



LA CELESTINA OF FELIPE PEDRELL

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1. *Felipe Pedrell*. Felipe Pedrell, born February 19, 1841, halfway between Barcelona and Valencia in the town of Tortosa, seemed destined to a musical career. He was, at the age of seven, already singing in the youth choir at the Cathedral in Tortosa and studying music seriously under choir director Juan Antonio Nin y Serra. His leisure hours were spent studying and playing music. At age fifteen he had composed already a three-part *Stabat Mater*. At eighteen he made his first grand journey to Barcelona and returned aglow with the operatic glories he heard performed by a full orchestra. He literally threw himself into a frenzy of composing, of teaching, and of writing. His first opera, *El último Abencerraje* (1868), was finished when he had just turned twenty-seven. Not long after, a move to Barcelona's highly stimulating environs took place and from there his work tempo increased and his fame spread. Travels took him to Madrid, Paris, Rome, Buenos Aires and many other places.

His career was supported more by love than earnings, a not uncommon plight of musicians in his day. Nonetheless, he is known as the father of Spanish music and his students' fame eclipses his own: Falla, Albéniz, Granados, Miller, Subirá, Anglès, and Donostia, *inter alios*. He contributed widely to many fields: musical restoration, musical biography, history of music, establishment of musical journals, the teaching and writing of music, transcription of almost forgotten Spanish composers of the XVI and XVII centuries, musical criticism, bibliography, etc. Non-remunerative accolades were plentiful, culminating in a public and international homage staged in his hometown of Tortosa in 1911 on the occasion of his 70th year. Having paid its tributes, the world moved on. After the death in 1912 of his only daughter Carmen, with whom he lived, he eked out an existence supported by private contributions from a few friends until his death on August 19, 1922.¹

2. *Genesis of 'La Celestina'*. The genesis of Pedrell's mixed prose and verse opera is worth recording in some detail, if only to impress upon ourselves that its conception was not a spur of the moment inspiration nor was his acquaintance with Rojas's text in any way a superficial one. We have the advantage of being able to read Pedrell's own memoirs on the subject, in chapter XXX of his autobiographical *Orientaciones (1892-1902)*.²

It will be wise, I think, to let Pedrell's words [I have reduced them without altering the narrative] speak for him. In about the year 1855, being then thirteen or fourteen years of age we find him at the home of an uncle.

Mi tío Jaime era aficionadísimo a la lectura. Poseía unas hileras de libros guardados en un armariéjo, ante el cual se extasiaban mis ojos de muchacho curioso . . . libre de elegir los que me diese la gana . . . me di a buscar tragedias entre los libros de mi deudo. Salieron dos que mejor que leídos fueron devorados . . . Uno de tales libros era el *Hamlet*, de Shakespeare, y el otro *La Celestina, tragi-comedia de Calisto y Melibea*. Aquel traducido por Moratín, éste, según se leía en la portada . . . escrito "por Juan de Mena y por Rodrigo Cota, y concluída por Fernando de Rojas", edición "adornada con cuatro láminas finas" . . . Apunto todos estos detalles porque andando el tiempo adquirí esta edición, que conservo y estimo mucho . . . (pp. 231-2).

Already the variety contained in these masterpieces was working on his creative mind:

El efecto producido por la obra de Shakespeare fue de aquellos que conservan toda la vida. No los años, ni la distancia de tiempos han podido entibiárlolo. . . . El efecto causado por la *Celestina*, si bien profundo, no fue tan pavoroso como el que me produjo el *Hamlet*. Del comentario moral, ¿qué podía saber yo? ¿qué fuerza de abstracción podía poseer para llegar hasta el fondo de las conciencias de los personajes de la tragicomedia, ni cómo analizar sus almas? La perversa tercera que se presenta a Melibea; los arrebatos de Calisto; la codicia y los egoismos de Sempronio y Pármeno; la figura noble del desventurado Pleberio, la tragedia y la humana comedia, las discordias entre extremos, todo el fondo de la obra sin par de Rojas, habían de causarme el efecto profundo que es de considerar . . . entre la edad infantil y la primerísima adolescencia . . . desde aquella remota edad llevo impresa en el alma la tragicomedia, y que el libro sin par de Rojas es, entre otros muy contados, uno de los que he puesto siempre sobre mi cabeza y en lugar preferente de *libros únicos* (pp. 233-34). [Author's emphasis]

