



Minerva Access is the Institutional Repository of The University of Melbourne

Author/s:

Kertesz, E

Title:

Goyescas and the Landscapes of Spain in New York

Date:

2020-06-20

Citation:

Kertesz, E. (2020). Goyescas and the Landscapes of Spain in New York. Morales, L (Ed.). Christoforidis, M (Ed.). Clark, WA (Ed.). Enrique Granados in Context: The Spanish Piano School and Pre-war Artistic Movements, (1), pp.197-206. FIMTE.

Persistent Link:

<https://hdl.handle.net/11343/258545>

Enrique Granados en Contexto

***La escuela española de piano y los movimientos
artísticos entorno a la Gran Guerra***

EDITORES: LUISA MORALES - MICHAEL CHRISTOFORIDIS -
WALTER A. CLARK

Enrique Granados in Context

The Spanish Piano School and Pre-war Artistic Movements

EDITED BY LUISA MORALES - MICHAEL CHRISTOFORIDIS -
WALTER A. CLARK



Enrique Granados en contexto • Enrique Granados in context

© 2020, FIMTE Festival Internacional de Música de Tecla Española

C/ Cervantes, 37 Garrucha 04630 Almería

fimteorg@gmail.com

www.fimte.org

Edita: FIMTE Festival Internacional de Música de Tecla Española

Ilustración cubierta: Néstor, *Retrato de Enrique Granados*. (1909-1910)

Óleo sobre lienzo. Museo Néstor, Gran Canaria, with kind permission

ISBN: 978-84-09-20632-2

Dep. Legal: AL-943-2020

Imprime: CimaPress

Índice de Contenidos

ÍNDICE DE ILUSTRACIONES _____	ix
ÍNDICE DE TABLAS Y GRÁFICOS _____	xi
PREFACE	
Luisa Morales - Walter A. Clark - Michael Christoforidis _____	xiii
PREFACIO	
Luisa Morales - Walter A. Clark - Michael Christoforidis _____	xxi
EL CONTEXTO CULTURAL DE GRANADOS • GRANADOS'S CULTURAL CONTEXT	
<i>DE PANE LUCRANDO A LA AGITACIÓN CULTURAL: EL PESO DE LA IDEOLOGÍA DE PEDRELL SOBRE ENRIC GRANADOS</i>	
Francesc Cortès _____	1
AN EARLY GRANADOS MENTOR: CHARLES-WILFRID DE BÉRIOT	
Susanne Skyrn _____	27
RAÍCES DE LA ESCUELA ESPAÑOLA DE PIANO: LA APORTACIÓN DEL CONSERVATORIO DE MADRID	
Laura de Miguel Fuertes _____	53
LA ACTIVIDAD PIANÍSTICA DE ENRIQUE GRANADOS EN EL CONTEXTO MUSICAL DE BARCELONA	
Mutsumi Fukushima _____	69
EL ESTILO MUSICAL DE GRANADOS • GRANADOS'S MUSICAL STYLE	
GRANADOS'S <i>MAJISMO</i> AND EARLY MUSIC IN FIN-DE-SIÈCLE BARCELONA	
Luisa Morales _____	89
"EPÍLOGO" FROM GOYESCAS. A STUDY OF SOURCES AND STYLE	
Marco Fatichenti _____	111
ENRIQUE GRANADOS Y PAU CASALS. UNA LARGA AMISTAD Y LA CONSTRUCCIÓN DE UN REPERTORIO PARA EL VIOLONCHELO	
Xoán M. Carreira - Josep M. Rebés _____	121

