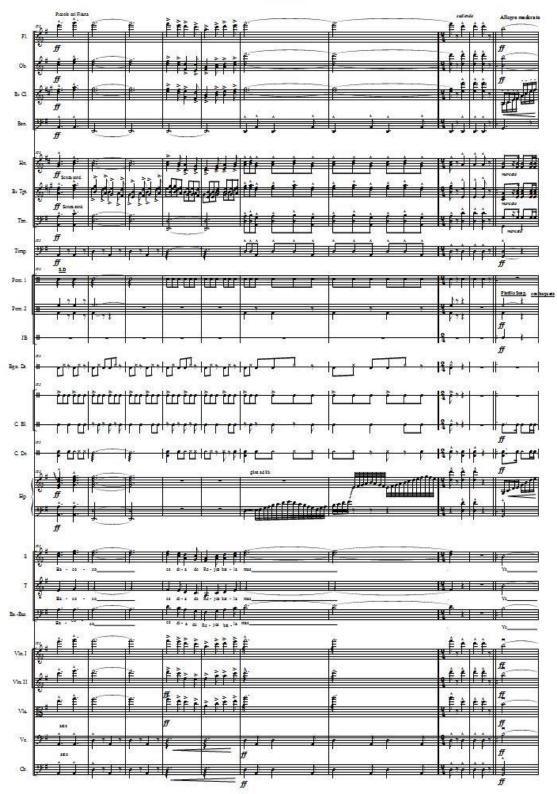




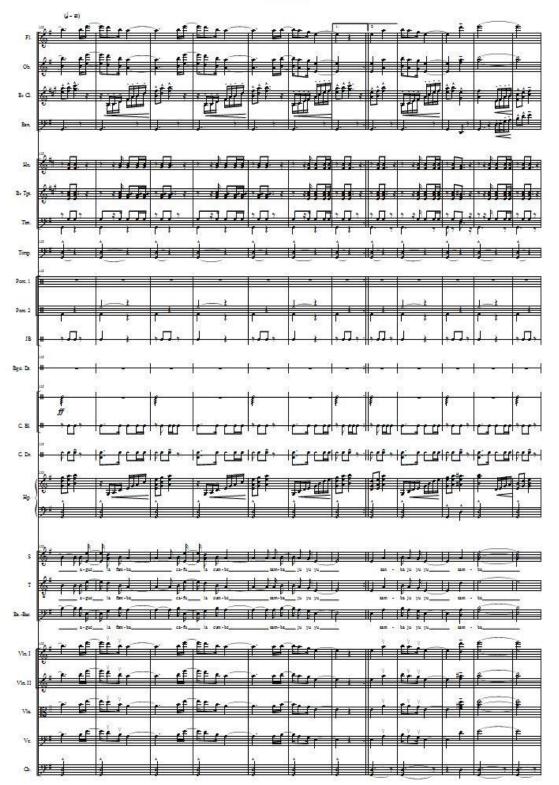


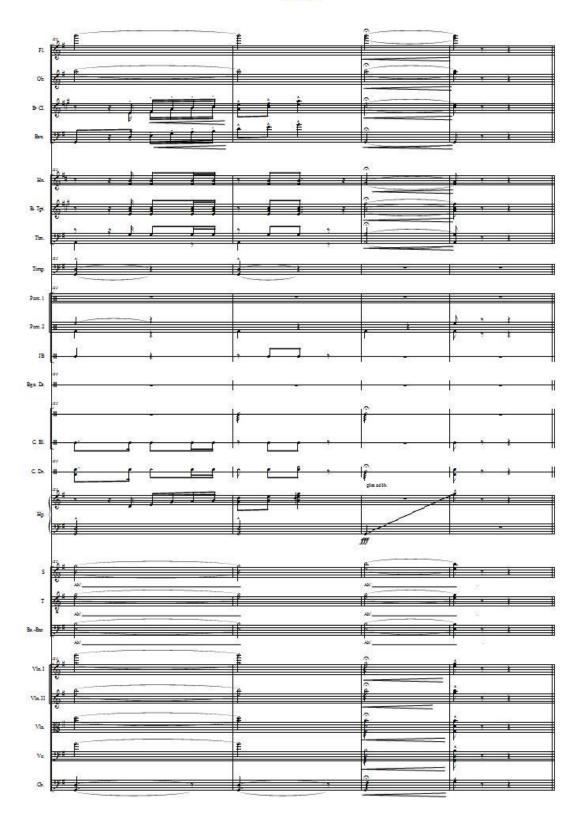






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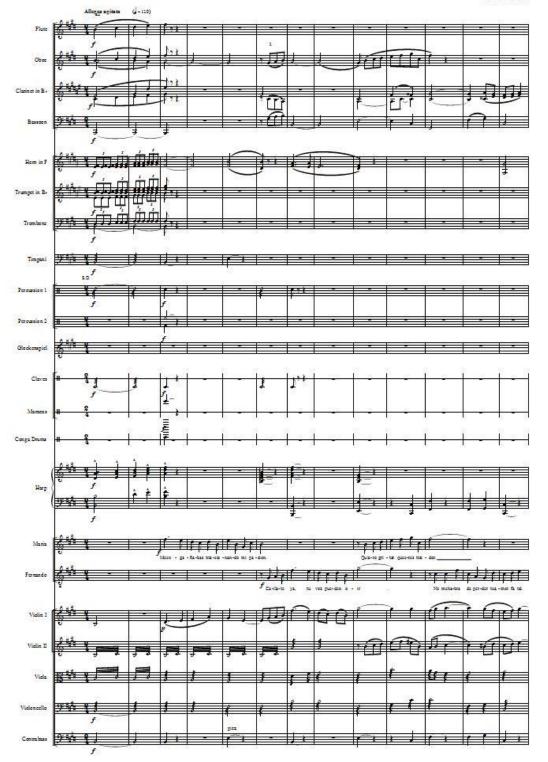