The idea of a non-traditional musical opera, not exclusively in verse [Pedrell had experimented with prose in his unedited opera, *Cleopatra*] kept tantalizing him. Prior to 1891, Pedrell propounded these ideas more concretely in "La Vanguardia" of Barcelona in an article straightforwardly titled, "La ópera en prosa y en verso." That he very much had Rojas in mind in this context is made clear:

En efecto Shakespeare, Goethe y otros que podría citar, han escrito ciertas obras en esta forma. En nuestra literatura antigua poseemos una obra que sería el ideal del *libretto* en esta

forma mixta, la *Celestina*, la famosa comedia de Calixto y Melibea, y en la moderna, solo citaré dos, *El drama nuevo* y *El Doctor Lañuela*, obra genial e inspirada de Ros de Olano, injustamente olvidada.³

This was the period precisely when Pedrell had just completed *Los Pirineos*, the first part of his patriotic trilogy illustrating the three parts of the *divisa* of the *Jocs Florals*: PATRIA-AMOR-FIDES. It would be eleven years before this work would be heard in Spain and, perhaps coincidentally, eleven years before the work designed to represent AMOR--that is, *La Celestina*--would come spilling forth from the long-contained well of Pedrell's inspiration in the incredibly short span of 2 months. Here we will pick up again Pedrell's narrative:

Corría el mes de junio de aquel año [1902] cuando ... leí en "La Correspondencia de España" esta noticia: "El maestro V. entre otros proyectos que acaricia tiene el de escribir una ópera sobre la *Celestina* de Fernando Rojas." Al cabo de unos días, precisamente el día 29, estubo en casa el aludido maestro. ... Recordé de repente la noticia leída, y hube de preguntarle: "Es cierto, amigo V., que tiene usted la idea de poner música a la *Celestina*? -- "¡Quiá!"--me respondió, --"eso queda para usted, no para mí. No me explico de dónde han sacado esa noticia (*Orientaciones*, pp. 234-35).

Pedrell goes on to reveal that he spent that afternoon in a monologue about whether he should indeed compose such an operatic score and, if he were to choose to do so, how would he go about it? He mulled over the difficulties, the effort that would inevitably be required to scale down the work, and the art it would take to keep the main themes of the *Tragicomedia* intact. The conclusion he reached was simply that he must again look at Rojas's text, of which he owned two different copies.

However, when he went to seek them out, neither could be located and he tells us; "Pasé el resto de la tarde y las primeras horas de la noche sin acordarme más de la *Celestina*, ni de Rojas, ni de los soliloquios de la tarde" (p. 236). It was then that a kind of fate intervened. What had been so lightly dismissed on the 29th of June seemed relentlessly to pursue him, for the very next day, June 30, 1902, one of those coincidences that history little records took place.

Al día siguiente, en uno de los repartos del correo recibo un paquete certificado de París: abro el paquete; era un libro, y júzgase de mi sorpresa al leer el título: *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* . . . ¿Quién me remitía el libro? No lo sé, ni lo he sabido jamás, a pesar de haberlo preguntado a muchos amigos (236-37).

But for this juxtaposition of events it may be that what immediately ensued--and is largely responsible for filling to overflowing Pedrell's mind with his long-cherished and maturing idea of a mixed prose and verse *Celestina* in operatic form--might never have taken place.

Empecé a cortar distraídamente las páginas ... y como al llegar a la escena en que Melibea espera la llegada de Calisto a la huerta no aparecen los cantares que entonan Lucrecia, y después Melibea, "mientras viene aquel señor," fui a buscar de nuevo una de las ediciones que tenía entre mis libros⁴ En esta escena de la huerta--iba diciéndome--empezará el tercer acto o el cuarto del drama lírico . . . y diciendo y haciendo, cojí una hoja de papel pautado, y empecé a poner música a los dos cantares de Lucrecia, en seguida al que canta ésta ayudada de Melibea y, después, al que ésta canta sola (237).

Thus was the very first pen-on-paper step taken. There was to be no turning back: "La chispa había prendido en el rescoldo, y estalló de repente lo que dormía Comprendí que en la obra no había sistema, ni filosofía, ni más *leit-motiv* que éste: el placer trocado en dolor, y el amor en muerte . . ." (237-38). For Pedrell, the entire concept revolved around, led to, surely and inexorably, this one night of illicit love when all the threads subtly woven into the fabric met to complete the pattern intended by its creator. He had dropped the pebble into the pond and his mind, like those sudden ripples in the newly disturbed water, radiated outward to embrace the total concept. The writing, scoring, and revising were feverish: the whole took only 2 months, more than the "quinze días" in which Rojas claimed to have written acts 2-16 of the *Comedia* but, still, a very rapid accomplishment. From the inspired moment when he, as if under some personal compulsion, attacked the composition of the songs of Lucrecia and Melibea, the long-harboured fancy of an operatic *drama lírico* centered on the tragic affair of Melibea and Calisto took on the shape of present reality.

