SEVILLE 1992—THE AWAKENING OF A CITY:
THE UNIVERSAL EXPOSITION IN SEVILLE (1992) AND THE
CREATION OF THE ROYAL SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA OF SEVILLE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAIʻI AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

IN

MUSIC

December 2011

By

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Keywords: Seville, international expositions, orchestras, Universal Exposition in Seville, Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank to my advisor, Dr. Lesley Wright, for her patience and support and express my gratitude to the other committee members, Dr. Katherine McQuiston and Dr. Tamara Albertini. I also owe great appreciation to all the persons who helped me directly and indirectly, in telephone calls, e-mails, personal interviews, and suggestions of books and sources. I express my deepest thanks to my family and friends, who have been with me during the process of writing and editing the work, for their motivation and patience.
Introduction

The present work underlines the importance of classical music for the development of Seville, with a special emphasis on the period of Expo ’92, and analyzes data from primary and secondary sources collected through library research and interviews. It will situate this material within the national, regional and local contexts that have interacted in complex fashion in Spain since the political shift of 1975. It also analyzes Seville’s response to the events of 1991 and 1992 and provides a framework for understanding the remarkable growth in the status and presence of classical music in that city during the recent past, placing it within a discussion of innovation and resistance. On one hand, the dynamics of change involve active social and cultural transformation, based on ideas that are new to a society. Joining the European Union helped stimulate the wish in some circles to draw the south of Spain closer to the cultural traditions that bind that whole continent together. On the other hand, active rejection of such change or passive distancing that ignores its presence creates forces of resistance. Public statements on the value of classical music and its institutions were generally negative before the events of the early 1990s, but they became strongly positive afterwards; still, neither stance (wholly positive or totally negative) reflects the true complexity of the situation.

To analyze the effects of classical music presented to Seville as part of Expo ’92 (an international event that offered music from 112 countries), the study depends heavily on two books relevant to this exposition that use anthropological methodology. In *Hybrids of Modernity* Penelope Harvey explores culture, technology, and nationality, and focuses her analysis on Seville’s exposition of 1992. She emphasizes that its culture was a product with commercial goals. While her study of the social behavior of Expo ’92

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visitors has been useful for this study, she does not acknowledge that culture, and especially classical music, is just as much a spiritual and historical experience as a commodity. More recently, a second anthropologist, Richard Maddox, published *The Best of All Possible Islands*, where he uses Expo ’92 as a starting point for scrutinizing the development of democracy in Spain and the impact of European unification. In a communication with the author, Maddox has also underlined the importance of his experience of living near Seville during the organization and opening of Expo ’92. Although not a music scholar himself, he has confirmed his familiarity with the music scene of that time.  

Harvey’s and Maddox’s anthropologically grounded observations help in understanding the reactions of Seville’s population and the human impact of government-sponsored cultural change on the city. Using Maddox’s data, observations on popular discontent, and widespread complaints about the practical effects of modernization (such as the rising real estate prices) that surrounded organization of Expo ’92, the present work also demonstrates how classical music served as a positive influence, an exception that acted as a cultural bond among the exposition visitors and how its presence during this event helped establish the bases for a permanent tradition of symphonic performances in the city. By turning to historical documents and conducting personal interviews, it also corrects widely held misconceptions about purported connections.

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between Expo ’92 and the Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville, and shows that the initial purpose of the Maestranza Theater was to serve as a Palace of Culture, and not an opera house.\(^4\) After an examination of the initial actions of and reactions to Seville’s Royal Symphony Orchestra, this study offers conclusions regarding the lasting importance of classical music as a tool for cultural change.\(^5\)

This work is divided in five separate parts. The first one clarifies musical aspects of Spanish national identity and introduces historical-cultural aspects of Andalusian regional identity. The chapter briefly explains why Spanish nationalistic feelings arose in its music, and provides a background for understanding why certain events had the effect they did on the population. This approach to Spanish musical reality builds on theories of nationalism succinctly presented by noted American musicologist Richard Taruskin in his highly regarded article on nationalism in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians.*\(^6\) Then, a discussion of regionalism highlights the differences, both geographical and historical, that led to cultural diversity. For the first and second chapter Pablo Vayón’s guide to classical music in Andalusia has been invaluable.\(^7\) The author describes the sources of Andalusian music and summarizes the classical music activities in the region, listing the composers and leading performers, music schools and conservatories, orchestras and choirs, technologies, instrument makers, and so on. The present work completes Vayón’s inventory with an account of the performances of


\(^5\) The orchestra was known as the Symphony Orchestra of Seville, but in 1994, by a Royal Decree of the King of Spain, the title “Royal” was added to its name.


\(^7\) Pablo J. Vayón, *La música clásica en Andalucía* (Sevilla: Ed. Fundación José Manuel Lara, 2007).
classical music during Expo ’92 and goes on to analyze the impact that creating a professional caliber symphony orchestra and establishing a regular season of performances had on Seville. Judith Etzion’s article on the place of Spanish music in the historiography of Western music has also added a valuable perspective to this discussion of nationalism and Spanish music.8

The second chapter outlines the general musical culture of Seville and surveys the role that classical music has had there since the end of the nineteenth century. During the twentieth century various institutions of Seville maintained some presence for classical music, even when public interest decreased considerably during the years under Franco. Prior to the creation of the Royal Symphony Orchestra, Seville’s local musical culture was principally based on Spanish folk tunes and the music for bands performed during bullfights and religious processions. The tradition of classical music had become rather thin.9 This chapter recounts the events that spurred leaders to propose and pursue the idea of creating a symphony.

The third chapter analyzes the meanings of other expositions: Paris 1889, Brussels 1958, Seville 1929. The most important source here is Annegret Fauser’s book about the music at the universal exposition of Paris in 1889, which studies and classifies the different soundscapes/landscapes of that fair and asks the reader to imagine the social impact music had on the visitors and the city itself. Her systematic approach to musics presented at the 1889 exposition has proved useful when applied to Expo ’92 in Seville. The first world’s fair in the post World War II

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9 The tradition of classical music refers not only to the music of the classical era, but also to newly composed art music by Spanish composers and other art music activity in Spain.
period, the 1958 exposition in Brussels highlighted the possibilities for a modern world and sought to foster unity among European nations; it was also a significant precedent for Expo ’92. Finally, the chapter on expositions shows how Seville prepared for and reacted to its own earlier world’s fair, Expo ’29. The Seville exposition led to the construction of important buildings, like the Lope de Vega Theater (a theater used for classical concerts until 1991). Despite initial controversy and resistance, the importance of Expo ’29 as a long term investment has finally been appreciated by the citizens of Seville, and parallels may be drawn with Expo ’92.

Chapter four centers on Expo ’92 and the importance of classical music within its cultural agenda. The building of different concert halls and theaters resembles the preparations for Expo ’29 and has also been valuable for developing the city’s infrastructure for the arts. The Maestranza Theater, planned for Expo ’92, is now the home theater of the Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville. Expo ’92 also created a new context for the appreciation of professional caliber classical music and helped awaken Seville to its potential. Taken together, these events and institutions made a substantial impact on cultural life in Seville.

The last chapter introduces the Royal Symphonic Orchestra of Seville, describes the history of its creation, explains its connections with Expo ’92, and details its early reception. Both the exposition and the creation of the orchestra were part of a governmental plan to develop Seville. They were not funded in the same way, however, and coexisted from the beginning as two separate, independent and virtually contemporary institutions. Like the world’s fair, a professional symphonic orchestra
symbolized the more elevated status organizers hoped to see the city achieve. This chapter clarifies the relationship between Expo ’92 and the Seville orchestra by comparing two important sources of information. In the first, Carlos Tarín, author of an article in the book *El Teatro Maestranza*, asserts that Expo ’92 “urgently needed a symphony orchestra that would measure up to the high standard of the spectacles programmed.”\(^\text{10}\) The first director of the orchestra itself and his assistant are important sources for this section. The first interview took place in Seville on 26 June 2010 and was followed e-mail communication and a second personal interview on 8 January 2011 in Seville.

The conclusion will briefly reflect on the impact of classical music in Seville since Expo ’92. By focusing on a narrow time period, the study will bring together sources from several fields, assemble new information and, through an interpretation not before attempted, show how classical music interacted with the political, economic, and cultural life of Seville at a particularly important moment in the city’s history.

\(^{10}\) Carlos Tarín, *Teatro de la Maestranza* (Barcelona, Madrid, Sevilla: Fundación José Manuel Lara, 2001), 280.
Chapter I. Nationalism and its Effects on the Culture of Spain, Andalusia, and Seville

Before presenting the music of Spain in a general historical frame, the chapter approaches the topic of nationalism and takes a look at the characteristics of Spanish music. To this end it applies Taruskin’s ideas on nationalism to the relationship between music and the Spanish national attitude, in order to prepare the reader for comments on the development of Spain’s musical landscape in the post-Franco period. Taruskin has asserted that the nation and the cultural tradition to which an individual belongs are of primary importance in determining human destiny and character. He has also proposed that nationalism was the most important factor influencing cultural ideology at the end of the eighteenth century as well as a feature in the writings of geopolitical thinkers in the nineteenth century. These thinkers began to study the state as a “living organism.” A nation, however, is not necessarily a political entity but can also be defined by factors such as language, religion, or history, which, combined with geographical isolation, would lead to nationalistic feelings. In European history, nationalism in music was a product of various geographic, historical, and political influences.

Nationalism is relevant to the present discussion, for it helps explain how Spain experienced a conflict between its desire to strengthen bonds with Europe, and the need to preserve the traditions, history, and culture developed over centuries within Spain

11 Paraphrased from Richard Taruskin, “Nationalism,” in Grove Music Online.
This chapter analyzes how such factors influenced Spain’s place in European classical music culture, and how nationalism, regionalism, and localism shaped the culture of Spain, Andalusia, and Seville.