SOBRE EL CONTROL DE LA IDEOLOGÍA POLÍTICA A TRAVÉS DEL CUPLÉ: EL CASO DE LAS TONADILLAS DE ENRIQUE GRANADOS	
Miriam Perandones	145
SPAIN, THE 'ETERNAL MAJA': GOYA, <i>MAJISMO</i> , AND THE REINVENTION OF SPANISH NATIONAL IDENTITY IN GRANADOS'S GOYESCAS	
Walter Aaron Clark	165
GRANADOS SECRETS REVEALED BY HIS PIANO ROLLS	
Carolina Estrada	181
RECEPCIÓN, RECUPERACIÓN Y DIFUSIÓN DE LA OBRA DE GRANADOS •	
RECEPTION, RECOVERY AND DISSEMINATION OF GRANADOS'S WORKS	
GOYESCAS AND THE LANDSCAPES OF SPAIN IN NEW YORK	
Elizabeth Kertesz	197
THE DEATH OF ENRIQUE GRANADOS, ANGLO-SPANISH RELATIONS AND SPANISH MUSIC IN LONDON	
Ken Murray	207
IN THE WAKE OF GRANADOS: MANUEL DE FALLA'S ARTISTIC REORIENTATION (1916-1919)	
Michael Christoforidis	221
GOYESQUE ELEMENTS IN PABLO PICASSO'S CURTAIN AND MANUEL DE FALLA'S OVERTURE FOR <i>THE THREE-CORNERED HAT</i> (1919)	
Carina Ann-Tara Nandlal	231
RAQUEL MELLER: <i>MAJA</i> IN POST-WAR PARIS	
Geraldine Power	241
ÍNDICE ONOMÁSTICO	257

GOYESCAS AND THE LANDSCAPES OF SPAIN IN NEW YORK

ELIZABETH KERTESZ

Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, The University of Melbourne

El estreno en 1916 de la ópera Goyescas en el teatro Metropolitan de Nueva York fue, al mismo tiempo, un éxito y un fracaso. Granados llegó a Nueva York afirmando que su ópera expresaba “la verdadera alma española”, distinguiéndola claramente de “los boleros y habaneras ramplones” de compositores como Moszkowski y Bizet. En su celo por presentarse él mismo y su obra, como embajadores de lo que él consideraba la verdadera cultura española, no se percató de que su imagen personal del Madrid goyesco iba a tener que competir por el éxito en la escena neoyorquina, y que su intención de adjudicar la autenticidad española a su obra le iba a distanciar de la opinión neoyorquina favorecedora de un espectáculo español colorido y con todos los estereotipos de la España que Granados había intentado esquivar. Este arraigado gusto por lo español encontraba su máxima expresión en la ópera Carmen de Bizet, un clásico del color local español, con el que los neoyorquinos tenían una larga y duradera historia de amor. Desafortunadamente para Granados, su visita a los Estados Unidos coincidió con el estreno del film Carmen de Cecil B. DeMille, protagonizado por la cantante de ópera Geraldine Farrar, cuya reaparición en el escenario del Met en 1916 como protagonista de la ópera de Bizet, se produjo apenas después del estreno de Goyescas. Este artículo argumenta que a pesar de su prestigiosa y extravagante producción, el nuevo fracaso de la ópera —que solo se mantuvo en cartel una corta temporada— se debió a la disfunción entre el estilo intencionadamente galante de Goyescas y la historia y contexto local del espectáculo español.

In his memoirs, opera manager Giulio Gatti-Casazza reflected on what he considered a lack of originality in Spanish operatic and symphonic music. He recalled Enrique Granados’s opera *Goyescas* or *Los majos enamorados*, which premiered at New York’s Metropolitan Opera in early 1916, as “not a great thing ... a sort of symphonic poem with vocal parts to a poor libretto.”¹ His unenthusiastic response to the work was undoubtedly a factor in its short run, but the unlikely failure of a Spanish opera in early twentieth century New York is part of a much larger narrative of crosscultural (mis-)communication and a multigenerational love affair with Spanish culture.

Goyescas’ production at the Met was the culmination not only of its composer’s longest sea voyage, but of a complex prehistory. Granados had enjoyed great success with his piano suite of the same title (composed between

1909 and 1914), and was encouraged by American pianist Ernest Schelling to adapt the music into a one-act opera. His attempts to secure a premiere for the new opera failed first in Barcelona and then in Paris (where the outbreak of war suspended definite plans for a production). With Schelling's backing, however, Granados's newly-minted contract with New York publisher Rudolph Schirmer provided an entrée into negotiations with Giulio Gatti-Casazza at the Metropolitan Opera House. Achieving a premiere at the Met was a great coup, especially as *Goyescas* was the first opera in Spanish ever to be performed in that great theatre.²