El día 30 de junio empecé a seleccionar el libro de Fernando de Rojas escribiendo, a la par, la música y comenzando la composición por el acto 4^o de *La Celestina*, tragicomedia lírica de Calisto y Melibea; escritos los actos restantes, después del 4^o, el 3^o, y luego el 2^o; terminé el 1^o el día 6 de agosto (238-39).

As he wrote, it kept unfolding, every part finding its place in the whole. His own reaction to the finished product was that Rojas's work only seemed unrepresentable at first, that its general lines of development and its catastrophes were perfectly suited to lyric drama and that "aquella parte escultural del lenguaje"⁵ was extraordinarily well-suited to musicalization with which the original was already so well endowed.

Pedrell, as we shall see, added little to Rojas. He drew mostly from popular compositions found in older *romanceros* and *cancioneros* and, in one instance, a song he heard on the street. With this curious method of working from the last act to the first, Pedrell finished the work in an avowedly exhilarated state of mind. He grew happier, more certain, that the work he had completed was the best he could do. He had not worked by formula and preconceived plan, only too happy to finish the work and be rid of it, tired and desirous of relaxation. In this case, the reverse was true; the concept had unfolded almost magically, back to front, and left him, at its termination, more eager and proud than he had dreamed possible.

After the 6th of August, Pedrell, his energy levels very high indeed, immediately began the orchestration. He worked on both this and the "reducción para canto y piano," while simultaneously checking the French and Italian translations of his Spanish libretto, until near the close of 1902. But still his labor was not ended. He spent part of the early months of 1903 preparing for publication the Spanish text (without music). This was completed on June 30th, the first anniversary of his having set pen to paper to give musical life to the verses "sung" in Rojas's text by Lucrecia and Melibea. Indeed, we learn from another of Pedrell's volumes of autobiography:

Permanecí tranquilo y sosegado ... en el lindo *chalet* ... de Las Villas (cerca de Benicassim) desde el día 3 de agosto hasta el 24. . . allí revisé las segundas pruebas de la reducción para canto y piano de *La Celestina*, que se publicó a fines de noviembre, gracias a la munificencia de mi excelente amigo Don R. F. (*Jornadas postreras*, p. 1; see n. 7).

Although it had taken eleven years to get any musical entity in Spain to recognize with a performance the first part of his planned trilogy, *Los Pirineos* [it had only recently taken place, January 4, 1902, in the Teatro Liceo de Barcelona], the excellent international critical reception accorded the printed *LC* throughout 1903 (what remained of it) and during 1904, doubtless stirred Pedrell's hopes of seeing his *Celestina* performed in his lifetime. He was to live nineteen more years and, although such projects were occasionally discussed, plans for production never materialized.⁶ Such a project seemed to have almost succeeded in France but it, too, was postponed and, finally, abandoned.⁷ But Pedrell's music was given a partial hearing at least. In Spain, a few friends and students heard parts of the music played in private performance and came away most impressed.⁸ So far as I know, the first and only public performance in Spain of selections from Pedrell's *Celestina* was that of Pablo Casals, in the Palau de la Música Catalana (Barcelona) in 1921.⁹ Pedrell, too plagued by his infirmities to attend, so far forgotten that many at the concert believed him long dead, was thus deprived of much-longed for recognition as a composer.¹⁰ His fame in other areas had been such that the public homage paid him in his home town of Tortosa in 1911 was a stellar international affair: the tributes were many and most of them, including, additionally, a generous number of critical appraisals of his works up until that time, were gathered for publication in an extensive volume.¹¹ It is a fact that most of these commentaries are by foreign colleagues in whose countries Pedrell's music was far better known than in his own. Until the end, his music had almost no impact on the public of the Spain of his day and he was destined to be better known in other fields, much to his very great dismay.¹²