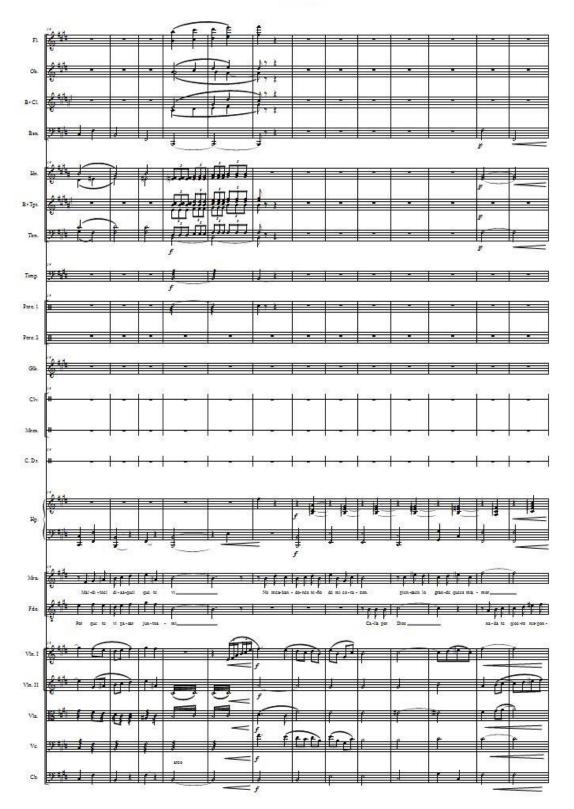


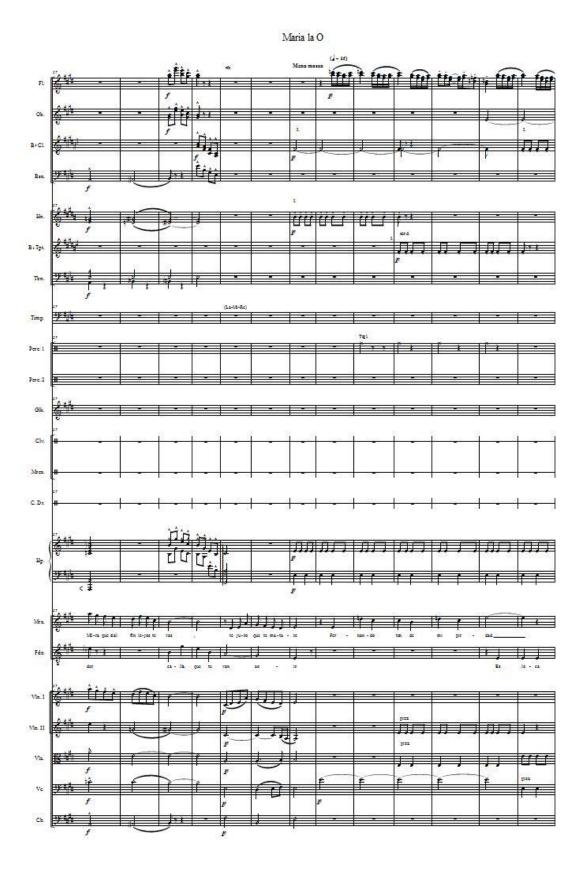
Maria la O No. 7 Gran Duo

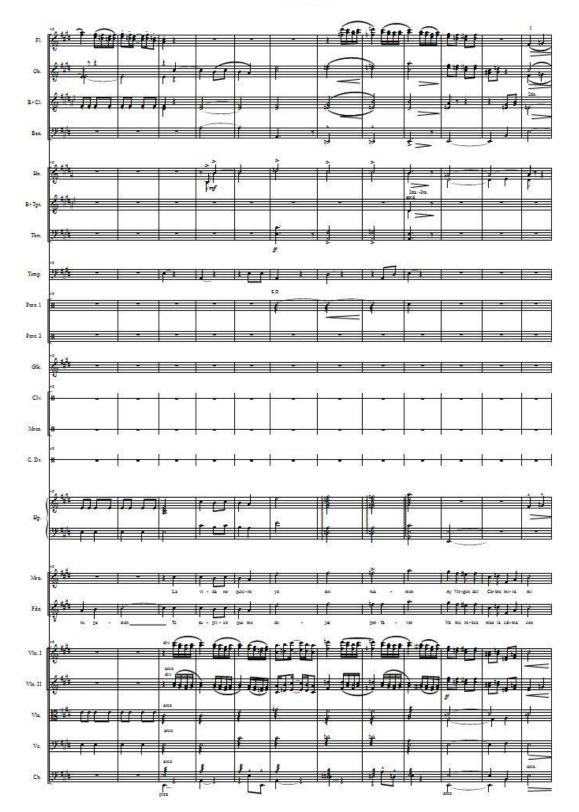
(Maria y Fernando)