Granados and his wife arrived in the United States in mid-December 1915 and were welcomed to New York as minor celebrities, feted by the local press, who introduced them with reports and interviews, conducted through an interpreter. Granados seized the opportunity offered by this exposure to "spread the gospel of Spanish music,"³ and represent himself and his work as exemplars of true Spanish culture. The composer was clearly wary of being depicted as another practitioner of the *España de pandereta* celebrated by and marketed to foreigners, a foreign stereotyping of Spain that not only reduced the affective range that audiences looked for in Spanish music, but also polarized the representation of both Spaniards and Spanish art into either the sunny joyous type or austere sadness, always shadowed by their inescapable reputation for passionate sensuality. And so he explained that in composing *Goyescas* with a goyesque setting and in a *galant style*, he was trying to both embody and abstract what he described as "the very soul of Spain."⁴

Granados developed this idea in an expansive statement made to Herbert Peyser in an interview for *Musical America* soon after his arrival. He declared that journalists, like many others,

know nothing of the real musical contributions of Spain. The musical interpretation of Spain is not to be found in tawdry boleros and habaneras, in Moszkowski, in 'Carmen,' in anything that has sharp dance rhythms accompanied by tambourines or castanets. The music of my nation is far more complex, more poetic and subtle.⁵

With this comprehensive list, Granados dismissed New Yorkers' well-established tastes in Spanish and Spanish-styled music. Peyser took note and, when reviewing the premiere of *Goyescas*, upbraided the visiting Spanish composer, accusing him of composing music that, despite its "vivid ... local colour and rhythmic vitality" was "never very individual," and failed to be anything more than "conventionally Spanish." Adolfo Salazar argued that such critical responses failed to comprehend Granados's more subtle use of local colour, and were

the result of audiences who only recognised and appreciated Spanish music in “a watered-down *andalucismo*.”⁶ Peyser concluded with a comment that suggested hubris, stating that Granados’s

professed opinion of American ignorance of Spanish music must perforce be construed as his own ignorance of American knowledge and musical experience.⁷

Walter Clark points out that Granados made similar comments that were widely—but variously—reported, and these discrepancies, combined with the fact that he was speaking through an interpreter, suggest that he may have been misconstrued. Miriam Perandones Lozano likewise defends his statements, agreeing with Clark that Granados was not really claiming that *Goyescas* was better than *Carmen*. Instead he was implicitly identifying *Goyescas* with the Pedrellian ideal of Spanish music, and thus as an “authentic” opera, and trying to express his patriotic pride in expressing a new Spanishness through “*historicismo unido al folklore popular*.”⁸ Granados was expressing sentiments widely held by Spanish intellectuals frustrated by the exoticising stereotypes that limited the expression and recognition of modern Spanish culture abroad. He was exasperated by the local adherence to the Andalusian topic in Spanish entertainment, which resulted in what he saw as the debasement of his nation’s music in the continued success of espagnolades by composers like Moszkowski. But the visiting composer touched a nerve when his comments were interpreted as having belittled American civilisation, sparking a nationalist reaction against Europeans with superior attitudes towards the erstwhile colony.⁹ And Granados would have cause to regret his blithe dismissal of *Carmen*, a work that sat at the heart of New York’s operatic culture, and epitomised local fascination with Spain.

Engrossed in the whirl of rehearsals, performances and social engagements, Granados may not have been fully aware of the extent to which his visit to the city coincided with a highpoint in its exposure to Spanish performers, and a fashion for all things Spanish. Carl Van Vechten, writing about Spain and its music in 1916, had observed “New York’s real occupation by the Spaniards” in that fateful second decade of the new century, and declared that “the winter of 1915-16 beheld the Spanish blaze.”¹⁰ The war in Europe had brought many European artists to the United States, among them Spaniards like the cellist Pablo Casals (who played with Granados at his solo recital) and the guitarist Miguel Llobet (who travelled across from Spain with the composer). In the last two months of 1915 alone, New York audiences were introduced to the mu-

sic of Granados in concerts featuring extracts from the piano suite *Goyescas* (performed by artists such as Schelling, American pianist George Copeland, and the Australian virtuoso Percy Grainger), and selected *Tonadillas* (sung by baritone Emilio de Gogorza and mezzo-soprano Rosa Culmell). Such music was assured of a warm welcome by the local Hispanic community, reported in its own Spanish-language newspaper.¹¹