At the same time that Spanish national unity was established in the nineteenth century, regionalism flourished in Andalusia, one of the seventeen independent and autonomous communities of Spain. In addition, Seville, a city with a remarkable history and capital of Andalusia, developed and renewed strong local pride. The situation of the country is unique, due to cultural, historical and geographical factors that show it as a crossroads, enriched by a mixture of influences that can still be observed today. Thus, the cultural and educational traditions in Spain and its regions, connected to a nationalist base, served as a rationale to create a different cultural and artistic identity that was nonetheless related to an essentially European culture. An analysis of Seville's reaction toward cultural, and especially musical expansion, explains why a city that has a strong historical connection to classical music did not necessarily feel the need to pursue a constant and developing relationship with it.

The forms of nationalism that European countries developed in the sixteenth century were similar. Based on its own traditions, each nation preferred its music above others, and tended to rank other nations’ music as inferior to the native product. Nationalism, as an ideology, affected the arts directly and helped their growth. Taruskin asserts that music was esteemed as the art that represented nationalistic ideals most clearly and situates nationalism in music as the basis of the European musical literate tradition. He even maintains that nationalism provided the impetus for the earliest musical notation systems, whose goal was to preserve the Gregorian chant in a
standardized form.\textsuperscript{13} Notated music moved more readily from one nation to another and stimulated innovation and rivalry. Later, the rise of printing traditions, including newspapers, influenced nationalism, as well.\textsuperscript{14}

The Iberian Peninsula’s rich achievements in music fed Spain’s deeply nationalistic feeling, which emerged, too, as a reaction to the disdain of scholars from Germany, Austria, France, and Italy, from the sixteenth century onward. In general, Western music historiography posited a period of “infertility” that followed the so-called “Golden Age” of Spanish arts in the first half of the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{15} Writers justified this viewpoint by claiming that Spanish musicians produced “church music of little significance or popular music, which did not rise to a high artistic level” compared to music from Italy, Germany or France.\textsuperscript{16} They also regarded Spain as a province of Italy, musically speaking, although this perspective ignored geographical, political and cultural aspects that make Spain unique. Geography itself positions Spain to lag behind in receiving artistic and scientific discoveries from the center of Europe. However, Moorish culture and its vast body of knowledge had found fertile ground in Spain, and its contribution to Spanish music was essential.\textsuperscript{17} The flamenco and the saetas, which are sung during the religious processions for Easter, mainly in Andalusia, are examples of Arab-influenced music that have survived to the present.

Another reason for the development of musical nationalism and regionalism in Spain and its autonomous regions was the mixture of factors that Taruskin has noted—

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid. Taruskin characterizes Gregorian chant as a product of a political union between the Franks and Rome with the goal of consolidating the Carolingian Empire.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{15} Etzion, 94.
\textsuperscript{16} Etzion, 94 and 97.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.
isolation combined with cultural differences.\textsuperscript{18} Leading to Spain’s musical isolation were French efforts to isolate Spain, the supposed superiority of Italian music masters, and the lack of music academies. The fact that prominent and influential Spaniards appreciated popular music more than classical music, and the generally conservative attitudes of its nobility and institutions help explain Spain’s musical separateness as well. Etzion, a musicologist who specializes in Spanish music, succinctly characterizes the situation as follows:

The marginal position of Spain in Western music historiography cannot be attributed unilaterally to Spain, but is the consequence of the political and cultural factors that underlay the Western attitude toward Spain from the seventeenth century on. It was not merely the inaccessibility to Spanish musical sources that pushed Spain to the periphery, but, even more so, the lack of sufficient interest in a country that had not lived up to the expectations of Western aesthetic precepts.\textsuperscript{19}

Along with the geography, social factors took a toll on Spain’s musical development: the moral corruption of some Spanish church musicians in the seventeenth century found expression in indolence, or ignorance.\textsuperscript{20} In addition, the lack of high-level music education everywhere in the nation completes a picture judged by writers in other countries.

Later on, in the eighteenth century, a chain of factors led to musical nationalism in Europe: the Germans reacted to Italian predominance and characterized them as frivolous and superficial; the French claimed the Germans exaggerated seriousness and emphasized the artificial over what was natural and graceful.\textsuperscript{21} The Spanish, outsiders in this rivalry among leading nations, internalized a sense of cultural inferiority.

\textsuperscript{18} Taruskin, “Nationalism, 5. From National to Universal,” in \textit{Grove Music Online}.
\textsuperscript{19} Etzion, 95.
\textsuperscript{20} Etzion, 98.
\textsuperscript{21} Taruskin, “Nationalism, 5. From National to Universal,” in \textit{Grove Music Online}. 
Also in the eighteenth century, Jean Laurent Le Cerf de la Viéville divided European music into two spheres of influence, one dominated by Italian music, the other by French. In his opinion Italy dominated Spain and Austria, and France, England and the Netherlands.\textsuperscript{22} His writings helped consolidate the general belief that Spanish musicians composed in the Italian style. Nevertheless, some writers, principally those who produced French “travel literature,” focused on the Spaniards’ passion for instruments and the guitar.\textsuperscript{23} Unfortunately, Spanish interest in the guitar did not raise the country in European esteem either, for it showed no preference for gender or class distinction and was considered merely popular. Furthermore, the literature of the guitar was initially excluded from the classical music canon. Indeed, Le Cerf and others linked guitar playing to the supposedly undisciplined character of Spaniards and found in the “lack of proper cadences and unruly passages” the confirmation of this national flaw in character.\textsuperscript{24}

How Spain was influenced by Northern European musical tastes and how it reacted to the fashion of Italian music have been interpreted in various ways. Some characterized Spain as a close-minded country, consistent with the Black Legend that shaped opinions for centuries.\textsuperscript{25} Others described it as a fashionable country, whose culture had influenced the courts of France, England, and Austria since the sixteenth century, and found that Spanish songs were favored by “fine European gentleman.”\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{22} Etzion, 102.
\textsuperscript{23} Etzion, 99. The author credits a seventeenth-century history of music by Pierre Bourdelot, expanded by his nephew Pierre Bonnet and published in 1715, with characterizing Spanish music as an extension of Italian music.
\textsuperscript{24} Etzion, 102.
\textsuperscript{25} Etzion, 106. The “Black Legend” was first disseminated by Spain’s political enemies in the 16\textsuperscript{th} century in order to discredit its treatment of indigenous populations in its colonies and stress the horrors of the Inquisition. While some stories had a basis in truth, many others were exaggerated to incite hostility toward the Spanish.
How, then, could Spain be both a dark place, where the cultural products of leading European nations could not take root, and at the same time be a place that contributed to the most current fashions in other European nations? It is difficult to determine which of the two visions was actually valid, but even today, the country has clearly divergent attitudes. Not only is the population as a whole divided in its response to cultural innovation, but individuals themselves waver between support for change and resistance to it.

Despite the non-negotiable features of Spain’s geography and a tendency to close itself off from outside influences (even a lack of curiosity about the unfamiliar in some cases), Spain also has certain leaders who work to create, develop, and inspire interest in European art music. More slowly than in other countries of the European Union, that feature of pan-European culture has gradually been accepted, and now exists comfortably alongside Spanish regional, vernacular and folk music.

Understanding the Spanish musical landscape must begin by approaching musical production in the country from the sixteenth century to the beginning of the twenty-first century. The roles of composers, musicians, and their institutions, the influences from the neighboring countries, and the reactions of Spain to authoritative voices from the main European traditions are surveyed here through time.

The musical history of Spain is complex and deep, and the crossing of different cultures and ideas has left a rich network that supports today’s music. Pablo Vayón has traced how this art evolved in the Iberian Peninsula through the centuries, starting with Arabic influences on the culture, and specifically in the music; in fact, he shows how the
early music of Spain was largely Andalusian. Numerous features characteristic of Spanish music had their origin in Andalusia, as, for example, the *cadencia andaluza*. Vayón traces Andalusian musical culture starting from the Argar culture and follows it through to the contemporary composer Sanchez Verdú (1968).

Two factors guided Spain’s musical development during the Middle Ages. The first, common to all Western Europe, was the diffusion of Christianity, and second, specific to Iberia, was the Islamic presence, which remained in southern Spain for hundreds of years. Together they spawned a rich and varied music, which adorned not only religious life but also an active civil life in concerts and musical gatherings.

From the eighth century, and for seven centuries thereafter, the Arab presence in the Iberian Peninsula added the influence of the rich musical tradition of the Persians and Byzantines. The Umayyads brought the most famous cantors from the Orient, putting the music of Andalusia in the forefront of Iberian regions. Vayón notes that it was fashionable in Cordoba at that time for the wealthy to have daily concerts. The *oud* with five strings was introduced, and the first conservatory in the Islamic world established. The musical tradition of Cordoba, also a city in Andalusia, extended to Seville, where a similar practice took root.

The art that emerged from the Arabic presence in the eighth century in the Iberian Peninsula was called *Mozarabic*. At almost the same time, a Gregorian chant dialect flourished as well—Mozarabic chant or old Hispanic chant. Because

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27 See fn. 7, above.
28 This progression of four minor descending tetrachords is used in classical music inspired by flamenco and by many Spanish composers, such as Manuel de Falla or Tomás Bretón.
29 Vayón, 11. Argar is the site of an Early Bronze Age culture called the Argaric culture, which flourished in southeast Andalusia in the town of Almería, between 1800 BC and 1300 BC.
30 Vayón, 15.
Mozarabic manuscripts survive in staffless neumes, modern understanding of the repertory has been limited.\textsuperscript{31} Songs based on Gregorian chants were part of secular music, and they have been described as exuberant, in a style with many ornaments that contrasted with the sobriety of the Christian sacred repertory. They were described as “poems with music in a romantic language that had a great influence on the lyrics of the whole Middle Ages.”\textsuperscript{32} Secular song of this kind helped establish the basis for Andalusian musical life.\textsuperscript{33} However, as Christians advanced in the fifteenth century toward the southern Iberian Peninsula (Cordoba, Jaen, and Seville), Arab Andalusian musical practice withdrew to Northern Africa, even though the Spanish Christian kings attempted to protect it. This period is the beginning of the “golden age” of Spanish music, and Andalusia is one of its centers.