3. *Rojas and Pedrell*. The most unusual feature of Pedrell's "tragi-comedia lírica" is that it is so nearly modelled on Rojas's own text that one is tempted to want to see Rojas's name appear alongside Pedrell's as librettist. Pedrell had long appreciated the poetry in Rojas's prose and instinctively knew that its form would adapt perfectly to an opera of combined poetry and prose. The difficulties of its staging as a play, we learn from Pedrell's own introductory remarks (see n. 5), "se han amolda-

do, perfecta y armónicamente, a las condiciones y exigencias del drama lírico, reduciendo el inmenso plan a formas accesibles, conservando incólumes todas las líneas generales de la acción, su desarrollo y cataclismo, y respetando aquella parte escultural del lenguaje de la composición primitiva que por modo tan extraordinario se prestaba a ser magnificada por la exaltación de la palabra cantada, de por sí ya tan subida en la palabra hablada." When he had to reduce the material, or compress it, he resorted (as we will see) to fragments of traditional ballads and even to *cantares de ciego* heard in the small towns of his own time.¹³ In ending his brief prefatory remarks, Pedrell pays this final homage to the work that first captivated him as a young teenager: "un prosista y un poeta tan músico por lenguaje y por conceptos, como Fernando de Rojas ... a él las adivinaciones; a mí los desaciertos."¹⁴

It would be advisable to keep in mind that we are dealing with a particular view of Rojas's text and that, out of sheer necessity--no matter how faithful or close the resulting text is to the original--it is still reduced in content and in thematic sweep. In the attempt to reproduce his own Calixto and Melibea, whose love affair embodies the central and universal message of Rojas's *Tragicomedia*, Pedrell makes their passion the musical unity of the intertwined Wagnerian motifs which give the opera much of its thrust and coherence. Calisto and Melibea, he tells us in his introduction to the text (see n. 5), "no representan símbolos ni más filosofía que la antigua, siempre nueva; la pasión ardiente y avasalladora, que por conflictos humanos, trueca prontamente el placer en dolor y el amor en muerte." The unfolding of this lyric drama places greed, revenge, the darker shades of pessimism and social despair--all more or less prominent in the XVI-century *Tragicomedia*--in quiet zones on the fringes of the fully-drawn and stage-center love affair.

Curiously, at the same time as Pedrell was furiously at work on his adaptation for the musical theatre, Francisco Fernández Villegas was preparing for stage presentation the first modern production/adaptation of Rojas's work. Prior to the debut of this latter work late in 1903 in Madrid's Teatro Español, Fernández Villegas had perused Pedrell's "refundición" of *LC* and expressed sincere enthusiasm for it:

De todas veras deseo que el público premie el esfuerzo realizado por Vd. Cuanto sea *cultivar nuestro jardín*, cuanto contribuya a divulgar, realizándolo--como usted ha hecho al adornar con las galas de la música la *tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*--las joyas, un poco olvidadas, del arte español, merecerá el aplauso de todos los buenos españoles. (*Orientaciones*, ap. XVIII, p. 298).

Although he could not know that Pedrell's efforts were not to be rewarded by the applause of the public, of "all good Spaniards," he recognized merits that deserved better treatment than they ever got.¹⁵

4. *Pedrell's adaptation.* The following remarks are notes intended to familiarize readers with the nature of this operatic re-working of *LC*. They are based on my reading of Pedrell's text and comparison with Rojas's original, and will focus on, mostly, the use and rearrangement of the material of the latter in the former. If the remarks seem more descriptive

than analytic that has been my present aim.

ACT I. Pedrell's opening act consists of five scenes which derive from the events set in motion by the "autor primitivo" of *LC* and onto which some traditional materials are grafted. It opens and closes with a full-dress hunting party which provides a dramatic unity as well as the chance to introduce popular materials which color the entire work. For example, the deployment of the *romance*, "Yo me levantara, madre, /Mañanica de Sant Joan," includes the lines, "sola lava y sola tuerce, / sola tiende en un rosal." These lines make a sensual point and a formal identification with Melibea who is first seen plucking roses. The music must be lushly sensuous at this point, initiating as it does one of the lovers' motifs. As counterpoint, Calisto leaves the hunt in search of the wayward hawk and his musical motif encounters that of Melibea. The first of the five scenes reproduces almost verbatim the dialogue which opens *LC*:

C: En esto veo, Melibea, el gran poder de Dios

M: ¿En qué, Calisto?

C: En dar poder a natura . . . etc.

The second scene begins with the exchange of Calisto and Sempronio just after: it opens with Calisto's piqued query, "¿Dónde está este maldito?," and abbreviates all the long speeches (omitting some) on the theme of women. Pedrell has Calisto pick up his lute and sing "Mira Nero de Tarpeya" (adding an additional 4 lines). The discussion leading up to his confession "Melibea soy" is streamlined and efficient. Sempronio's cure for Calisto's desire (e.g. engaging the services of Celestina) is propounded and accepted with alacrity.