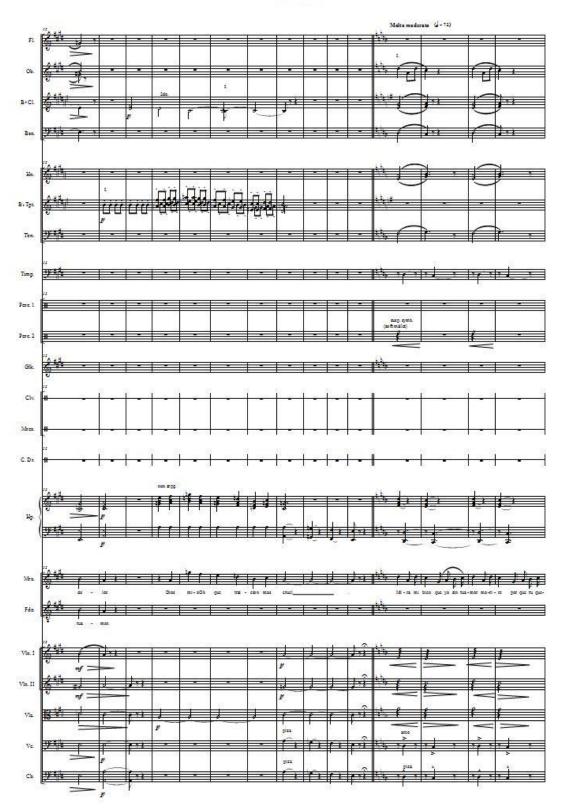
E. Lecuona F. Guerrero

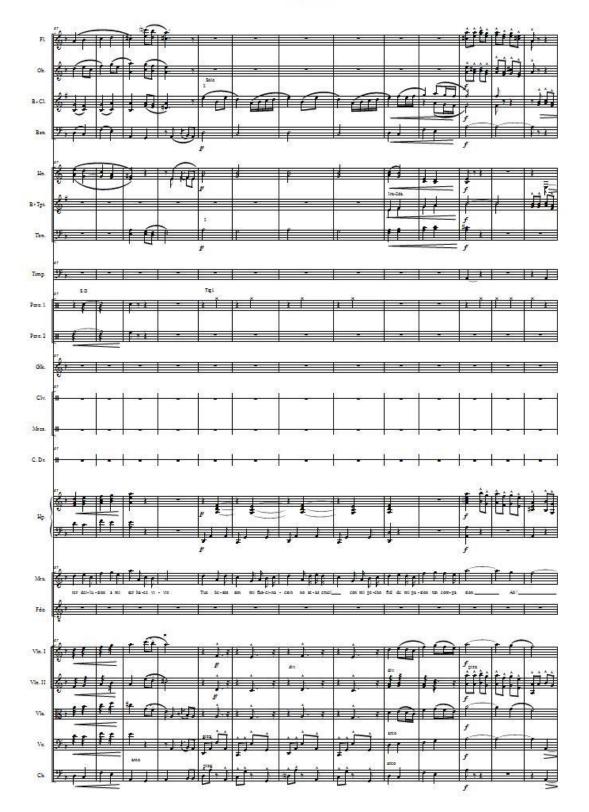




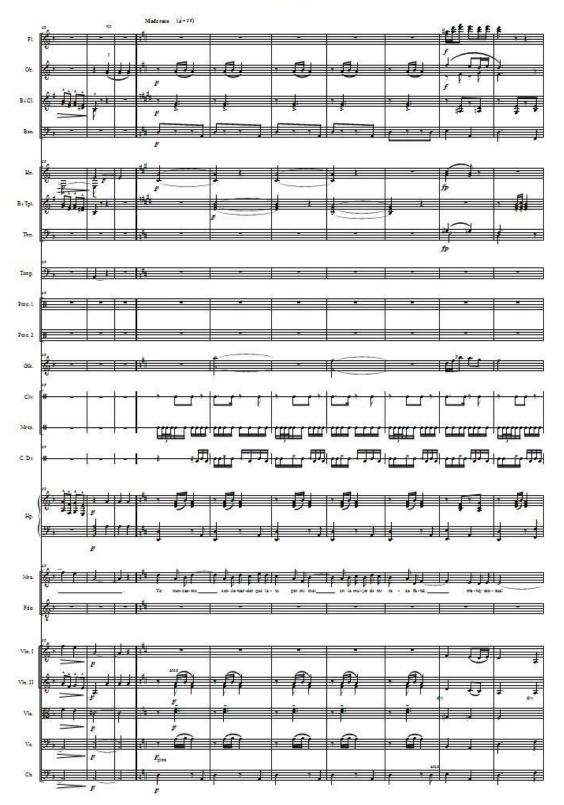










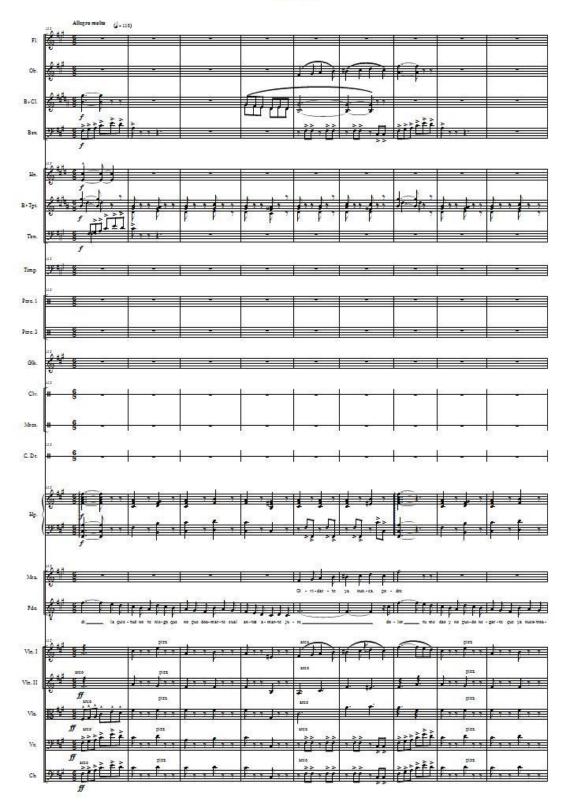




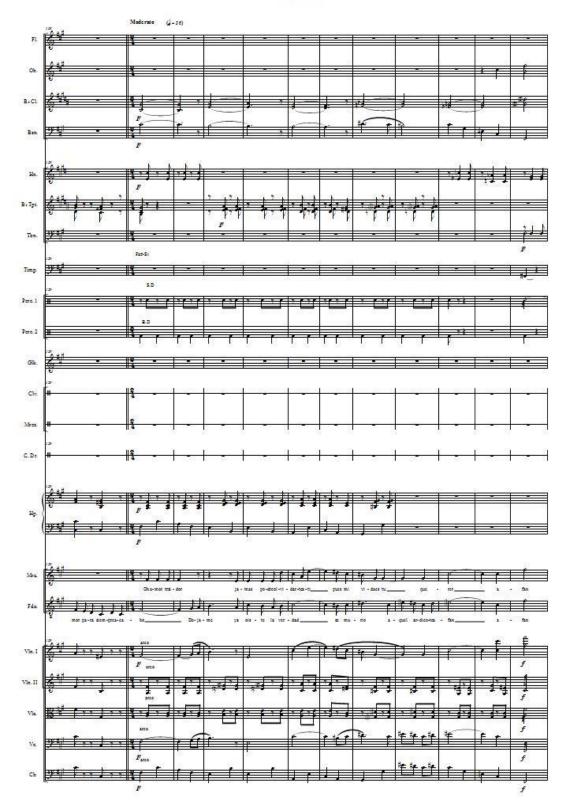


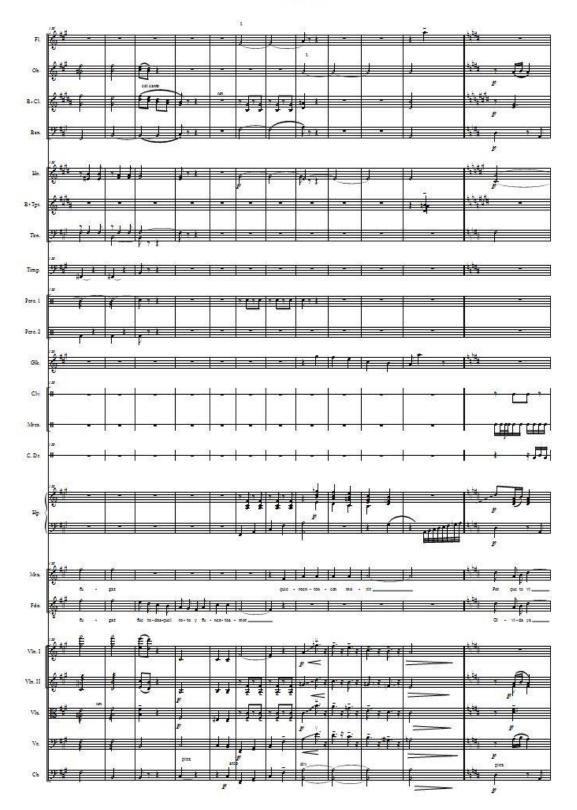


Maria la O



Maria la O



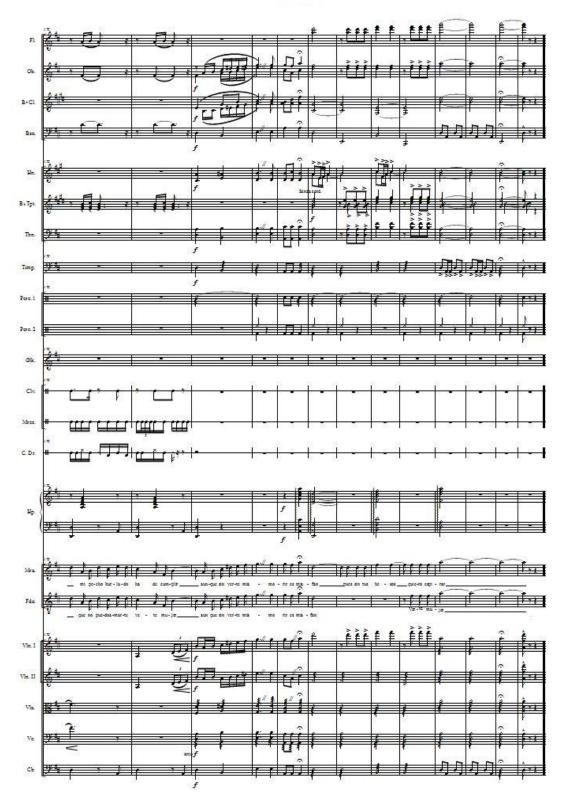




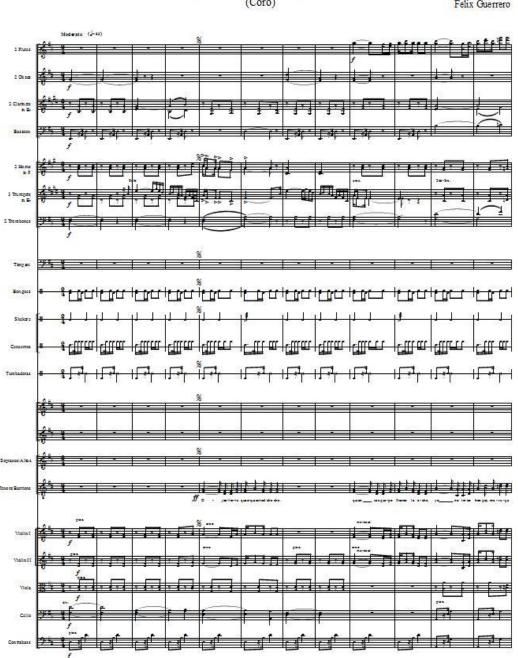












No. 8 Los Curros del Manglar (Coro) Ernesto Lecuona Felix Guerrero







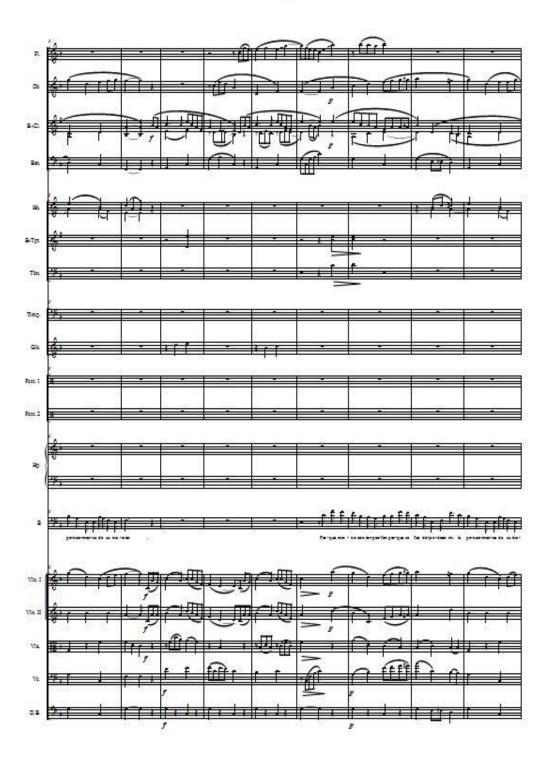