Besides chapel masters and singers, organists occupied an important place in musical life in Andalusia. Editing of keyboard music developed quickly in Spain after the invention of music printing with musical type.\textsuperscript{34} The repertoire of instrumental music increased as well, and many prints featured the vihuela, a fretted, stringed instrument similar to the guitar.\textsuperscript{35} Secular vocal music also developed.\textsuperscript{36} This music

\begin{itemize}
\item Vayón, 15.
\item Later in the sixteenth century Mozarabic chant was still used in some religious practices in Toledo, however almost all Spanish regions turned away from this tradition.
\item Vayón, 19-20. In his Grove Music article (“Nationalism, 2. Origins and earliest manifestations”), Taruskin states that “the earliest musical genres to be disseminated (in Europe) through print were the vernacular song genres […], beginning with Petrucci’s first book of frottolas” (Venice, 1504).
\item Vayón, 21.
\end{itemize}
was not only related to the festivities of the population, but also to the music sung and played in the court, among these the villancicos, songs, madrigals, romances and other secular vocal polyphonic forms. The Cancionero de la Colombina (1534), a collection of songs found in Seville’s Columbus library, consists mainly of villancicos written for three voices, for voice with two instruments, or other combinations. Other editions of musical works published by Andalusians or in Andalusia include: Canciones and Villanescas espirituales (Venice, 1589) by Francisco Guerrero, and the Villancicos y canciones a 3 y a4 (Osuna, 1551) by Juan Vasquez and the Recopilacion de sonetos y villancicos a 4 y a 5 (Seville, 1560). In the Cancionero de Medinaceli we find compositions of Juan Vasquez, Rodrigo de Caballos, Francisco and Pedro Guerrero, Juan Navarro, Francisco Bernal, Antonio Cebrian and F. Chacon.

The beginning of the seventeenth century in Seville coincides with the work of the great chapel master Ambrosio Cotes (1599) and Alonso Lobo (1555-1617). Their compositions clearly continue traditions of the previous period. Other names connected with music in Andalusia are: Fray Francisco de Santiago, Luis Bernardo Jalon, Juan Sanz, Muguel Tello, Alonso Xuarez and Diego Jose de Salazar. Among them, the native Sevillian Francisco Correa de Arauxo, was one of the most important Spanish organists and composers in the transition between Renaissance and Baroque. He published the Facultad Organica (Alcala de Linares, 1626). It consists of sixty-nine pieces for organ and a theoretical treatise in ten chapters,

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37 Popular in the sixteenth century and the Baroque period, the villancico was a polyphonic work for several voices, where alternating choruses and popular songs were organized in a specific form with a refrain that repeated several times.

38 The Columbus Library (Biblioteca Columbina) in Seville contains documents related to the discovery of Americas and other documents of that period.

39 Vayón, 22.
where he recognized the value of the Andalusian tradition for the organ. As for other instruments, slowly the use of the guitar replaced the period of splendor of the vihuela,\textsuperscript{40} cornetti, trumpets, sacabuches and chirimias.\textsuperscript{41} The introduction of stringed instruments into both sacred and secular music was very slow. For instance, violins were not allowed in the cathedral of Granada until the 18\textsuperscript{th} century,\textsuperscript{42} as same as the most important new genres of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century, the opera and the zarzuela, genres that entered Andalusia rather slowly.

In the eighteenth century musical theater was definitively established in Andalusia, although a wall of religious prejudices, prohibitions and censorship challenged development of this genre.\textsuperscript{43} Authorities prohibited performances in Seville and Ronda (1779), Granada (1778), and Jaen (1780), but private performances and court performances had started as early as 1761. The taste for opera in Seville was confirmed in 1793 with the construction of a great public theater with space for 2821 to attend. Another opera center, Cadiz, boasted an Italian theater and another dedicated to the Spanish musicals and theater. There the repertoire consisted mainly of Italian operas (Sarti, Cimarosa, Porpora, Paisiello), Spanish zarzuelas and musical monologues.\textsuperscript{44}

\textsuperscript{40} A Spanish vihuela differs from its Mexican cousin. The Spanish one from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had twelve paired strings and was gradually displaced in popularity by the guitar.

\textsuperscript{41} The sacabuche (sackbut) was a predecessor of the trombone used in the Renaissance and Baroque eras, while the chirimia was a type of oboe.

\textsuperscript{42} Vayón, 24.

\textsuperscript{43} Andrés Moreno Mengíbar, \textit{Teatro de la Maestranza} (Barcelona, Madrid, Sevilla: Fundación José Manuel Lara, 2001), 258.

\textsuperscript{44} Vayón, 27.
The eighteenth century also produced several masters in Seville, among them Diego Jose de Salazar (1689-1709) and Pedro Rabassa (1686-1767). Rabassa was the author of some of the first Spanish oratorios, liturgical works in Latin, and villancicos in Spanish. His style blended the Spanish tradition and new Italian currents, which was reflected in the use of violins and/or arias in da capo form. Domenico Scarlatti lived in Seville (1729-1733) in the service of the future king, Fernando VI, and melodies he may have heard in Seville inspire ideas in numerous keyboard sonatas. Andalusian composer Manuel Blasco may have studied with him. And yet, despite many important contributions to music, Spain still remained isolated from the rest of Europe.

In the nineteenth century the image of Spain “improved” from Europe’s point of view as it became more prominent in general European consciousness. At this time Spain was understood as “exotic” place, and the beginning of the Orient. Ralph Locke has defined musical exoticism as a process that represents exotic places and people in musical works. For Spain, this exoticism has been used as an “ideology, an abstract vision, or an intellectual tendency.” It was an image that was visualized rather than real, and inspired literature, painting, and music. Spanish musicians became popular as did music inspired by the “exotic” Spanish style. Musical works outside Spain, based on Spanish traditional music, were numerous. For instance, Georges Bizet, Edward Laló,

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45 Ibid.
46 The documentary film, “Domenico Scarlatti in Seville,” offers a general introduction to Scarlatti’s connections with the city. It was produced by the pianist Christian Zacharias, who also recorded Scarlatti’s keyboard sonatas.
47 Vayón, 27.
49 Locke, 497.
Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov and Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky evoked Spain through melodic motives, rhythms, and harmonic progressions. Proximity to Spain influenced French composers, and the Russians attempting to avoid the strict German style, chose to follow the French. Consequently, Russia received Spanish music altered by French perception.\(^{50}\) However, the increasing appetite in Europe for Spanish traditional musics meant that all music coming from this country was judged by its adherence to traits identified as “Spanish” (i.e., exotic). Composers who refused to conform here faced a double difficulty for recognition: 1. to show a mastery of their craft at a level equal to or better than their colleagues in the European mainstream, and 2. to avoid any connection with national signs of exoticism.\(^{51}\) And so, the use of Spain’s music and its image among outsiders (exoticism) influenced how Spanish musicians ended up representing themselves and their own country (nationalism).

Political circumstances had an effect on Spain’s nationalistic tendencies in the beginning of the twentieth century as well. In the first half of the century, its music was represented by Isaac Albéniz, Enrique Granados, Joaquín Turina, Manuel de Falla, and the so-called Generation of 1927 (a group of active young composers).\(^{52}\) Turmoil invaded politics and the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) violently emphasized the polarization of the population,\(^{53}\) with Republicans (leftist parties and communists) against the nationalists (Franco’s supporters and the Catholic Church). The development of music during that period was minimal.

During Franco’s dictatorship from 1939 to 1975, Spain tried to market a tourist-
industry image of a “different” country, whose cultural riches could be reduced to popular Spanish street songs and a happy populace of singers. In truth, Spain lagged behind the rest of Europe in industrial, social, and cultural modernization. But in the post-Franco period, Spain opened to the rest of the world. Some of the elements that had marked its differences from the rest of Europe gradually receded. Although closer to general European attitudes on the surface, underlying tensions built up during many decades of conflict and repression still directed much of the populace’s response to the new cosmopolitan direction embraced by a certain percentage of the country.

Despite all the vagaries of Spain’s political and social history, the country has produced a high number of classical music performers, who were active during and after Franco. Opera singers became especially well known, as for instance: Montserrat Caballé, José Carreras, Teresa Berganza, and Alfredo Kraus, among others. Spanish classical instrumentalists such as Pablo Casals (violoncello), or Narciso Yepes and the Andalusian Paco de Lucia (guitar) led international careers as well. Symphony orchestras also developed, especially in Madrid, where the National Orchestra of Spain and the Orchestra of the Radio and Television were created in the 1960s. The Ministry of Culture of Spain sponsored the National Orchestra, while the Ministry of Information and Tourism supported the Orchestra of the Radio and Television. Although it originated in the middle of the nineteenth century, the National Orchestra started its regular seasons in

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54 Pérez, 657.
55 Pérez, 502.
56 Pérez, 670.
57 Carlos Tarín, Teatro de la Maestranza, Sevilla (Barcelona, Madrid, Sevilla: Fundación José Manuel Lara, 2001), 287.
1966 with a “rather conservative repertoire.” At the same time, The Radio and Television Orchestra, first presented in 1965, became well known for its international tours and its premieres of works of national contemporary composers.