Scene three opens to the strains of the background chorus ("Fonte frida"). Pármeno and Calisto are speaking of Celestina and only the main outline of the servant's long diatribe against the bawd is preserved, but it results in Calisto's attempt to appease Pármeno with the promise of a *sayo*. We do not have any of the long account of Celestina's house; none of the details of her six *oficios* and her fame (which is assumed); even the famed "¡puta vieja!" speech is sacrificed as we begin to see that Celestina's role in this version is to be greatly simplified. The scene ends with Celestina's arrival.

Scene four opens with Celestina's promise to Sempronio (Pármeno's antagonistic remarks have been overheard) to overcome this obstacle to their prospects for gain from Calisto's affairs. She urges Sempronio (this in the presence of a blathering Calisto) to encourage Calisto to open some pursestrings. Celestina, in a brief interchange with Calisto, promises him her aid. Then, discovering that Pármeno is Claudina's son, Celestina persuades him to join her by assuring him the possession of Areusa. The scene ends with the much-desired establishment of the pact of *amistad* between Sempronio and Pármeno.

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Scene five is short. The hunters reappear, returning home, and as if it were a prophecy connected to these recent arrangements, their song foretells: "Amor, quien de tus placeres / y deleites se enamora, / a la fin cuitado llora"

ACT II. Scene one picks up the *amistad* of Sempronio and Pármeno (who has conquered Areusa, with Celestina's aid, offstage).¹⁶ After re-living last night's delights, they set up the banquet for Celestina's house while listening to Calisto's wistful song.

Scene two continues the action by stitching onto this scene from *auto* 8 the arrival of Celestina from *auto* 5. This is the jubilant Celestina, returned from her mission to Melibea. Scene three consists of Celestina's announcements to Calisto (from *auto* 6) of her success in the dangerous mission. In her self-praise, Sempronio and Pármeno perceive avarice growing. Celestina's ruse of the toothache and the winning of the *cordón* send Calisto into raptures (preserving the excessively troubadoresque language of Rojas). Celestina departs, and the scene ends with a return to *auto* 8, as Calisto announces his intention to go to the church of the Magdalena to pray for a quick and successful conclusion to his lovers' agony.

Scene four takes us immediately to the end of the banquet scene when Lucrecia enters to beg Celestina attend her mistress. Scene five gives us Melibea's soliloquy from *auto* 10 in a version which is very skillfully shortened to preserve the affective imagery (sickness, medicine, etc). Celestina's response preserves the "blanda muerte" series of oxymorons descriptive of the pangs of love and we are presented, in quick succession, the scenes of Melibea's fainting, Celestina's fears for the mission and, finally, Melibea's submission to a rendezvous with the pining Calisto.

The sixth and concluding scene of Act II opens with the emergence of Calisto from the Magdalena (*auto* 11) to hear from Celestina's lips that she has succeeded in winning for him an interview with Melibea. He impulsively gives Celestina the *cadencia* as we hear, in the choral background, a *Kyrie eleison* sung in counterpoint to proclamations from the characters on stage about love, greed, jealousy and, as a finale, a repeat of Calisto's heretical declarations of Melibeism.

ACT III. Scene one comes from *auto* 12. Pedrell intercalates the scenes of the cowardice of Sempronio and Pármeno and those of the love tryst at the barred window (the latter unusually fully preserved). The emphasis on the wildly-fanned flames of love is unmistakable. The noise from the street in scene two ends the interview, sends Calisto home and the traitorous servants off to Celestina's house. The scene trails away with Calisto's soliloquy from *auto* 14 in which he laments the extraordinary grief that postponed passion brings.

Scene three melds parts of *autos* 9 and 12. The roisterous banquet scene features Celestina's fondness for tippling wine and the argument about Melibea's beauty (*auto* 9). Celestina changes the subject by inquiring about the success of the interview (*auto* 12). Sempronio and Pármeno

now ask for their share in the spoils and Celestina refuses. Here, by reappportioning some of Celestina's words between Elicia and Areusa, we witness the skillful union of these two *autos* of *LC* in one dramatic scene ending with the death of the old bawd.

Scene four presents a dramatization of the report delivered by Sosia (*auto* 13) about the death of the servants. We witness the *mochachas* making their accusations, demanding justice of the *alguaciles*, and then mourning their loss. This is followed by a brief fifth scene in which the *pregón* is heard and the funeral procession passes across the stage. Scene six has Sosia recounting these deeds and pointing out (to Tristán) the bereaved *mochachas* who are heard to declare that Calisto and Melibea, "causadores de tantas muertes," deserve death themselves. Act III ends with a crowd scene [this is where we have the four-part arrangement of the *canción de ciego*, discussed above] and all present kneeling, praying for divine pardon for the dead.