Maria la O



Maria la O No. 9 Romanza de Jose Inocente

(Jose Inocente) Ernesto Lecuona Rodrigo Prats Lento (J-ez) A .A 27 https Obec Carters in Br 11 ŧ ł Samoor. 8 2 Homain F 2 Trungen in S. Thombonc Tragad Lm Cap I Sombo y 7 Intilite 2 Ram · · · · Jose Incente 7.4 Ē **FF F F** Viola I 1.1.0 Violn II Viela Colo Double Bas T 111

Maria la O



Maria la O

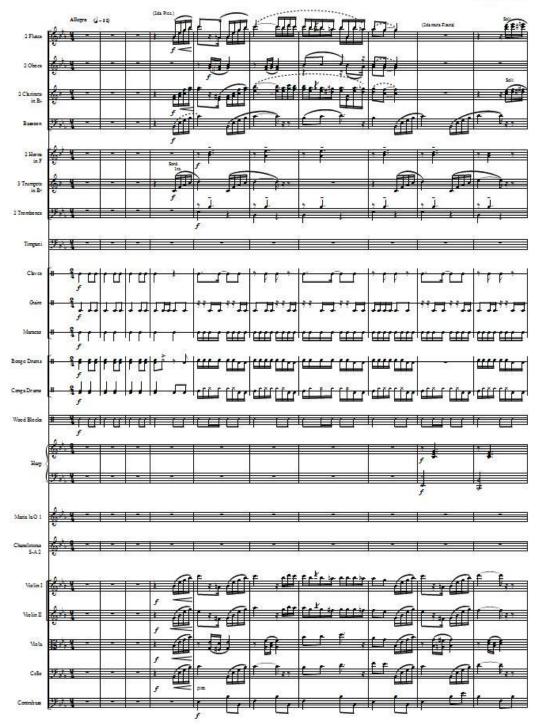


Maria la O



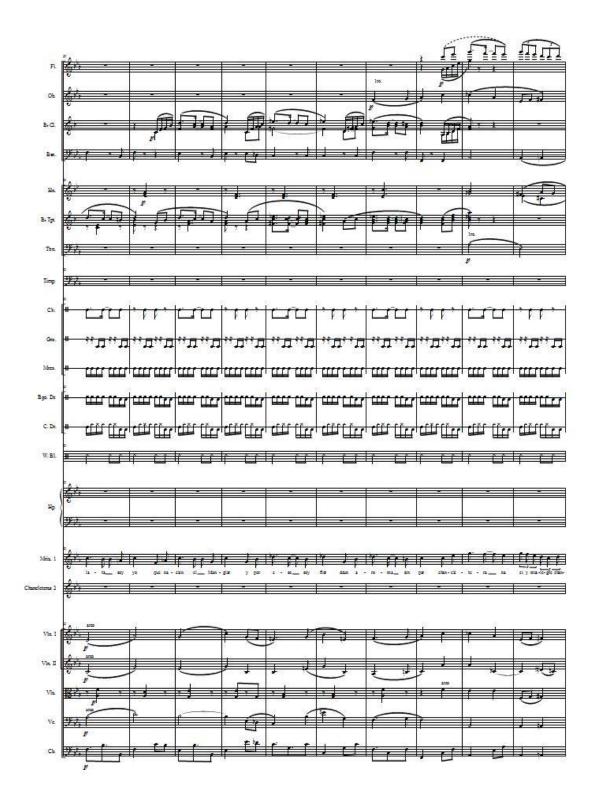
No. 10 Chancletera (Maria1a o y Coro General)