Although during Franco’s dictatorship Spain maintained its classical musical tradition and promotion of musicians and orchestras, attention to classical music has grown considerably since Franco’s death in 1975 and accelerated after the country became part of the European Union in 1986. Since that year, Spain has enlarged its investment in classical music, and has become the European country with the highest level of government support for orchestras, concert halls, and conservatories. Andalusia has received particularly generous economic support because it is a large region with relatively small income per capita.

As Seville is the city that occupies a central place in the present work, this study offers a closer look at its relationship with classical music, through the institutions that maintained and promoted it. In La música clásica en Andalucía, Vayón gives an overview of music activities in Seville since the beginning of the 1990s, and lists the most important orchestras, music schools and academies, chamber music groups, and festivals. Among these, the Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville (established in 1991) stands first in importance and is widely respected both regionally and nationally. Other groups, such as the Young Symphony Orchestra of Andalusia (founded in 1994) and the West-East Divan Orchestra

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59 Ibid.
60 Craven, 297.
(founded in 2002), also have their headquarters in Seville. The Orquesta Bética Filharmónica still exists and has provided symphonic music to Seville’s public since 1923 (as a chamber group and later as a philharmonic orchestra). Its musical history will be more closely examined in the chapter about music in Seville. There are currently two chamber orchestras: Orquesta de Cámara Manuel Castillo (founded in 1977), which serves as the orchestra of the Conservatory of Seville, and the Chamber Orchestra of Andalusia (founded in 1998). Another group, The Baroque Orchestra of Seville (formed in 1995), has gained prestige in recent years as baroque music has increased in importance in Spain.

Wind bands are very popular in Seville. For decades, they have also been responsible for the spread of classical music, along with their role in religious ceremonies and popular festivals. The Banda Municipal de Sevilla (founded in 1933) has a stable season and a repertory enriched by the promotion of local (mainly) religious works. Its members are government employees, rather than professional musicians like the members of the orchestras mentioned above.62

The choral tradition in Andalusia is more recent than in other parts of Spain, like Catalonia in the Basque region; however, in 2006, there were 434 choral groups in Andalusia, according to the Centro de Documentación Musical de Andalucía.63 These groups were not professional, but high caliber amateur choirs, as for instance the Coro de la Asociación de Amigos del Teatro de la Maestranza. The public of Seville has

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63 CDMA, Center of Musical Documentation of Andalusia.
appreciated their performances according to the press.\textsuperscript{64}

Concert halls used in Seville for classical music are the Maestranza Theater (inaugurated in 1991), the Teatro Central (opened in 1992), and the Cultural Center El Monte, (opened in 1999). Symphonic concerts, chamber music cycles, and operas have been performed in these theaters. The Maestranza Theater is the only one prepared to host opera productions. Since it opened in 1991, it has offered 377 opera performances to Seville.\textsuperscript{65} Titles include \textit{Carmen}, \textit{Aida}, \textit{La Traviata}, \textit{Cosi fan tutte}, \textit{Falstaff}, \textit{Fidelio}, \textit{Il Barbiere di Siviglia}, \textit{La Bohème}, \textit{Norma}, \textit{Tannhäuser}, \textit{Otello}, \textit{Nabucco}, \textit{Manon Lescaut}, and \textit{Madama Butterfly}. Other works have been performed as well, as for instance, Spanish zarzuelas (\textit{Doña Francisquita}, \textit{El Retablo de Maese Pedro}, \textit{La Verbena de la Paloma}, \textit{El Gato Montés}) and other operas less well known to the public of the city, such as: \textit{The Beauty and the Beast} (Philip Glass), \textit{Facing Goya} (Michael Nyman), \textit{Dialogues des Carmélites} (Francis Poulenc), or \textit{The Charming Little Vixen} (Leos Janácek). The beginning of the 1990s was indeed a “musical awakening” in Spain, Andalusia, and Seville. Exposure to and appreciation of a greater breadth of repertory developed markedly.

The year 1992 was important for Spain and its integration within the European Union. Several important events took place that year within Spanish borders. Expo ’92 celebrated the five hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America: its subtitle was the “Age of Discoveries.”\textsuperscript{66} At the same time, the 1992 Olympics took place in Barcelona

\textsuperscript{64} Website for musical news of Spain (“Mundo clasico”): http://www.mundoclasico.com/ed/documentos/doc-ver.aspx?id=1fa7fad3-e133-4d4f-9e9c-e76c9ad54ac7,(accessed 20 March 2011).
\textsuperscript{65} Juan Maria Rodriguez, \textit{Teatro de la Maestranza} (Barcelona, Madrid, Sevilla: Fundación José Manuel Lara, 2001), 36.
\textsuperscript{66} Maddox, 88.
(25 July to 9 August). As a result, although Seville’s Expo ’92 was a significant political, economic, and cultural event, it was not be “the” major event that year in Spain. International, national, and local attention was divided. Sharing the spotlight with Barcelona quite possibly limited the changes that a world’s fair could possibly have brought to the city. In addition, Spain celebrated yet another cultural event in 1992: the nomination of Madrid as a European Capital of Culture. The capital of Spain also intended to use classical music to commemorate its pan-European status. For the opening ceremony, leaders were going to feature an installation that consisted of spheres with music. Though Cristobál Halffter, the father of the current conductor of the Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville, Pedro Halffter, composed the music, it was never used for its intended purpose. The inaugural concert in January 1992 did feature, however, the Violin Concerto (1987) of Madrid-born José Luis Turina.

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67 Maddox, 5.
Chapter II. Seville and its Music, Classical Music and Identity

To introduce the musical culture of Seville and examine the role classical music plays there, this chapter will first give a short historical background; then it will analyze the ways in which different institutions of Seville maintained interest in classical music, by creating or conserving it; later it will show how Seville was a source of inspiration for art works, and finally it will establish a connection between the works that Seville and its exoticism inspired. The relationship between Seville and classical music has also been established in a deeper way with Expo ’92 and the construction of the Maestranza Theatre. The intention for the use of the theater was to make Seville the “City of the Opera,” since Seville is known worldwide for its connection with celebrated operas.68

Literature and painting were the first arts to concentrate on Seville. Both exploited the expressive possibilities of Andalusia and turned to Don Juan’s city as a favorite topic. Velázquez, one of Spain’s most important painters, was born in Seville, and used its sites in some of his paintings.69 Literature also led to the natural “exoticism” of Seville with works that would later become the basis for musical pieces. But opera was the genre that unified text and music as one.

Approximately 100 musical works have been inspired by Seville or are related to it.70 Among them are Carmen, La Favorita, Le Nozze di Figaro, Don Giovanni, Fidelio, and Il Barbiere di Siviglia. The popularity of such topics related to Seville is proven by multiple settings; for instance, over twenty composers and librettists have turned to the

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68 Jacobo Cortines, Teatro de la Maestranza (Barcelona, Madrid, Sevilla: Fundación José Manuel Lara, 2001), 257. Cortines is a poet and professor of the University of Seville specializing in Theory of Literature and the Scenic Arts.

69 Diego de Velázquez, El Aguador de Sevilla, 1618-1622. At the present, the painting is in Wellington Museum in London.

70 Cortines, 255.
*Don Juan* legend and in the case of *Figaro*, the number is even higher. Cortines describes a “world” of pieces, whose characters evolve and change, and all of them relate to Seville.\(^7\)

While it is true that painting and literature were the arts that “discovered” Seville, music was the art that maintained and developed the interest that other countries had in Spain and its music. The operas with “Sevillian” topics reinterpreted the essence of the city and were presented in theaters around the world. Different approaches were used: the time period since the eighteenth century; the physical condition of Seville, realistic or idealized; comedies or tragedies, using the social context of the city; the musical style itself, which could be based on folk tunes.\(^8\) Seville’s population has long been conscious of the city’s worldwide impact through music inspired by it. However, at the same time, the city has insulated itself from world opinion and maintains an independent and local viewpoint.\(^9\) This capacity to completely lose interest in anything foreign and even non-Sevillian is a practice barely criticized even by the closer Andalusian city neighbors.

An anecdote about the visit of Giuseppe Verdi shows Seville’s disinterest in the values of the outside world. On 2 March 1863, Verdi came from Madrid to Seville, planning to stay for several days. He visited the territory of the Cartuja, then the site of a famous china factory – also the future site of Expo ’92; however, he left Seville after only one day. His excuse to the local newspaper was that he had many obligations and could not spend more time in the city that inspired one of his best and most recent works (*La

\(^{7}\) Cortines, 257.
\(^{8}\) Cortines, 255.
\(^{9}\) In January 1991 the inaugural concert of the Symphony Orchestra of Seville was a big event, and several articles were posted in the local press, emphasizing not only the importance of Seville in classical music but also its passivity as a “host of stone” and an “object city” in the classical music landscape worldwide. See: “La Orquesta de Sevilla,” *ABC Seville* (11 January 1991): 15 and (13 January 1991): 62.
Forza del Destino). It is likely, however, that the composer was offended when the musicians did not come for a welcome concert organized in his honor, and the performance did not materialize. Clearly those who organized the celebration met with “resistance” by the local and insular population. Still, the official excuse focuses on Verdi’s early departure from Seville.

Understanding the opposing forces at work in Seville (the impulse to change the populace’s cultural horizons and integrate the city with its European roots versus resistance, whether active or passive, to broadening or abandoning local/regional tastes and traditions) organizes the ensuing discussion in the present work. Events that spurred leaders to propose and pursue the idea of creating a symphony are explained in detail in this chapter. An analysis shows that, in the end, integration of classical music in the life of the city eventually overcame resistance to accepting its presence.