ACT IV. Scene I is basically taken from *auto* 19 with speeches from 13 integrated into it. Sosia, Tristán, and Calisto, enroute to Melibea's garden, hear the singing of Melibea and Lucrecia [this is, we recall, the point at which Pedrell began to compose his opera]. The exact text of Rojas is used. The love duet of the fated lovers is interrupted by street noise and Calisto, in an attempt to come to Sosia's aid, falls and dies (he does not ask for confession). Calisto is carried away as Melibea bewails her reversal of fortune.

Scene two comes from *auto* 20. Lucrecia fetches Pleberio and he and Melibea, in an artfully constructed scene of alternating sentences (which reduces the Rojas text enormously), retell the entire tragedy up to this moment. The daughter then sends the father off for an instrument so she might alleviate her sorrow with music, and climbs the tower as the scene closes. Scene three unfolds rapidly. Pleberio, on his return, is prevented from following Melibea by Lucrecia. Melibea makes her confession of guilt and the finale is given us in the form of intertwined speeches from *autos* 20 and 21, advancing many of Pleberio's remarks, made after Melibea's death in Rojas's work, to play against Melibea's living statements. Pleberio's final lament, after Melibea's leap, is brief. These latter moments, like much of the dialogues preserved in earlier episodes, omit the classical allusions and highlight the popular tone Pedrell was so anxious to emphasize.

5. *Final observations.* Pedrell's musical adaptation surely merits a hearing. While we may miss many of our favorite *LC* scenes, the conception of the opera seems to have preserved a good deal of Rojas's masterwork while searching for a clear development of the action to illuminate the theme of pleasure suddenly turned to sorrow, and love to death. We forego scenes that would prolong the dramatic action; the rearrangement of the source material permits Pedrell to have much of Rojas's action occur offstage (the first visit to Pleberio's house, the seduction of Areusa) while allowing some scenes, once offstage (the aftermath of the murder of Celestina), to come to life. Other scenes are divided (the banquet scene); and

much is omitted (the whole revenge subplot involving Centurio). Significant dialogues are relocated (Calisto's soliloquy from auto 14) speeches from 9 and 12 form a new, coherent scene, others from autos 20 and 21 are made into a new but meaningful emotional duet while yet others may be given to characters who did not make them. A few characters (Alisa, Crito) never appear.

With all these changes, however, the reader of Pedrell's text is left with the impression of a fidelity to Rojas's actual words which suggest that he was indeed deeply in his debt as a poet of prose style. More than just the character's names survive for they are motivated and behave exactly as planned for by Rojas. They move in the same space, even if the exact sequence of events is altered. And they all suffer in the same ways intended. Yet, Pedrell has changed somewhat the texture of the original. This is most evident in his presentation of Calisto and Melibea. We are meant to see their love on a far grander scale than Rojas seems to have intended for them. They are mutually attracted by forces greater than they, not unlike the lovers of courtly romance (e.g. Tristán and Isolde). Their deep love and commitment overshadow all lawbreaking necessary to its attainment. Such pure passion and joy cannot be sustained, however, and they pay the price. They die, true enough, but more as victors than as victims. In their love Pedrell saw once again the possibility of the Romantic triumph of the will on the operatic stage, another defeat for meanness, greed, jealousy and restrictive convention. Indeed, in his adaptation which pays tribute to the language and the plot of *LC*, if not always to its intentions as a morality,¹⁷ Pedrell has brought off an original work which, lamentably, has had almost no audience at all.¹⁸

A. Gascó in 1910 declared of Pedrell's *LC*, "io son certo che *LC*, qualora venisse portata sulle nostre scene, otterrebbe un pieno successo da parte del pubblico."¹⁹ He was proved right, at least for the Italian stage, by the presentation of Flairo Testi in Florence's Teatro Maggio Fiorentino in 1963. But even this is an isolated event of the last three quarters of a century. While a work of the complex nature of Pedrell's musical *LC*, which involves much more stagecraft than a stage play alone, more people, props, and additional personnel (musicians come to mind), and would not be easy to stage--"revive" would be inappropriate in this context--, it is to be hoped that deeper reasons for such neglect are not those hinted at by Rafael Mitjana, who wrote these words after noting that it had taken, in 1902, eleven years and great effort to get Pedrell's *Los Pirineos* performed:²⁰

Ignoro el porvenir reservado a *LC*, porque el espíritu medio humano es por naturaleza opuesto a cuanto suponga progreso y adelanto en arte.