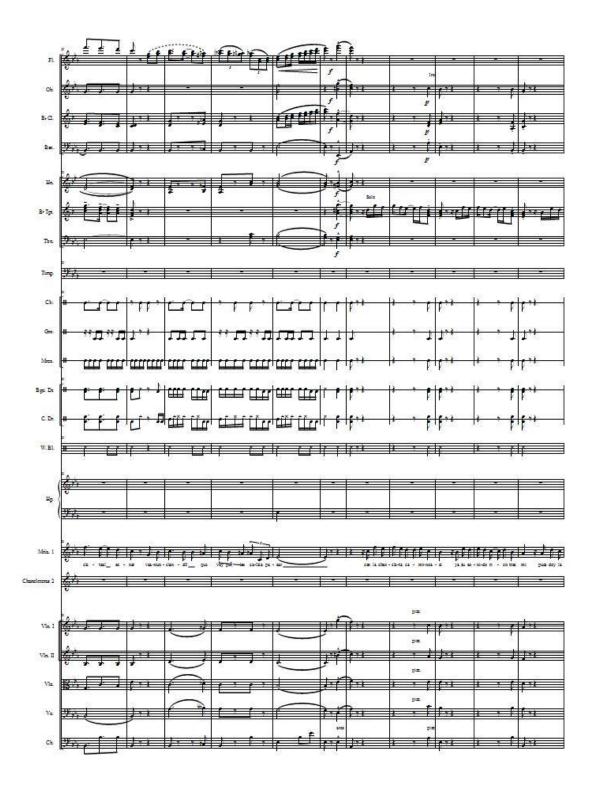
Emesto Lecuona Felix Guerrero

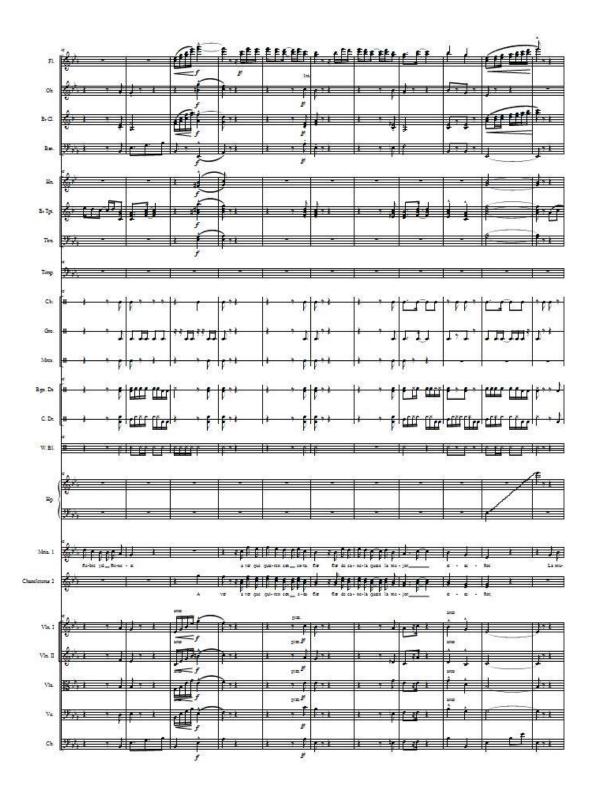


SIPA

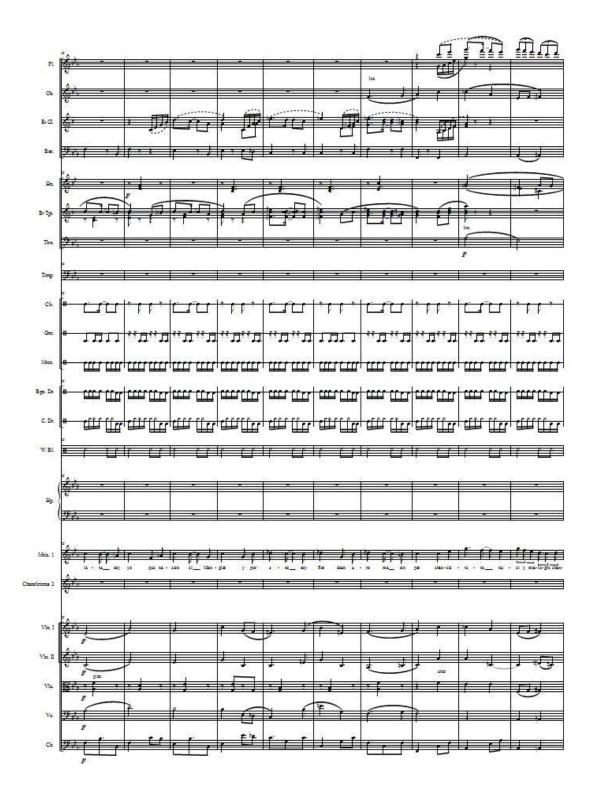








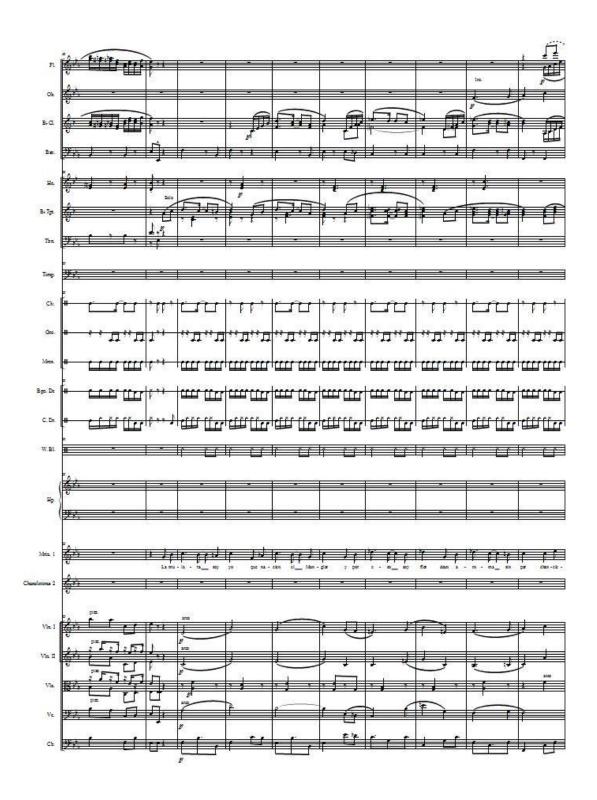
Maria la O

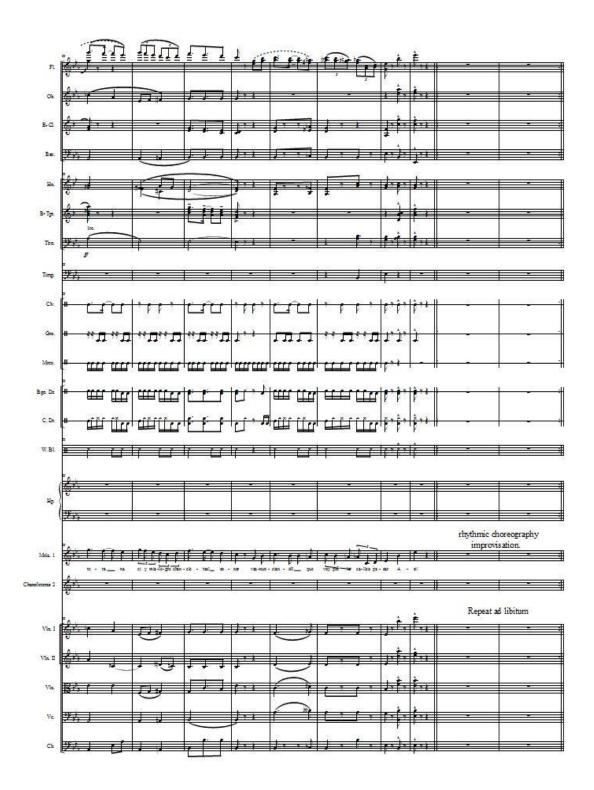






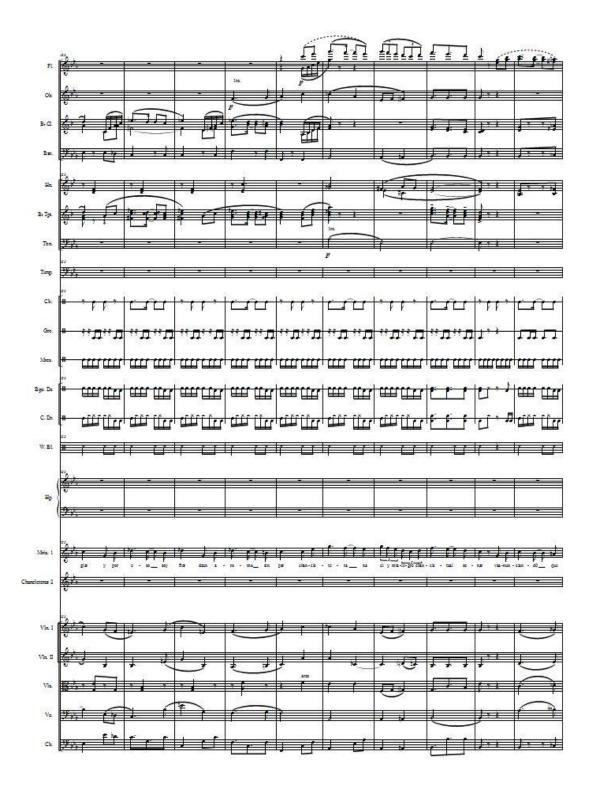








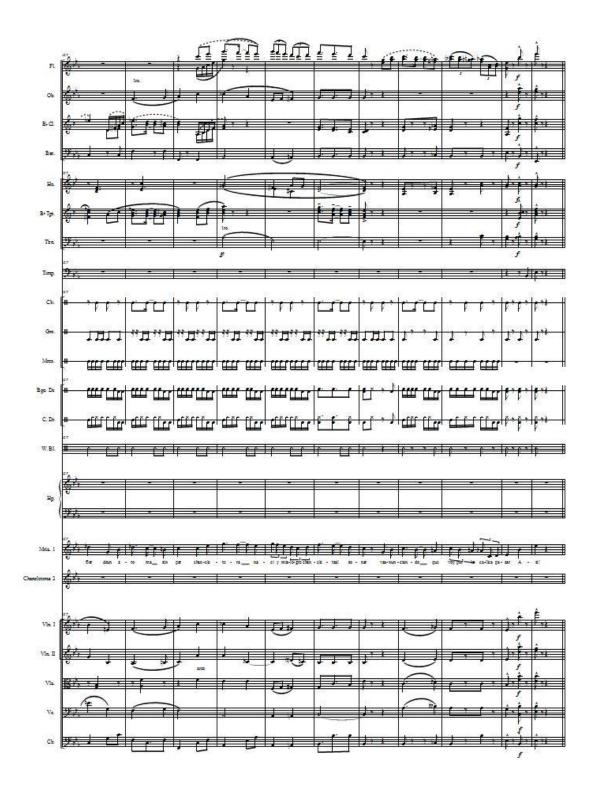








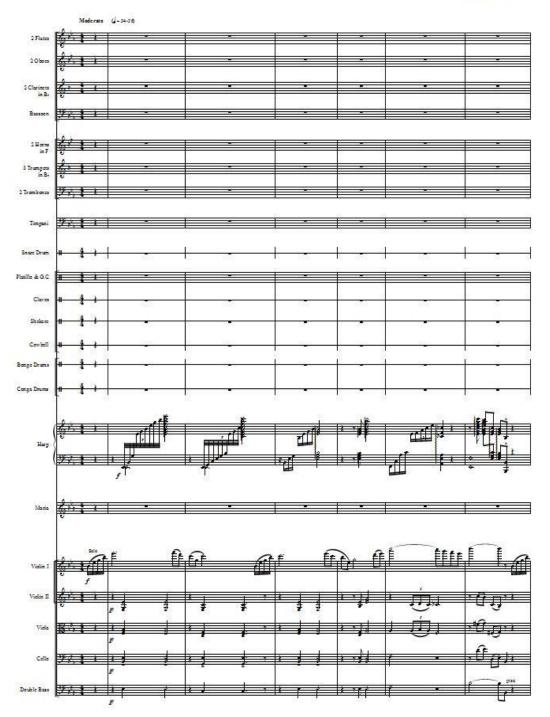
Maria la O



Maria la O

No. 10 Romanza de Maria la O

Ernesto Lecuona Felix Guerrero



Maria la O

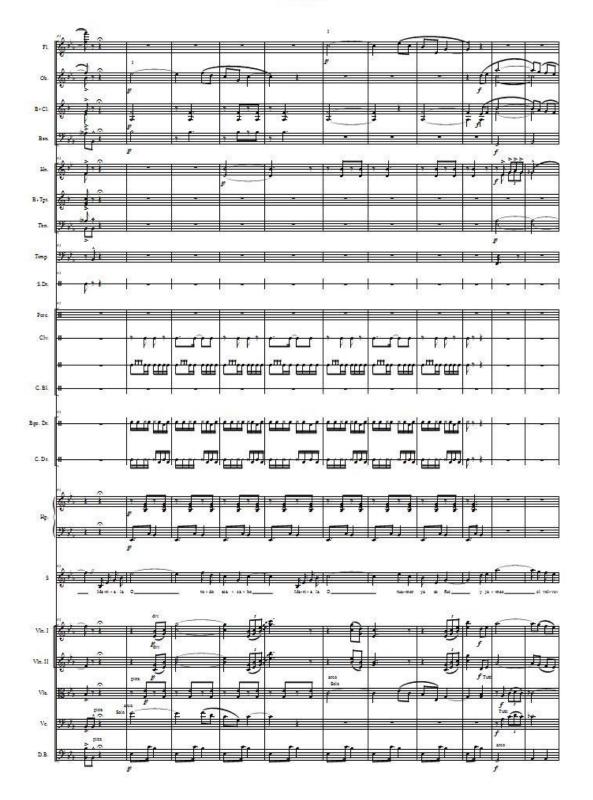


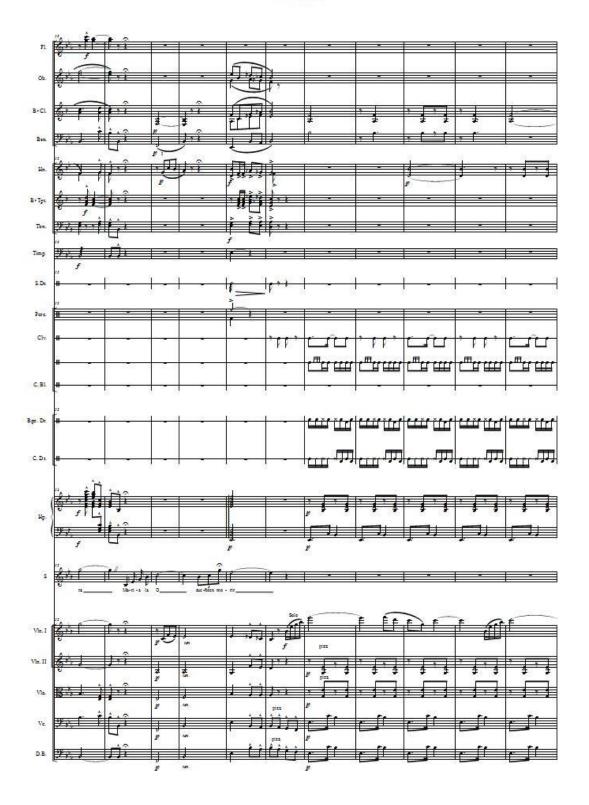




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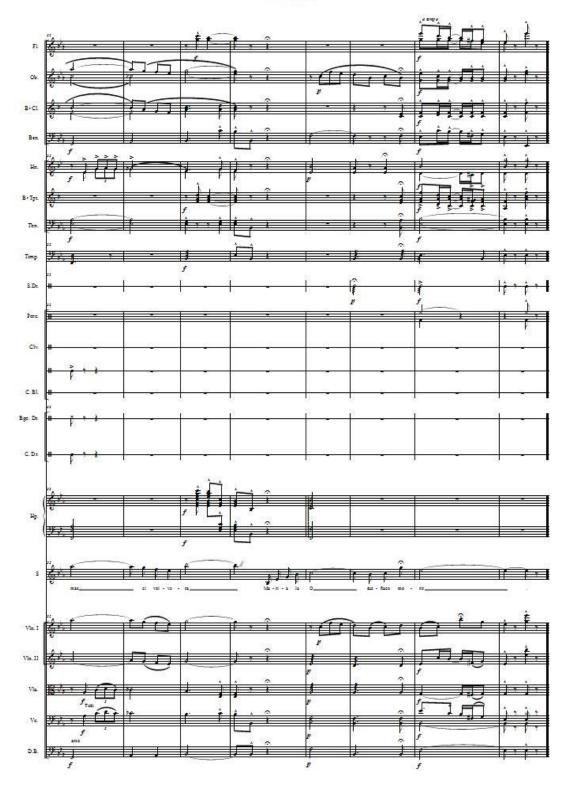




















Maria la O

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

There is a crucial need for an accurate publishable edition of *Maria la O* in order to achieve a proper rendition of this work, as well as more accurate performances in the future. As I stated earlier, most Cuban scenic works from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are buried in Cuban musical institution archives, or are simply lost. Most of the time, Cuban musical works are performed from the original manuscripts or photocopies. The same thing happens to scores and instrumental parts to Cuban orchestral works.

From my own experience in Cuba, I used to conduct works such as the opera *La Esclava* by Jose Mauri, the Zarzuela Cubana *Cecilia Valdes*, *Obertura Cubana* by Alejandro G. Caturla, the Symphony No.1 by Alfredo D. Nieto, and the very *Maria la O* from original manuscripts, or original piano