Controversy surrounded the entire process of creating the symphony orchestra, which in January 1991 performed its opening concert. Severe criticism of the organizers centered on the fact that only twenty-six of the ninety-six musicians were Spanish, and, of these, only eleven came from Andalusia. From the perspective of the main European tradition, the “dynamics of change” may be seen in the expansion of classical music’s presence. “Resistance” can be understood as the populace’s tendency to depend on past traditions and popular entertainments. For example, the celebrations of the Semana Santa and the Feria in Seville, one a serious holiday and the other joyful, make important use of popular music. Whether passive or militant in their resistance, the populace chose to

74 Andrés Moreno Mengíbar, La Opera en Sevilla en el Siglo XIX (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1998), 214.
75 Angel Pérez Guerra, “Turina protagoniza hoy el primer concierto de la Real Orquesta Sinfónica de Sevilla, sompuesta por profesores de dieciséis países,” ABC Seville (10 January 1991): 47.
ignore the new-born orchestra in April 1992, when, during the *Feria*, the recently formed group played a concert to a mostly empty hall.\(^{76}\)

The forces propelling Seville’s move toward greater cosmopolitanism were the individuals who pressed for the creation of the orchestra and supported its early existence (and indeed, who are still important to its existence), and political figures of that period. Political power led to crucial decisions; and so, the political support and economic investment of the Ministry of Culture of the Government of Andalusia and the City Council of Seville created the Orchestra of Seville.\(^{77}\) It continuation, however, was made possible because the existence of the professional orchestra with a regular schedule of symphonic concerts created a new tradition, something that the population gradually understood should be conserved.

Although that regular schedule did not exist before the new orchestra, Seville’s citizens had earlier demonstrated at least some interest in classical music. Its supporters maintained their fidelity despite the lack of permanent, highly skilled musical groups.\(^{78}\) Seville had a deep musical tradition, although its geographical isolation from the center of Europe could foster a disconnection in criteria or tastes. Though the city stands at the southernmost point of Spain, and consequently of Europe (exceeded only by Cádiz), a powerful group of people wished to support pan-European culture and decided that classical music was one of the best ways to

\(^{77}\) Francisco Senra, Interview in Appendix C.
do so. As early as 1887, a cultural club called the “Ateneo” maintained and promoted arts and intellectual activities, such as classical music, in Seville. Many leading figures of Seville’s population were members, such as Ramón Manjarrés, Gonzalo Bilbao, Luis Pizarra, Vicente Gómez-Zarzuela, Miguel del Pino. They organized cycles of chamber music concerts and recitals. The section of the Ateneo that specialized in classical music was called Sociedad de Cuartetos (Quartet Society). Professionals and amateurs could be part of it by paying a membership fee every month. An assembly organized by the society made decisions about the performances. Since the city had no concert hall available for the concerts, the members’ private home served as concert venues, much like activities that had gone on for at least a century in other parts of Europe.

Historically, the Athenaeum, in some ways an echo of the Italian academies that had spawned opera and developed the solo cantata in the years surrounding 1600, served as the meeting point for the intellectuals of Seville. As in Paris or Vienna, this social club unified their interests and gave further impulse to the realization of tangible projects. For example, the first symphony orchestra founded in Seville emerged from the membership of the Athenaeum in 1921, specifically from its members who were Andalusian musicians. Most important in founding the orchestra was the Spanish composer Manuel de Falla. Though he was not a member

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79 Senra, Appendix C.
80 Pedro José Sánchez Gómez, La Música y el Ateneo de Sevilla, 1887-2003 (Sevilla: Ateneo de Sevilla, 2004): 45.
81 Sánchez Gómez, 44.
82 Sánchez Gómez, 46.
of the Athenaeum, he decided, after studying and living in Paris from 1907 to 1914, to try to develop classical music in his homeland, Andalusia.

Prior to this event, Winnaretta Singer, the immensely rich heir to the Singer sewing machine fortune, who lived in Paris, commissioned Falla to compose the music for a puppet opera. For her he wrote *El Retablo de Maese Pedro*, a work that required a chamber orchestra. But in 1923, before its premiere in Paris, Falla contacted a group of musicians from Seville and performed the piece in a concert version on 23 and 24 March in that city. That ad hoc group requested Falla’s help and support in forming an orchestra. That was the beginning of the Bética Philharmonic Orchestra, which still exists in Seville, although currently it is not entirely professional and has no regular concert season. In the past its association with Falla, the most prominent Andalusian composer, helped focus attention on the group. In the decade of the 1930s in Seville, the Bética orchestra and Falla were the two sole sources for contemporary art music. The composer’s prominence made it easier raise money to continue the performances, and his knowledge of modern music of Europe facilitated the Bética Orchestra’s access to that new repertory. Otherwise, modern pieces, by composers like Debussy or Ravel, were not performed in Seville, unless “they were part of the repertory of any visiting pianist.” The group that Falla created was the first chamber orchestra in Spain, and its existence made it possible for Seville to be the site for performances of modern compositions.

84 Sánchez Gómez, 135.
85 Sánchez Gómez, 95.
86 Ibid.
Until the end of Franco’s dictatorship, the elements that maintained interest in classical music, other than recordings, were concert halls, societies, music groups, and official institutions for musical education. The Cathedral of Seville and private homes were used for concerts, along with the San Fernando theater. Associations like Sociedad Sevillana de Conciertos (Seville Society of Concerts) or Juventudes Musicales (Young Musicians) maintained interest in music as had the Athenaeum. As for musical education, the Conservatory of Seville was the reference point for music students in Seville.87

The creation of the Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville meant not only regular performances for classical music enthusiasts in the city, but also greater organization of musical life. Situating the orchestra in a central location, the principal hall (Maestranza Theater) acts as its regular stage. Outside the concerts, orchestra members teach music to students, who are or will be enrolled in the conservatory, and help that institution maintain high entrance standards. Chamber music groups related to the Orchestra of Seville perform various concert series in Andalusia.88

After the departure of Franco (1975) and the later incorporation of Spain within the European Union (1986), Seville has slowly shifted from a position of general resistance to classical music to an enthusiastic appreciation of what it add to local culture. Events in the early 1990s—Expo ’92 and the organization of the Orchestra of Seville—proved to be important moments in Seville’s history when the city took the opportunity to grow.

87 Ibid.
88 Senra, Appendix C.
Chapter III. Expositions: Paris 1889, Brussels 1958, Seville 1929

In order to understand the larger context for Expo‘92 and the place of music within the event, this study will now look at the phenomenon of world expositions by analyzing three earlier ones (Paris 1889, Brussels 1958, Seville 1929). First, it examines these three events, their overall goals and evidence of the shift in underlying ideas about expositions between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Then, after a general introduction and a summary of the social and economic features of the three fairs, discussion turns to the subject of classical music and its importance in these events. The three earlier expositions each have a specific relationship to Expo ’92. For example, the Exposition universelle de Paris in 1889 has important implications in the musical sphere, since that exposition was a creative center for classical music; of course, for this late nineteenth-century exposition the presence of non-Western music will also figure in the investigation, since it has long been the object of musical scholarship. Expo ’58, the Brussels Worlds Fair, was a decisive event among universal expositions in the twentieth century, with significant impact on experimental music in the second half of the century. And Seville’s earlier exposition in 1929 has, obviously, a geographical connection to Expo ’92. Its importance becomes clear when we look at the experience that the city gained in organizing the event: the problems that emerged, the transformation of the infrastructure of Seville, and the impact for the future of the city.

The general purpose of universal expositions shifted from the nineteenth century to the twentieth century, though some features have remained constant. By its nature such an event situates the hosting city, and even its country, at the center of the world’s attention; but it is also a window for the population of that region to the rest of the world.
Put another way, an international fair has among its goals the reciprocal act of existing as a “reality show” to the world and, at the same time, of making the outside world a real show for the visitors of the exposition.\(^9\)

In his book *In Between*, Wilfried Dickhoff explains that the idea of a world exposition stems from earlier industrial exhibitions in France about 1800.\(^9\) These universal exhibitions were indeed brilliant showcases for an expanding international capitalism. They were at first great international entertainment events, while also serving as luxurious testing grounds for the incipient consumer society. In the course of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century other, more obvious purposes and traits came to the fore: self-representation on the part of the colonial powers and other nation states as a reflection of their political identity, for instance, or symbolic confrontations between rival ideologies. The most readily apparent common denominator among world expositions has undoubtedly been the glorification of technological progress.\(^9\)

In other words, expositions in the nineteenth century reflected in a profound way the industrial boom and notions of progress, though they also had an “encyclopedic” spirit with an educational function. They were considered fairs for the population in the sense of the implication of people at the event, where they learned new information.\(^9\) The visitors acted as spectators, usually with rather naive powers of observation, and most were overwhelmed by the display.\(^9\)

In the past, when displacement was more difficult for people, an exposition made

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\(^9\) Expositions for French manufacturing took place in Paris in 1801, 1802, 1806, 1819, 1823, 1827, 1834, 1844, and 1849.


\(^9\) Arnaud Bozzoni, *EXPO 58, Between Utopia and Reality* (Brussels: Editions Racine, 2008), 17.

\(^9\) Fauser, 64.
possible a voyage “through worlds otherwise known only through books or journals.”

The difficulty of transportation for most of the population was a rationale for creating encounters with other cultures and for making an authentic landscape of reality from an “illusion.” The countries that were colonial powers and which hosted expositions typically wished to show their cultural and political dominance. In her anthropological research, Penelope Harvey has pointed out that the expositions were themselves almost “colonial institutions” and served as instruments to maintain this colonial attitude.