But New Yorkers' infatuation with Spanish culture had deep roots. Van Vechten recalls the engagement of New York audiences with Spanish and pseudo-Spanish dancers from as far back as Lola Montez in the 1850s, the furore created by Carmencita and "la belle" Otero when they took the city by storm in 1890, and even the very recent arrival of La Argentina (Antonia Mercé) who danced to the music of Granados in 1916. In the mid 1910s fashionable women were adopting the *mantón* and the mantilla, with hair and dress styles from different periods of Spanish costume. The exhibitions of artworks by Joaquín Sorolla (in 1909) and Ignacio Zuloaga (in 1909 and 1916) at the Hispanic Society of America had re-ignited a long-standing interest in Spanish art, fostered from the early years of the Gilded Age by collectors like Archer Huntington and Isabella Stewart Gardner, who amassed Spanish paintings, furniture and artefacts.¹² The painter John Singer Sargent had shared his passion and expertise for all things Spanish by promoting Spain's culture and art among his friends on both sides of the Atlantic from the 1880s into the 1900s. When a 32-storey reproduction of Seville's iconic Giralda tower crowned the newly rebuilt Madison Square Garden entertainment complex in 1890, the very skyline of New York was shaped by the Spanish look. Richard L. Kagan has described this peculiarly US phenomenon as the "Spanish Craze," and dated it to the years between 1890 and 1930.¹³

Music was not exempt from this fascination, and if Granados was typical of his generation in rejecting the notions of Spain typified by tambourine and castanet, and the espagnolades of Moritz Moszkowski and Bizet, for better or worse, these styles enjoyed enduring popularity. In fact, the orchestral and operatic works that represented Spain at the turn of the twentieth century—and remained at the heart of popular programming in New York—were mostly composed by non-Spaniards. Orchestral showpieces like Chabrier's *España* and Rimsky-Korsakov's *Capriccio espagnol* held their own in the repertory, and both Debussy's *Ibéria* and Ravel's *Rhapsodie espagnole* were performed in New York before World War I.¹⁴ The "Malagueña" from Moszkowski's 1892 opera *Boabdil* was—according to Van Vechten—"still a favourite morceau with restaurant orchestras" in 1916¹⁵ This crossover between the concert hall (and operatic stage) and more popular venues was central to the broad appeal of

Spanish and Spanish-styled music and entertainment in turn-of-the-century New York.

Bizet's *Carmen* is the ultimate example of this phenomenon, with a firm hold on local audiences, and Granados may not have anticipated the effect of its recent revival at the Met and explosion onto the silver screen on the reception of his own new opera. From its US debut in 1878, just three years after its Paris premiere, Bizet's *Carmen* had established itself as a staple of operatic repertoire, and Emma Calvé reigned as New York's favourite *Carmen* from 1893 (when her arrival surely built on the popular success of Carmencita and Otero) until (and even beyond) her 1904 retirement from the Met.¹⁶ The convergence of the two streams of Spanish entertainment—music hall dancers and opera—was embodied in 1903 by the lovely Spanish performer Rosario “la belle” Guerrero, who brought from London's Alhambra Theatre her own version of *Carmen*—adapted into dramatic mime and flamenco-inflected dance—which injected a new sense of dramatic realism to the work.¹⁷ The Met had struggled to replace Calvé as *Carmen*, and in 1908 its then new general manager Gatti-Casazza offered New York audiences their first (operatic) Spanish *Carmen* in the person of the great Catalan contralto (or mezzo soprano) Maria Gay. Schooled in the verismo style at La Scala, she matched her understanding of Spanish gesture with a deeply emotional interpretation, shocking the boxholders with her realist stage business and colouring her vocal production to express the extremes of passion in the role.¹⁸ Gay, despite her European fame, was too much for New York audiences, and the Met did not stage *Carmen* again until 1914, when established favourites Geraldine Farrar and Enrico Caruso starred in the revival.

Farrar was lively and dramatic in the role, but was about to achieve even more celebrity as *Carmen* in Cecil B. DeMille's moving picture, released in October 1915. On film, Farrar's flirtatious energy and the dramatic violence of the work were even more pronounced and DeMille enjoyed a huge hit. Proving that this was the season of Carmens, within a month Theda Bara wowed cinema audiences in Raoul Walsh's *Carmen*, and the week before Christmas saw the release of Charlie Chaplin's *A Burlesque on Carmen*.¹⁹