reductions. It was always a hard task to understand the calligraphy, or to decipher some parts that had been blurred by time and use. To this I would add that in many cases the percussion and other vernacular instruments were simply left to the players' imagination, skill, and performance experience. In the particular case of the percussion section, it is impossible to get a correct and ethnically accurate performance if the players are not well informed and trained in Cuban music and the use of Cuban percussion instruments.

Maria la O as orchestrated by Felix Guerrero has the double connotation of being known as the most popular of Lecuona's works for the stage, and also for having been orchestrated by one of Cuba's finest orchestrators, Maestro Felix Guerrero. Before this project the only Cuban zarzuela to have a fully edited and reliable full score was *Cecilia* *Valdez*, but with the eventual and hopeful publication of my edition there will be two that have reliable and edited full scores. With this New Edition of *Maria la O* as orchestrated by Felix Guerrero, conductors, musicians, and scholars will have a fully edited score that will enlighten them about traditions and performance practices, which cannot be found in the original scores.

In terms of recovering and editing Cuban music, much is left to be done; many Cuban works are still waiting for proper performance and critical editions such as Lecuona's *Rosa la China and El Cafetal*. Only when these other two Lecuona zarzuelas have proper performing editions will his triptych, which includes *Maria la O*, be complete. It is my hope that this project will contribute to the preservation and diffusion of our Cuban musical heritage.