Over time organizers, artists, and visitors have questioned the role of art, and especially of music, in the whole picture of exhibitions. For the first world exposition held in Germany (Hanover 2000), Wilfried Dickhoff, while presenting an art project, wondered “whether art can have a place in such surroundings without being totally swamped by the attendant ‘event industry.’” A negative answer to his question would preclude the present study. But music, and especially classical music, clearly has an important role to play, for, despite the many competing distractions at such an event, it has been featured at expositions since their beginning. It acts as a direct stimulus that affects the collective memory of visitors and is part of the mainstream that unifies each of the international expositions with an educational message built from constructed knowledge and information. It should be noted that in the Paris Exposition of 1889 one of its biggest attractions was “the most diverse music ever

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94 Fauser, 6.
95 Fauser, 5.
96 Harvey, 3.
97 Ibid.
98 Dickhoff, 3.
heard.”\textsuperscript{99} And the Brussels World’s Fair in 1958 also showcased music, most notably in the Philips Pavilion, designed by Le Corbusier, where visitors experienced the renowned \textit{Poème électronique}, composed by Edgard Varèse for this exposition.\textsuperscript{100} Like their predecessors, the organizers of Expo ‘92 also realized the importance of classical music, and turned to four principal sources for it: guest performers, local performers, the celebration of national days, and compositions commissioned for the Expo.

The 1889 \textit{Exposition universelle} in Paris established a structure for later fairs to imitate and a high standard for music of all kinds. In fact, it shows many similarities to the Brussels World Fair of 1958 and Expo ‘92. The Brussels Fair was an important event in the post-war period, with a structure, goals, and visitor response strongly determined by earlier examples.

As Expo ‘92 in Seville commemorated the 500\textsuperscript{th} anniversary of the Discovery of America, the 1889 World’s Fair in Paris also commemorated an anniversary important to the nation—the centenary of the French Revolution. By remembering the past, the event honored the nation’s history; by honoring technological progress, it honored its future. Construction of the Eiffel tower embodied the latter in a form that still dominates the skyline of the entire city.\textsuperscript{101} After its ignominious defeat in the Prussian war of 1870, a universal fair had a major significance for France. In 1878 Paris held a Universal Exposition in order to celebrate recovery from that war.

\textsuperscript{99} Fauser, 1.
\textsuperscript{100} A link to the website Visiones de Vanguardia with information about Edgar Varèse and his piece for Expo ‘58 in Brussels is found at: http://visionesdevanguardia.com/profiles/blogs/le-corbusier-amp-edgar-varese (accessed 14 April 2011).
\textsuperscript{101} Eduardo Rodriguez Bernal, \textit{Historia de la Exposición Iberoamericana de Sevilla de 1929} (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1994), 32.
The next world’s fair it hosted, in 1889, aimed to go beyond the last one, and an impressive tower clearly embodied this goal.\textsuperscript{102} Still, music, though non-physical, could hold great meaning and attain a similar level of importance. Music at the exposition acted as a sort of cultural glue that maintained the interest of visitors, and performances of different types of music were adapted to various locations.\textsuperscript{103} The public, curious and expectant, could learn from different cultures and compare concert experiences. Because the serious music tradition in France and northern and western European countries had an important presence in the nineteenth century, visitors to the Exposition of 1889 had largely received enough cultural preparation to have an interest in the works commissioned for and showcased at the exhibition. The fair gave composers the opportunity to have an impact on a large audience. For instance, Augusta Holmès specified 1200 musicians for her piece “Ode Triomphale,” performed before 22,000 spectators.\textsuperscript{104} Thus, through the exhibition, she along with Massenet, already renowned for his operas, became a “national symbol,”\textsuperscript{105} using her music “both to engage and escape the social and musical stereotypes of her day.”\textsuperscript{106}

Only three French works had their premieres during the 1889 Exposition: Jules Massenet’s \textit{Esclarmonde}, Ambroise Thomas’ \textit{La Tempête}, and, at the closing of the fair, Holmès’ \textit{Ode Triomphale}. Fauser suggests that the organizers of the

\textsuperscript{102} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{103} Fauser, 158.
\textsuperscript{104} Fauser, 114.
\textsuperscript{105} Fauser, 125. Holmès’s piece was received as a “major celebratory piece in itself and a bridge between the Revolutionary festivities of the eighteenth century and the unveiling of a new monument to the Republic, crowned by a female figure carrying the flame of freedom.”
exposition wanted to assemble a canon of already existing compositions rather than commission new ones. Since this small group of French composers were already leading figures in Europe at that time, it was easier to establish the nation’s contemporary canon. This same design could not be applied to Expo ’92, however, since the number of leading Spanish composers was much lower.\textsuperscript{107}

Fauser’s book approaches the music through well-documented sources, from archives, periodicals, and program books. By first introducing an overview of France, its music and musical genres, she demonstrates how much preparation the French had in the field of classical music. Nevertheless, music from Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe, and so on, was an attraction that nobody wanted to miss. The illusory city that was created in the heart of Paris, offered on the one hand educational information that satisfied visitors’ curiosity; on the other hand, the encounters with other cultures reinforced the sense of colonial superiority, supplying historical and geographical knowledge.\textsuperscript{108}

The new technologies gave educational information and proof of advanced achievement to visitors, as for instance, with an innovation called the Théâtrophone; via a headset powered by this new technology, the “audience” could experience a stage performance transmitted from elsewhere in the city as an “out-of-body experience” and “fall prey to her or his illusion when the listening imagination

\textsuperscript{107} As it will be seen in the music program of Expo ’92 in the next chapter, Spanish compositions performed at the fair were not so many in number, and most of them were already part of a canon of Spanish music long before 1992.

\textsuperscript{108} Fauser, 5.
conjured an auditory reality.” As a result, music accompanied visitors in almost
every aspect of their experience at the event.

As a whole, the Paris Exposition is remembered as a great success, with a
deep impact on the cultural, artistic, and technological future of Europe. Like its
predecessor, Expo ’92 intended to commemorate an important historical event, the
Discovery of America by Columbus, as well as technological achievements,
particularly in telecommunications. Classical music, represented by the
performances of guest orchestras and soloists, the recently established orchestra in
Seville, and recordings that were sold in the shops of some national pavilions was
not, however, of the same significance as in 1889. Importantly, the cultural
preparation of the Sevillian public seems to differ, and consequently focused directly
on their more localized cultural heritage. Despite the flow of foreign visitors, the
significant presence of the local public gave a national and even local flavor to the
music associated with Expo ’92.110

Sixty-nine years after Paris 1889, Expo ’58, also known as the Brussels
World’s Fair, was the culmination of years of preparation and took over center stage
in the world’s attention for the entire period it remained open from 17 April to 19
October 1958. More than forty countries participated,111 and approximately forty-
two million visitors made their way to Brussels. The exposition was the first fair of
the post-war period, and for Belgium’s collective memory this event manifested its

109 Fauser, 296-297.
110 Some reasons are enumerated below, p. 36.
111 Gonzague Pluvinage, EXPO 58, Between Utopia and Reality (Brussels: Editions Racine,
2008), 7.
“hope for change and for emergence from the effects of World War II.”\textsuperscript{112} The impact of the 1958 exhibition was not limited to the period it was open since the entire infrastructure of the European institutions in use today was conceived then.\textsuperscript{113} In fact, this unity could be understood as the ideological basis for the European Union. As a “message of peace and economic collaboration between peoples,”\textsuperscript{114} the exposition wished to foster a unity among nations. In support of these goals, Belgium tried to present itself at its best by featuring the full range of the different branches of human activity, such as industry, economics, sciences, arts, energy, education, agriculture and so on.\textsuperscript{115} The organizers used the arts in order to create an atmosphere of optimism in which a society in transition could develop relationships among both genders, the colonizers and colonized, and different generations.\textsuperscript{116}

The fair was considered a “gigantic window” to the modern world, for even in 1958 extensive traveling was still an inaccessible luxury for most. The products presented were selected to highlight the utmost achievements of human civilization thus far.\textsuperscript{117} One important accomplishment was the easy interaction between innovation and tradition. Tradition, represented by folklore, played an important role. Traditional musics were performed in different pavilions, as for instance, the concert of the national Portuguese Fado singer, Amalia Rodriguez.\textsuperscript{118} Music performances were offered daily and important festivals took place during the exposition. Classical music, however, was also significant

\textsuperscript{112} Pluvinage, 11.
\textsuperscript{113} Pluvinage, 8.
\textsuperscript{114} Pluvinage, 28.
\textsuperscript{115} Pluvinage, 12.
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{117} Pluvinage, 155-157.
\textsuperscript{118} Pluvinge, 160.
in the musical experiences of the visitors. For instance, the International Meeting of Young Musicians’ Orchestras and the Experimental Music International Conference were celebrated at the site of the exposition. Leading soloists and orchestras were invited to perform. Among them were pianist Annie Fisher, the Philharmonic Orchestra of Prague, the American Military Orchestra, and the Grand Orchestre Symphonique of the National Belgian Broadcasting Institute.\footnote{Ibid.}

Like Expo ’92 in Seville, Expo ’58 in Brussels focused on the commercial and technological world, interweaving that information with cultural and historical elements. Music found a central role in both, since in Brussels it represented the hope for European unification and in Seville, an awakening to European traditions. In Brussels, contemporary music symbolized development, the never-ending desire of self-improvement. But in Seville, music represented cultural information, the creation of a broader and more complete system of criteria for the audience. Expo ’92 in Seville had a bigger musical impact than Seville’s 1929 exposition.