We can still, of course, continue to appreciate the text of Pedrell's work, and even consult a printed version of his scoring for voice and piano. But until the original design he had in mind, the union of words with full orchestration and vocal performance, is for the first time in Spanish put together and performed, all further judgment must prudently be withheld.²¹



• NOTES •

¹ For more biographical details one should consult M. Jover Flix's pamphlet, *Felipe Pedrell (1841-1922). Vida y obra*. Tortosa: Patrimonio Municipal de Música, 1972, and his art. (containing essentially the same information) in *Anuario Musical*, 27 (1972), 5-19. This number of the *Anuario* is devoted to various aspects of Pedrell's contributions to Spanish music.

² F. Pedrell, *Orientaciones (1892-1902)*. Paris: P. Ollendorff, [1909]. Page numbers from this work accompany the citations.

³ I have not seen the original article. I cite its reprinting as an Appendix to Pedrell's *Por nuestra música* (Barcelona, 1891). It is also available in Pedrell's *Jornadas de arte* (Paris: P. Ollendorff, [1911], beginning at p. 250. There is an interesting addition to the latter reprinting. Pedrell adds this note for the reader: "LC que entonces era una inspiración es, ahora una realidad; por ahí corren libreto y partitura para atestiguarlo" (p. 252).

⁴ The gift copy was the Seville, 1501 *Comedia*, reprinted from the copy at Paris' Bibliothèque Nationale by R. Foulche-Delbosc and the songs from the *Tragicomedia* were not, of course, there. The edition he located was that of Krapf, Vigo, 1900, based on the Valencia 1514 copy of the longer 21-act *Tragicomedia*.

⁵ From Pedrell's own introductory remarks to the edition of the Spanish text. The full citation for the printed score is: *Amor. La Celestina. Tragicomedia lirica de Calisto y Melibea, en cuatro actos*. Adaptación de la obra del mismo título de Fernando de Rojas y música de Felipe Pedrell. Reducción completa para canto y piano. Barcelona: Casa Dote-sio, [1903]. The Castilian text is by Pedrell and there is an accompanying translation into French by Henri Curzon and into Italian by Angelo Bignotti. The full orchestration has never been printed and is still, I believe, in the collection of the Biblioteca de Catalunya, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona. The Spanish text was printed (no scoring of music) in the same year, Barcelona: Tipolitografía Salvat y Cía., 1903. There are two important introductory pages, 87 pages of text. This is relatively rare and I have consulted the copy in the Music section of the Biblioteca Nacional [M 5220].

⁶ "Durante la segunda década de este siglo se habló de poner LC en todos los períodos preparatorios de la temporada del Liceo de Barcelona, pero más tarde cayeron en el olvido aquellos buenos propósitos" (Jover Flix, *Anuario Musical*, p. 17 [see n. 1]).

7 "Pour la seconde fois, et nous terminons par là, c'est a M. Albert Carré que nous avons recours. Il est de ceux qui savent regarder, écouter au loin. Qu'il se fasse jouer et chanter la partition de *LC*. Qu'il monte après nous, ou, s'il le veut bien, avec nous, sur la tour de Salamanque. De là-haut, il verra, il entendra quelque chose d'inconnu, quelque chose d'admirable, venir." Camille Bellaigue, "Un Tristan espagnol: *LC* de Felipe Pedrell," *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Paris), Sept. 1, 1910, p. 186.

For a privileged look behind the scenes to see how Bellaigue's review came to be written, and to see how diligently he worked to get M. Carré to commit himself to a production of Pedrell's *LC*, I recommend to the curious the series of letters B. wrote to P. in 1912, during which time B. personally played and sang 2 1/2 hours of the score to Carré and extracted from him some hope of an imminent production. These letters are published in Pedrell's *Jornadas postreras (1903-1911)*, Valls: E. Castells, 1922, pp. 119-24 and 145-48.

8 "Cuantos hemos tenido la fortuna de escuchar la partitura; Albéniz, Joaquín Pena, Sallaberry, Mugiroy yo, hemos quedado subyugados por la grandiosa obra, que no solo interesa y conmueve, sino que acaba por producir, en aquel que sabe escuchar música y tiene inteligencia para comprenderla, esa interesante emoción que sólo causan las más altas creaciones del genio." Rafael Mitjana, *¡Para música vamos!* . . . Valencia: Sampere, [1909], p. 200.

9 Pedrell's *LC* has been performed in Italy, however, sixty years after it was written, in 1963. See the notice given this foreign production of *LC* and the lament for its neglect on home soil by A. de Larrea, in *Arbor*, 56, no. 213 (1963), 135-36.