This constellation of concert, stage and film entertainment indicates that New York audiences looking to hear and see “Spain” in the 1910s were still enamoured by Romantic exoticism. They had a taste for local colour, and enjoyed artists who played up the passionate, even violent, aspects of the Spanish stereotype. Granados's librettist Periquet intimates an awareness of this as he sought to explain their new opera and its depiction of Goya's Madrid. Periquet's comment that the opera was “full of the joy of Spanish life, of the sadness of our untamable passions” plays on the familiar Spanish duality. But he is

clearly seeking to appeal to the egalitarian American spirit when he explained that Goya's epoch signified not only a time of "loves and passions", but also, socially, a strange melting of all classes, something like a presage of democracy that placed *toreros* and duchesses, princes and *tonadilleras*, side by side.²⁰

Goyescas was favoured with extensive press coverage before its premiere, as the Met fostered excitement about its first ever staging of a Spanish opera, or an opera sung in Spanish. The dress rehearsal was unusually well attended,²¹ and the premiere on 28 January 1916 had a gala feel. Granados and his opera were greeted enthusiastically by a large (and vocal) contingent from New York's Hispanic community alongside the cream of New York high society and musical luminaries. The sets and costumes were magnificent and based on considerable research,²² an "authenticity" welcomed by critics who were only too aware that the "Spanish music" they knew had largely been created by composers of other nationalities. The critic of the *New York Times* was convinced that *Goyescas* was "intensely Spanish in its whole texture and feeling. ... coming from the brain and heart of a real Spaniard."²³ He appreciated Granados's rejection of the stereotype, praising his refusal to

fall into the easy commonplaces to which Spanish tunes and rhythms are so often a tempting invitation. There is here something deeper, more profoundly felt. The Spain that is pictured in 'Goyescas' is something very different from the 'hot night disturbed by a guitar' that has been ironically said to be the sum and substance of Spain in music.²⁴

Despite this recognition of the composer's admitted aim, and the success of the premiere, interest in the work waned, and it closed after only five performances. Walter Clark posits a number of reasons for its failure in New York, including a lukewarm response from Gatti-Casazza. The early history of Bizet's *Carmen* at the Opéra Comique shows just how crucial support from management is to the fate of a new opera. This was compounded by problems with the musical interpretation of conductor Gaetano Bavagnoli, whose lack of understanding of Granados's music led him to inappropriate tempi, especially at the opera's fifth (and last) performance. Many critics decried the opera's dramatic weaknesses and Clark points out that *Goyescas* would have made more sense if audiences had been familiar with Periquet's model in Ramón de la Cruz's *sainetes*.²⁵ Its orchestration—described by Van Vechten as "muddy and blatant"²⁶—did not measure up to the standard of Spanish orchestral showpieces familiar to local audiences, nor to the high standard set by Bizet's score for *Carmen*. Further criticism was reserved for Granados's vocal writing and text setting. At only one hour in length, the new opera was further tested by pairing with estab-

lished audience favourites like Leoncavallo's *Pagliacci*, Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana*, and Humperdinck's *Hänsel und Gretel*.

But *Goyescas* was also fated to be judged against familiar standards for staged representations of Spain. Although critics responded warmly to the "glowing and animated stage pictures, replete with Spanish atmosphere, ... heightened by ... alluring and characteristic music,"²⁷ it was perhaps inevitable that aspects of the work were compared with *Carmen*. Peyser was explicit:

At least two moments suggest "Carmen" in their pictorial composition—the entrance of the *maja* (Spanish *grisette*, in other words), *Pepa*, when the *majos* pay court to her even as a group of Sevillian flaneurs strive to woo Bizet's cigarette girl; and the opening of the "Baile de candil," with its dances to the accompaniment of castanets and hand-clappings—a remarkably faithful reproduction of *Lillas Pastia's* suburban inn.²⁸

Pepa's entrance even reminded Peyser of European espagnolades of the previous century, namely Chabrier's *España* (1883) and Waldteufel's *Estudiantina Waltz* op. 191 (1883):

In the first scene the arrival of Pepa conjures up a fleeting thought of Chabrier (the much suffering "España" rhapsody is very Spanish indeed) and once or twice the aura of Waldteufel (who has forgotten "Estudiantina") projects itself subconsciously.²⁹

And Peyser was not alone. Mephisto felt that Pepa was costumed "à la Carmen," while the ball scene also reminded the critic of the *New York Times* of Lillas Pastia's tavern, with its Spanish dances accompanied by castanets.³⁰