In that year, Seville’s international fair concerned itself more with an Ibero-American approach rather than with any universal meaning. The region, and the city of Seville, had progressed little technologically during the early decades of the twentieth century. In his book about the 1929 exhibition, Eduardo Rodriguez Bernal points to the lack of economic development, which had affected other regions as well.\footnote{Rodriguez Bernal, 32.} The infrastructure of the city at the end of the nineteenth century had hardly changed for centuries, and several basic sectors, such as a complete sewer system, did not exist. In the early twentieth century city leaders created a plan heavily dependent on developing a
tourist industry during the winter to take advantage of Seville’s mild climate.\textsuperscript{121} To move forward the city needed to complete two major projects: a rebuilding of the port and construction of a big hotel in order to prepare the city for receiving tourists.

Seville’s exposition of 1929 brought with it a new façade for the city, visible even today in some of the most admired and attractive public buildings in the city. Although some of the pavilions for the fair were not finished in time, and others never even opened during the fair, some still support the cultural infrastructure\textsuperscript{122} and have became a center for all the cultural events of the city.\textsuperscript{123} Though it was relatively easy to change the city’s external appearance, the population changed less easily and tended to focus upon the previous “golden age” (sixteenth-century Spain) or the calamities of the twentieth century. Still, Expo ’29 provided the necessary motivation for the city to move toward a “regeneration that [Sevillians] were waiting for since the crisis of the seventeenth century.”\textsuperscript{124} Expo ’29 had originally been planned for 1911 but was postponed. Then in 1914, World War I began and in 1919 the Spanish conflict with Morocco. Problems of internal organization then delayed the event for more than a decade, until finally, in 1929, Seville opened its exposition.\textsuperscript{125} This exposition was based in two much earlier projects: a local exposition in 1905 and a holiday devised in order to attract tourism called “Spain

\textsuperscript{121} Rodríguez Bernal, 42.
\textsuperscript{122} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{123} Rafael Sánchez Mantero, \textit{Historia de Sevilla} (Madrid: Ediciones Sílex, 2000), 111.
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid. The crisis referred to is the Habsburg Monarchy’s loss of power in Western Europe.
\textsuperscript{125} Rodríguez Bernal, 9.
and Seville” in 1908. The press played a large role in shaping how Sevillians thought, but so, too, did contact with monuments and art that evoked memories of a great past. The influence of politics in 1929 resulted in a strong emphasis on the idea of the Spanish Republic and the unity of the country. Organizers were essentially obligated to emphasize the unity of the entire Hispanic community.

To achieve this end, the Spanish government made use of music and politicians invited musicians from all the regions of the country to Seville for the opening of Expo ’29. Music had also been important to the previous tourist-oriented events, mentioned above; not surprisingly, it became an important part of the cultural exhibition at Expo ’29. The fair opened 9 May with a performance by the wind bands of Madrid and Seville along with the Choral Society of Bilbao. The Spanish composer Francisco Alonso created a hymn for the opening ceremony with a text by the Sevillian brothers Serafín and Joaquín Alvarez Quintero. The text of the hymn celebrates the union among the Hispanic nations, and welcomes visitors to “beautiful Seville.” The next day, in the theater constructed specifically for the exposition (the Lope de Vega), an important concert took place, performed by the Basque Choral Society (a group of 350 voices) and an orchestra of seventy musicians.

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127 Rodríguez Bernal, 41.
128 Rodríguez Bernal, 347.
129 The text of the hymn and its translation are included in Appendix V, p. 81, and a contemporary recording of the hymn can be seen at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1TT_BTUkkX4 (accessed 20 August 2011).
130 Rodríguez Bernal, 348.
presented the anthem of the exposition once again. Through the music, the
performance symbolized the internal togetherness that Spain wished to pursue in
its regions and with its former colonies, as well.

The Baroque-style theater, the Lope de Vega, is still in use today and was one
of the most expansive buildings of the fair, with 1025 seats. Unfortunately, as
Bernal points out in his book, for this concert on 10 May the spacious theater was
“almost empty.” In 1929, the people of Seville simply ignored a concert organized
for a memorable occasion, as they had in 1863, when Giuseppe Verdi visited the
city, sixty years later, at the same theater, the Symphony Orchestra of Seville
would give its opening performance on 10 January 1991, with spectacular success
and no empty seats. This contrast is worth remembering, for at the beginning of
the twentieth century, classical music in Seville was an entertainment for a select
minority, and the general population found events like bullfighting and vernacular
or folk music performances more accessible. Between 1929 and 1991, cultural
participation in classical music events was changing, but at a glacial pace. However,
the cultural impact of the early 1990s has intensified over the last twenty years, as

132 Rodriguez Bernal, 348.
133 See above, p. 23.
134 Asunción Fernández de Castillejo, “La Sinfónica de Sevilla, con Vjekoslav Sutej al frente, conseguió ayer un rotundo éxito en su debut en el Lope de Vega,” ABC Seville (11 January 1991): 57. The audience of the concert was composed of political figures of Seville and Andalusia, directors of other Spanish orchestras, executive directors of the Expo’92 organization, and music lovers.
witnessed by the public’s response to the orchestra’s twentieth anniversary concert, when every seat in the Maestranza Theater was full.\textsuperscript{135}

\textsuperscript{135} Andrés González-Barba, “Sevilla se vuelca con el Maestranza y con la Sinfónica en su vigésimo aniversario,” \textit{ABC Seville} (29 April 2011). The importance of the Maestranza Theater is emphasized in a commemorative text by the President of the Andalusian Government, Manuel Chaves, where he calls the Maestranza Theater a “coliseum.” See: Manuel Chaves, \textit{Teatro de la Maestranza, Sevilla} (Barcelona, Madrid, Sevilla: Fundación José Manuel Lara, 2001), 9.
Chapter IV. Expo ’92, The Maestranza Theater, and The Importance of Classical Music

After presenting the facts that surrounded the organization of the Expo ’92, this chapter focuses on classical music during the exposition and its impact on Seville. There are four chief manifestations of participation in classical music at the Expo: the guest orchestras, the principal music hall Maestranza, the involvement of the Symphony Orchestra of Seville, and the works composed for the event by local composers.

To understand its scope, we will begin with a survey of participating orchestras, groups, and soloists. Then the focus changes to the music used to represent different countries on their national days during the Expo. The importance of the Maestranza Theater, the concert hall that hosted the majority of symphonic orchestras and operas by guest performers, receives particular attention among the various sites for music performance. Finally, we will consider the sorts of music created for this world’s fair, by focusing on two pieces written by two composers from Seville.

The birth of the idea for a universal exposition in Seville is explained in the book of Richard Maddox.136 During the late 1970s, the Spanish National Commission for the Fifth Centenary of Columbus’ first voyage to the Americas was planning an Ibero-American exposition to commemorate this first trip. The commission operated under the protection of the Institute of Hispanic Culture that was created under Franco’s regime to support joint pacts between Spain and Latin American countries. In 1980 and 1981, the commission had made decisions about the 1992 commemoration in Spain; however, groups in Italy and in Chicago were planning important events as well. Then the Spanish

136 Maddox, 3.
group, seeking prestige and publicity, made the decision to plan a world’s fair and thus attract more attention. For that reason, the members of the National Commission of the Fifth Centenary decided to travel to Paris, a city that in some ways was the capital of world’s fairs and which had hosted seven major exhibitions (in 1855, 1867, 1878, 1889, 1900, 1931, and 1937). It had also become the seat of the Bureau of International Expositions (BIE).  

Expo ’92 brought a significant change not only to Seville but also to the broader region. Manuel Chaves, the President of the Andalusian government from 1990-2009, stated that: “Around the symbolic year 1992, Andalusia noticed a deep transformation.” Based on a promise from the King of Spain in 1976 to support an exposition commemorating Columbus’ 1492 voyage and his discovery of the New World, Andalusia and Seville moved toward unprecedented changes. The government and public administration along with private initiative saw an opportunity to right an inherited economic imbalance that left Andalusia among the most impoverished communities of Spain. Institutions cooperated with the intent to modernize the cities of Andalusia, and that new reality contributed to economic, social, and cultural development.

For the anthropologist Penelope Harvey, the 1992 exposition in Seville was a product of the shift from modern to postmodern society. The author situates the fair in the context of Europe, within an active process of globalization, at a stage

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137 Maddox, 41
138 Chaves, 9.
139 Harvey, 5.
where new communication technologies contributed to the speed of travel and increased the mobility of populations.140

In order to explain how the visitors to Seville’s exposition reacted to the event, Harvey analyzes their general behavior. The author points out that “Expo ’92 of Seville had a light atmosphere of confusion related to the exact place that the visitors to the event took.”141 She notes that at such an event, the visitor has the choice to participate or to observe. And she hypothesizes that because some of the visitors spent very little time in the Expo, they were relatively uninvolved in the event as a whole. Still, following through on Harvey’s assumption, another reason may explain the guests’ lack of involvement—insufficient preparation related to the history, the actual situation, and the culture of the country, region, and city. Both lack of previous research by the visitors and insufficient attractions in the exhibition itself to capture the visitors’ attention turned the act of observing into a form of participation. Harvey observes that “most visitors arrived from other places, and were at least unfamiliar with the practices of the Expo site. To stand outside and observe the world as exhibition was a crucial participatory activity.”142 Harvey proposes that the visitors of Expo ’92 were both citizens and consumers.143 According to the author, the “citizen” would be the person who formerly would visit an exposition as a museum. but a “consumer” would react and participate in the exhibition, being “invited to enjoy and satisfy personal desires.”144

140 Ibid.
141 Harvey, 9.
142 Ibid.
143 Ibid.
144 Harvey, 134.
Thus, Expo ’92, as explained by anthropologists, lacked a true main stream that all participants followed. Even further from the principal current was classical music. Still, musical performances formed an important part of the so-called “national” days, which almost every country celebrated during the Expo. These performances may be compared to those done in Paris in 1889; however, the audience in Seville had the satisfaction of curiosity as its final goal rather than cultural enrichment through experiencing new compositions or repertories of music.