10 Manuel de Falla was particularly enraged at this belief, saying, in the pages of the Paris publication, *Revue musicale*, in February of 1923: " . . . cuando hace un año, Pablo Casals incluyó algunos fragmentos de *LC* en el programa de los conciertos sinfónicos que dirigió en Barcelona, no pocos de los asistentes a la audición tenían la creencia de que se trataba de una ópera póstuma, y que Pedrell fue un compositor español del siglo XVII." This art. by Falla may be found reprinted in his *Escritos sobre Música y Músicos* (Col. Austral, Buenos Aires, 1950) pp. 63-79.

11 This volume, *Estudios heortásticos* (Tortosa, 1911), contains many reprinted newspaper and periodical assessments of Pedrell's works, among which *LC* figures rather prominently. See arts. by R. Mitjana, H. de Curzon, M.-D. Calvocoressi, A. Bonaventura, C. Bellaigue, L. Millet, "Caranchel" (Ricardo Catarineu), and G. E. Campa.

12 Dijo Pedrell, ya cercana su muerte, "A mí no se me ha hecho justicia, ni en Cataluña ni en el resto de España . . . A mí se me ha querido rebajar constantemente diciendo que yo era un gran crítico y un gran historiador, pero no un buen compositor. Y no es así: yo soy un buen compositor. Yo no pido respeto para mis años, sino para mi obra. Que la oigan, que la estudien y que juzguen." Cited from M. Flix, art cit., n. 1, at p. 18.

¹³ Recounted in Jover Flix's pamphlet (see n. 1) is the incident of a Pedrell who, having heard "un canto de pasión ejecutado por dos ciegos" at the entry to the Iglesia de San Juan (Tortosa) one year during Semana Santa, was greatly taken with it and adapted it for 4 voices. It appears in his *LC* in the finale of Act III.

¹⁴ Mitjana notes that the reverse seems equally true: if Pedrell found musical quality in Rojas's literary prose, the music he wrote for the opera was eminently literary [*¡Para música vamos!* . . . , p. 197-8.] Another critic who saw the poetry of inspiration in Rojas's prose style was F. Suárez Bravo, who commented from the pages of the "Diario de Barcelona" (Feb. 15, 1904; rpt. *Jornadas de arte*, apéndice XVII, pp. 294-99) that Pedrell was right to draw directly on Rojas's version: "Cuando la prosa es tan musical como lo que allí se ve empleada, el compositor tendrá en ella la base de inspiración más legítima que cabe imaginar . . ." (299). See also *Jornadas postreras* appendix II, pp. 170-72, for telling remarks by the Catalan poet Joan Maragall whose resistance to the possibility of setting *LC* to music was replaced by full praise for the achievement of the final product.

¹⁵ Fernández Villegas stated his intention of inviting Pedrell to Madrid to see his *LC* at the end of 1903 (the letter stating this is dated in September). Whether Pedrell attended or not is matter for speculation. It seems to me that he may not have done so since the opening took place in Madrid and we will remember that Pedrell was personally overseeing the preparation of his own work, published in Barcelona in November of that same year.

¹⁶ One can conjecture that *auto 7*, featuring the seduction of Areusa (in words by Celestina; in deed by Pármeno) might well have been taken off stage for the additional reason that prevailing public taste would not have tolerated it. It must be underscored that the passion of Calisto and Melibea never takes on a physical reality in Pedrell's "refundición" de Rojas.

¹⁷ I refer here to the explicit statements of *LC*'s preliminary and afterward material, and not to the various critical interpretations of authorial intentions.

¹⁸ I should like to note that there were several encomiastic appraisals of the scoring for voice and piano in the years following 1903 in the European press. Many of these are reproduced in *Estudios heortásticos* (Tortosa, 1911) and some are noted above, n. 11. In addition to these, there was an important assessment by the French musicologist H. Collet which I have seen generously excerpted in an article by M. Querol "Felipe Pedrell, compositor," *Anuario musical*, 27 (1972), 21-29, at pp. 23-24.

¹⁹ *La tribuna* (Rome), January, 1910, rpt. *Estudios heortásticos*, pp. 187-192. The citation appears on p. 191.

20 ¡Para masica vamos! . . . , p. 200.

21 For the opportunity to pull together the diverse materials that have gone into this paper, I wish to acknowledge the time provided for this and for so many other projects by my appointment (1978-79) as Fellow to the Institute for Research in the Humanities (University of Wisconsin).



LC. Auto XX. VALENCIA: Juan Navarro, 1575.