APPENDIX

EDITORIAL CHANGES

The editing process was conducted observing a strict analysis of the original score and an exhaustive comparison with the orchestral parts. It was in the set of parts where minor changes, and misprint errors appeared to have been corrected. Also, it is in this set of parts where the uses of performance practice traditions are fully notated. Minor changes for the sake of balance were made in dynamics, missing measures were added, and some unusual notations were changed to a standard notation for the sake of clearer understanding. The major contribution that was made was the transcription of the Cuban percussion, including suggested instruments and rhythmic patterns.

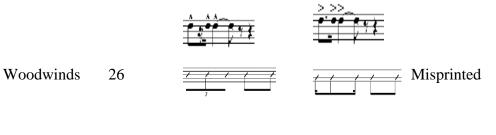
Instrument	Measure	Original	Edited	Remark
II Clarinet	20			trilled added.
Bassoon	12-13			
Woodwind	17	fff	mf	balance.
II Horn	1-2		accent	in parts
	7			
	10	Soli	a2	
I-II Horns	18-23		a2	
Trumpets	1-2		accents	in the parts
	10-11			
I-II Trombone	es 1-2		accent	in the parts

Preludio

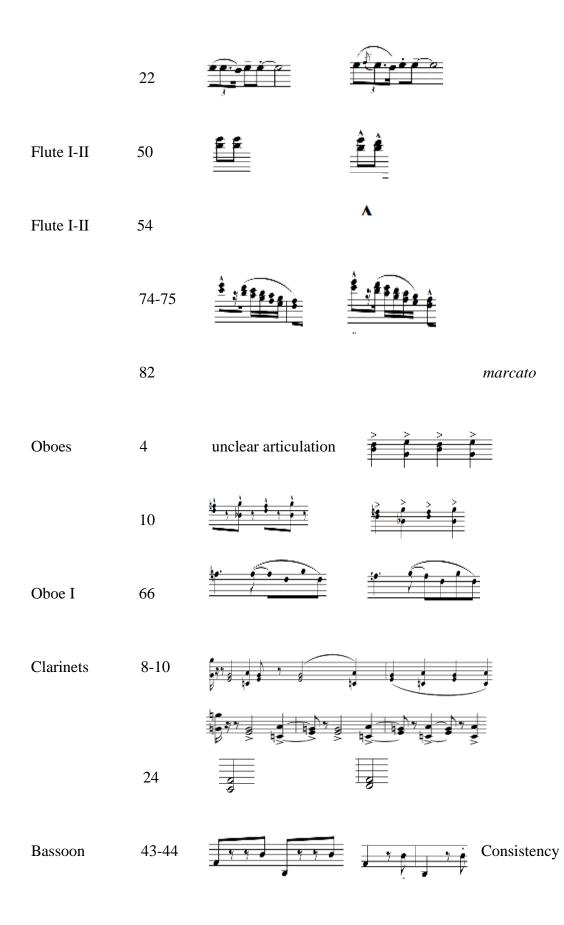
II Trombone	6	<u> </u>	this two bars are clearly misprinted			
I-II Trombone	s 10	Soli	a2			
	12		a the second sec	lower 8va. Added		
Timpani	3					
	5					
	6-7	in in		the parts		
Snare Drum	2-7	all tr	emolos added.			
Bass Drum	7			in the part		
I-II Violins	12		accent	Added.		
	18-23	Unison. Celli	a2			
Violoncello	12	no tremolo	tremolo			
Violins/Violas	14	no dynamic	р			
Violins	17	no dynamic	f			
Viola/Cello	17	no dynamic	ſſ			