The notoriously sharp-tongued critic Lawrence Gilman had noted Granados's ill-considered disparagement of *Carmen*. Despite freely admitting that even Bizet's opera was not beyond reproach, he declared that,

since Mr. Granados himself has seen fit to drag it in, we may venture to use it as a touchstone for his own production. Let us remark, then, that *Carmen* has certain traits which *Goyescas* should have, but has not. *Carmen*, despite its occasional musical vulgarity and its more than occasional sentimentalism, exhibits almost continuously a complete and impressive fusion of speech and song: in its musico-dramatic utterance it is precise, pointed, and veracious. *Goyescas* exhibits nothing of the kind.³¹

And although Gilman recognised the Spanish composer's skill in writing "viva-cious and characteristic dance-music," he lamented that,

when [Granados] has to deal with drama and emotion at their highest—when, in other words, there comes a searching test of his capacity for expressive

musical speech— ... he can produce nothing better than ... a superior order of salon-music, gracefully sentimental in melody, and prettily harmonized in the fashion of the day before yesterday: a kind of tonal rose-water sprayed over the dramatic situation.

We have no intention of denying a certain excellence to this unimpeachably high-minded creation of Mr. Granados and his librettist: it is earnest, it is refined, it has engaging moments, and no doubt it is veritably and impeccably Spanish. But we cannot help wishing—if Mr. Granados will forgive us—that it had a few of the shortcomings which he seems to have detected in *Carmen*.³²

Gilman's harsh critique may not have been shared by the majority of opera-goers, but the Met seemed to have little appetite for Granados's Goyesque Spain. Even Gatti-Casazza, who presumably met Granados and could temper reports of his arrogant comments against personal knowledge of his character, recalled the composer as "a man of great presumption," who "believed he had written something truly superior, ... that left Bizet's 'Carmen' far behind," especially in its interpretation of Spanish local colour. Clearly still annoyed over a decade later, he had not forgotten the antipathy these comments had aroused against the new opera, which must have been particularly galling to a general manager who had invested so largely in a new, and unknown, work.³³ But Gatti-Casazza would soon satisfy his audience's desire for operas with compelling storylines with Farrar's triumphant return to the Met as Bizet's gypsy only three weeks after *Goyescas*' debut.³⁴ And while *Carmen* played through into April, *Goyescas* closed on 6 March after only five performances.

Although Granados's opera had been overtaken by an old favourite in new clothes, it did prove that critics and audiences alike were interested in Spain as presented by "real" Spaniards. And the following year New York found its "authentic" Spanish theatrical hit, in Quinito Valverde's popular review, *The Land of Joy*, which featured La Argentina, Antonio de Bilbao and a whole company of Spaniards. According to Van Vechten, the local Hispanic audience created a truly Spanish atmosphere by becoming "part of the action," with their enthusiastic shouts of "Ole!"³⁵ Although innocent of plot, it offered the winning combination of Spanish song and dance, riotous colour, and *gracia*, and not only created the warm and sunny illusion of Spain so desired by New York audiences, but framed this within a modern format and truly contemporary energy. It seems that in attempting to convey the poetry and subtlety of the "very soul of Spain," the antiquated world of *Goyescas* was destined to disappoint a community still in thrall to the undoubted attraction of la *España de Carmen*.