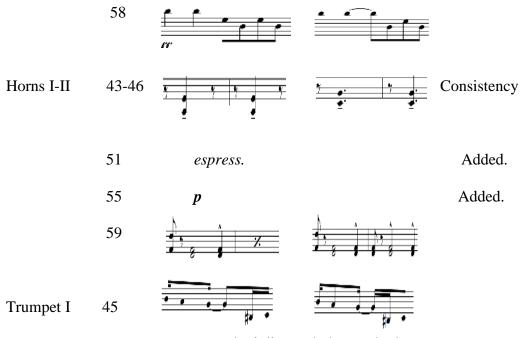
No. 1 "Cuna de Caridad"

Winds 2-15 No consistency in the way to notate the introductory fanfare



Flute I20Solo and f



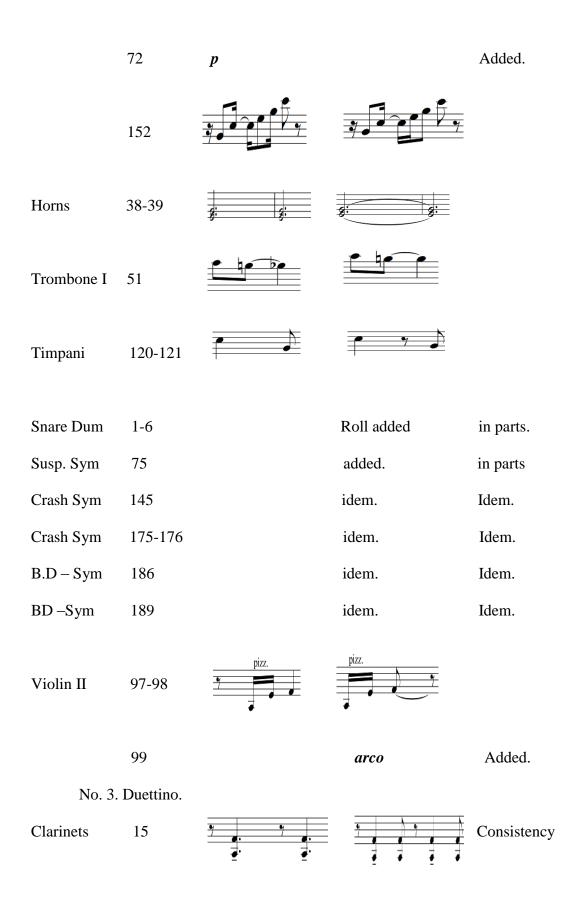


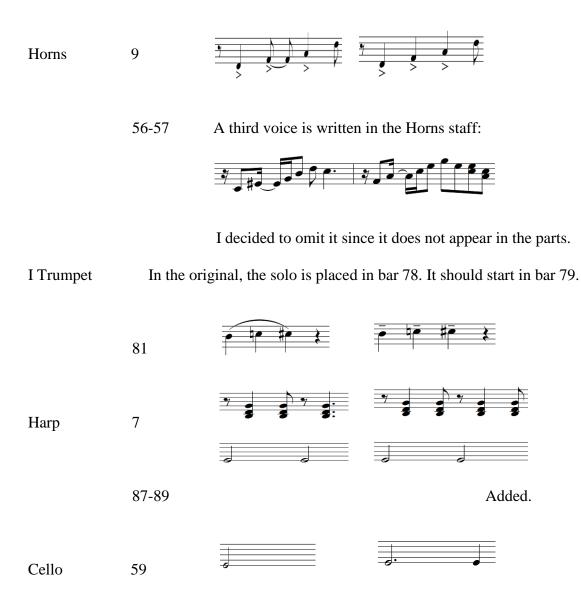
to match violins and dance rhythm.

Harp 7-12 I have decided to add these six measures for the sake of consistency.
Violins 12 *arco* after mm. 12 indicates that mm12 is pizz. same occurs in mm. 6

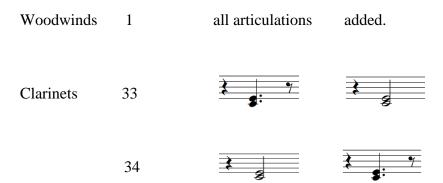
No.2 Salida "Maria la O"

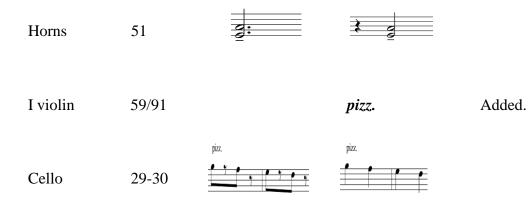
I Flute	73	mf	Added.
	74	f	Added.
Oboe	152	half Eb note	Added.
	172	half G note	Added.
Clarinets	72	<i>p</i>	Added.
	152 *		
Bassoon	7	half note C	Adde
	36		



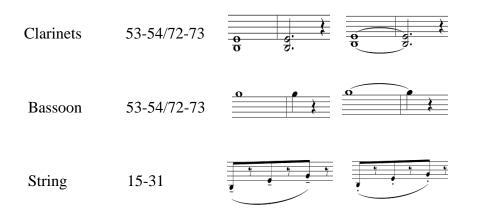


No. 4 Ronda de los enamorados



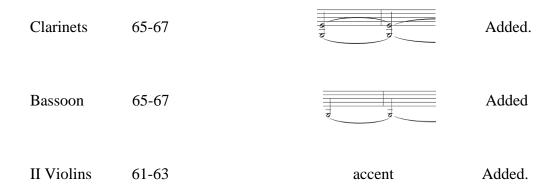


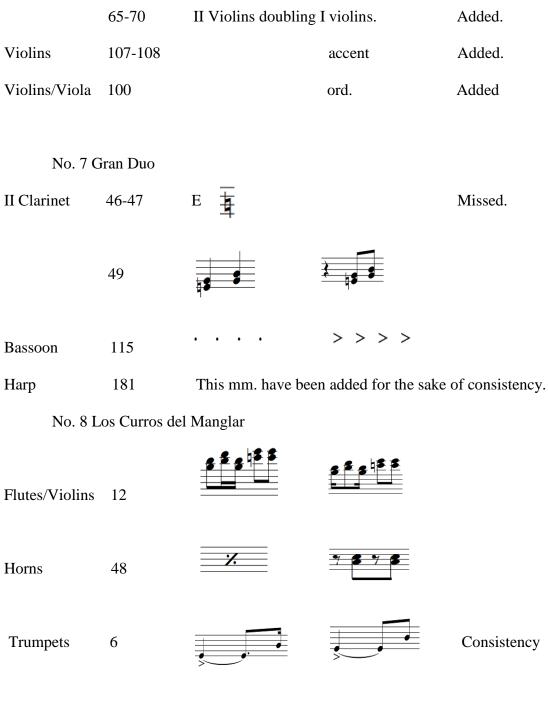
No.5 "Canta Ruiseñor"



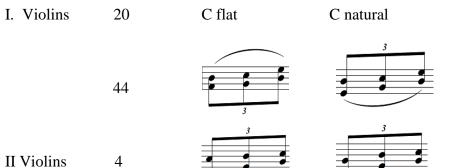
No. 6 "El Cabildo de Reyes"

All articulations have been added accordingly in all parts.





No. 10 Romanza Maria la O



II Violins

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