NOTES

- ¹ Giulio Gatti-Casazza, *Memories of the Opera* (London: John Calder, 1977), 283. Gatti-Casazza drafted the main text of his memoirs in 1933, just before his retirement as general manager of the Met.
- ² The background to *Goyescas* as an opera and to Granados's sojourn in the United States have been in English by Carol A. Hess, *Enrique Granados: A Bio-Bibliography* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 27–31; and in Walter Aaron Clark's biography: *Enrique Granados: Poet of the Piano* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 140–45, 152–64. A more recent contribution has been made by Miriam Perandones, in an article which examines personal correspondence relating to the Granados's U.S. experiences: Perandones Lozano, Miriam, "Estancia y recepción de Enrique Granados en Nueva York (1915–1916) desde la perspectiva de su epistolario inédito", *Revista de Musicología* 32, no 1 (January 2009): 281–95.
- ³ H. F. P. [Herbert F. Peyser], "Granados Here for Production of 'Goyescas'," *Musical America* 23, no 8 (1915): 4.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.
- ⁶ Adolfo Salazar, "Goyescas' y el 'color local'," *Revista musical hispano-americana* 3 (30 April 1916): 9, cited in Clark, *Enrique Granados*, 232, n. 83.
- ⁷ Herbert F. Peyser, "Goyescas' in World Première: A Fair Success", *Musical America* 23, no 14 (1916): 4.
- ⁸ Perandones, "Estancia y recepción de Enrique Granados en Nueva York", 292.
- ⁹ Clark, *Enrique Granados*, 230 n. 53; 155.
- ¹⁰ Carl Van Vechten, *The Music of Spain* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1920), 9–11. Van Vechten's essay "Spain and Music" was originally written in March 1916 and first published in Van Vechten, *Music and Bad Manners* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1916), 57–132. The essay was expanded for the 1918 US publication and again for the 1920 English edition of the monograph *The Music of Spain*.
- ¹¹ See Hess, *Enrique Granados: A Bio-Bibliography*, 29; Perandones: "Estancia y recepción de Enrique Granados en Nueva York": 286; Clark: *Enrique Granados*, 152–53.
- ¹² For a consideration of Carmencita and Otero's sensational 1890 New York seasons, and the presence of Spanish culture in the USA more generally, see Christoforidis, Michael and Elizabeth Kertesz: *Carmen and the Staging of Spain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), esp. Chapters 6 and 9. For further details about the career of Antonia Mercé "La Argentina", see Bennahum, Ninotchka, *Antonia Merce, "La Argentina": Flamenco and the Spanish Avant Garde* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2000).
- ¹³ Richard L. Kagan, "The Spanish Craze: The Discovery of Spanish Art and Culture in the United States", in *When Spain Fascinated America*. ([Madrid]: Fundación Zuloaga; Gobierno de España, Ministerio de Cultura, 2010).
- ¹⁴ The New York Philharmonic Leon Levy Digital Archives offer comprehensive program listings for the orchestras associated with this organization: <http://archives.nyphil.org/performancehistory/#program>, accessed 10 September 2016.
- ¹⁵ Van Vechten, *The Music of Spain*, 9. *Boabdil* was staged in New York in 1893 at Oscar Hammerstein Manhattan Opera House, and the ballet suite from the opera enjoyed some life in orchestral concerts.
- ¹⁶ For a longer discussion of *Carmen*'s history at the Met, focusing on Emma Calvé, Maria Gay, and Geraldine Farrar, see Christoforidis and Kertesz: *Carmen and the Staging of Spain*, esp. Chapters 5, 6 and 9.
- ¹⁷ For a more detailed consideration of Rosario Guerrero and her *Carmen*, see *Ibid.*, Chapter 5.
- ¹⁸ A case study of Maria Gay's career as *Carmen* can be found in *Ibid.*, Chapter 7.
- ¹⁹ The films opened as follows: 1 October 1915–Cecil B. DeMille, *Carmen*, starring Geraldine Farrar; 31 October 1915 – Raoul Walsh, *Carmen*, starring Theda Bara; 18 December 1915 – Charlie Chaplin, *A Burlesque on Carmen*. For a longer discussion of Geraldine Farrar's career as *Carmen*, in opera and on film, see Chapter 9 of Christoforidis and Kertesz: *Carmen and the Staging of Spain*.
- ²⁰ "Joys and Passions of Spanish Life Set Forth in 'Goyescas'", *Musical America* 23, no 13 (1916): 31.
- ²¹ Clark, *Enrique Granados*, 155.

²² *Ibid.*, 157.

²³ “World’s Premiere of Opera ‘Goyescas’”, *New York Times* (29 January 1916): 7.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Clark, *Enrique Granados*, 158–59.

²⁶ Van Vechten, *The Music of Spain*, 110.

²⁷ Peyser, “‘Goyescas’ in World Premiere: A Fair Success”, 3.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁰ Mephisto, “Mephisto’s Musings”, *Musical America* 23, no 14 (1916): 7; “World’s Premiere of Opera ‘Goyescas’”, 7.

³¹ Lawrence Gilman, “Drama and Music”, *North American Review* 203, no 724 (1916): 453.

³² *Ibid.*, 453.

³³ Gatti-Casazza: *Memories of the Opera*, 283. *Goyescas* was particularly expensive as it was a short work which called for several extravagant sets. Hess, *Enrique Granados: A Bio-Bibliography*, 30–31.

³⁴ *Goyescas* premiered on 28 January 1916, and *Carmen* returned on 17 February 1916.

³⁵ Van Vechten, *The Music of Spain*, 35.