Expo ’92 in Seville lasted six months (20 April to 15 October), much like the Paris Exposition universelle of 1889 (6 May to 6 November). Seville invited the world to come and sample mechanical, cultural, artistic, and human achievements. Unlike Paris, Expo ’92 was placed, not in the center of the city, but across the river Guadalquivir, on the so-called island of the Cartuja. Long an outlying area of the city, after the bridges built for Expo ’29 and Expo ’92, Cartuja and the center of Seville are comfortably connected. The place has been chosen for three important historical events: the foundation of a monastery belonging to a most austere order, a china

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145 Harvey, 6.
146 Maddox, 80. The Monastery of the Cartuja gave its name to the place. The monks of the Cartuja order were bound by vows of poverty, chastity and prayer; they retired to the island to meditate. Created in 1084, the order brought its monks to the Island of the Cartuja around the end of the fifteenth century. In 1835/36 the monks were expelled and in 1841, an English businessmen bought this property and converted it into a successful china factory. The quality of the products was so high that they were awarded numerous prizes and supplied the Spanish royalty. See official web-site of the Cartuja de Sevilla. http://www.lacartujadesevilla.es/history.php (accessed 10 September 2011).
factory, and the 1992 World’s Fair (where Seville was presented to the world, knowing that every detail of that presentation would be examined).\textsuperscript{147}

The places chosen for the concert halls, inside and outside the Expo ’92 grounds, were different in nature, but all of them were related to some part of the city’s history. That this was possible is not a surprise if one keeps in mind that Seville was an urban center for Roman, Goth, Arab, Jewish, and Spanish cultures.\textsuperscript{148}

Among the buildings that had a special impact on the infrastructure of Seville during and after Expo ’92 are several concert halls and theaters constructed in order to hold performances of the invited artists and groups. Once Expo ’92 had ended, these halls became permanent venues of certain local groups, among them the Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville. Among the newly built theaters and halls were: the Teatro Central, a hall for spoken theater and jazz or flamenco concerts with capacity of 500 to 1300), the Palenque (an open-air stage, with a capacity of 2,000, now demolished), Auditorio (an open-air venue for opera performances, with a pit for 120 musicians and a capacity of 7,000), and the Maestranza Theater (a theater for concert and opera performance, with a pit for 200 musicians, and a capacity of 1650).\textsuperscript{149}

The Maestranza Theater has had the closest ties to classical music performance in Seville both during Expo ’92 and after it. Building of the hall started in 1986, when the Government of Andalusia organized a competition. The initial idea was to build a Palace for the Culture in which a big variety of events would take place. The architects Luis Marin and Aurelio del Pozo won the competition. In a book that commemorated the

\textsuperscript{147} Sociedad Estatal para la Exposición Universal Sevilla 92 (1988), \textit{La Cartuja de Sevilla: ribera, monasterio, fábrica, corta y recinto} (Sevilla: Sociedad Estatal para la Exposición Universal de Sevilla 92).
\textsuperscript{148} Pérez, 176.
\textsuperscript{149} Sociedad Estatal para la Exposición Universal, \textit{Proyectos y Obras Expo 92} (Sevilla, 1992).
building’s tenth anniversary, del Pozo explains how the idea grew from the initial concept of an architectural competition to a concert venue.\textsuperscript{150}

The entire process of the theater’s creation started in March 1986 when the Government of Andalusia and the Seville Provincial Council organized a competition for architectural plans.\textsuperscript{151} The building site would be in the heart of Seville, on the banks of the river Guadalquivir, which crosses the city. Since the plot has several old barracks and is surrounded by historical districts (such as Paseo Colon, Chapel of El Rosario, Dos de Mayo street, Temprado street, Caridad Church, and the Shipyard Atarazana.), architects were supposed to respect the aesthetics of the neighborhood. Not all agreed that this was so as the Maestranza Theater became part of Seville’s urban landscape. Rather, some found the style so incongruous with the widely admired late Baroque style of the surrounding buildings, that they called it the “pressure cooker” or “Megafesa.”\textsuperscript{152}

The jury based its decision on requirements like coherence, adaptation, maintenance of existing alignments, and urban morphology.\textsuperscript{153} As one of its architects noted, however, in the jury’s verdict “no reference is made to the inner itineraries, to the stage spaces, to the acoustics, to visual aspects or to the ideal nature of the cylinder for music.”\textsuperscript{154} And so, we see that despite the good intentions of political leaders, the city was unprepared for higher-level cultural demands. When applied to music, such demands are even higher, since art must also account for acoustic features in the building and include a profound study of the environment. This necessitates a stringent level of preparation of the figures who participate in the entire process, especially when their

\textsuperscript{150} Serrano, 262.  
\textsuperscript{151} Del Pozo, 262.  
\textsuperscript{152} Tarín, 183.  
\textsuperscript{153} Del Pozo, 262.  
\textsuperscript{154} Ibid.
work will affect the entire production line, which finally leads to the audience and its needs.

The theater was built on a plot that contains the eighteenth-century Chapel El Rosario and a garden. It takes its name from the historic Real Maestranza of Seville, an institution for the Spanish nobility with the original purpose of training nobles for equestrian warfare in the service of the Crown. The same institution later sponsored equestrian sports. The Arenal, the area where the theater was built, encompasses several buildings including the Church of La Caridad, the Hospital of La Caridad, and on Colon Avenue the building called Atarazana (this was a former shipyard renamed the Real Maestranza de Artilleria in 1587 by Philip II). When urban development demolished parts of some buildings in 1982, the Chapel of El Rosario was declared a historical monument. In addition, the Maestranza’s façade preserved the facade of the Real Maestranza de Artilleria. Architect Aurelio del Pozo has remarked that annexing the Chapel of El Rosario, though disguised by the circular form of the twentieth-century auditorium, cannot function as a physical and stylistic continuum. Instead, the theater and surrounding buildings clash with one another: new against old, conservative versus progressive.

The main architect of the Maestranza, Aurelio del Pozo, notes that one of the first obstacles that the construction of the theater had to overcome was the tendency of the

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155 Francisco Núñez Roldán, *La Real Maestranza de Caballería de Sevilla (1670-1990), de los juegos ecuestres a la fiesta de los toros* (Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 2007), 12.
156 Internet source Conocer Sevilla (Knowing Seville): http://www.artesacro.org/conocersevilla/templos/capillas/dosmayo/index.html, (Accessed 5 January 2011). The Chapel of El Rosario, according to the architect of the theater Aurelio de Lara, is an 18th century chapel. Other sources, however, assign the chapel the date of 1815. It was rebuilt by the architect Aurelio del Pozo between 1986 and 1992.
southern Spanish mentality to conserve things as they are and rarely change them.\textsuperscript{157} The architects accepted, therefore, that they would need to retain existing elements of the site and annex to them the new construction. Then they needed to design an auditorium, and an exhibition and cultural center. Work on the building began on 30 November 1986. Two years later, halfway through 1988, they modified the project because the Sociedad Estatal para la Expo’92 (the State Society in charge of Expo ’92), that had planned to construct an opera house on Cartuja Island, decided to abandon the project because there was no guarantee that it would be finished in time. Because of this decision, the architects of the Maestranza building, still under construction, had to convert it from a concert and exhibition hall to a multi-purpose hall, suitable not just for the meetings, exhibitions, and symphonic performances as initially planned, but also for opera and ballet.

The birth of the Maestranza moved Seville’s cultural aspirations ahead and situated the city alongside Barcelona (with its Liceu Theater) or Madrid (with its Teatro Real). As early as the spring of 1991, a preliminary inaugural concert was organized in order to check the acoustic possibilities and features.\textsuperscript{158} Then, on 2 May 1991, the inaugural concert with a symphonic performance by the Orchestra of Seville tested the hall’s acoustics for classical orchestra repertory. Also, during the so-called pre-season of 1991 came performances of flamenco, opera, ballet, and recitals. During Expo ’92, some small technical modifications were made, principally with regard to the dressing rooms. Unfortunately, a tragic collapse of stage scenery in July 1992 during a rehearsal by the Opéra de la Bastille attracted worldwide negative attention to the building.\textsuperscript{159}

\textsuperscript{157} Del Pozo, 264.
\textsuperscript{158} Del Pozo, 262-266.
\textsuperscript{159} A platform onstage collapsed during a rehearsal of the troupe from the Opéra de la Bastille, a guest group performing for the Expo. One person in the choir died, and forty-one were injured.
The Orchestra of Seville initially used an old movie theater adapted for concerts.\textsuperscript{160} It became a permanent resident of the Maestranza Theater only after long and hard negotiations. By December 1992, however, the orchestra began to perform regularly at the Maestranza Theater.\textsuperscript{161} (It would also abandon its other rehearsal hall in 2007.) By 2002, ten years after the orchestra made its home in the Maestranza, season subscribers made up about 60% of the public.\textsuperscript{162}

Expo ’92 proved that the theater could successfully complete its first charge from the authorities. It was a fine venue for world-class guest orchestras, soloists, theater companies, and opera productions. Seville residents lined up around the theater for seats. Despite their abiding interest in popular music like that for bullfights, band music and religious processions, at least some of the population felt the need to experience new musical sensations. Thus, expectations for the invited groups for Expo ’92 were enormous, and, indeed, groups like the Berlin or Vienna Philharmonic or troupes from La Scala, the Metropolitan or Paris Operas deserved this. In addition, soloists, especially for the opera performances, were among the world’s most prominent: Plácido Domingo, José Carreras, Teresa Berganza, Alfredo Kraus, and Montserrat Caballé. Tenor Plácido Domingo remained a musical advisor for later opera seasons at the Maestranza Theater and supported attempts to establish an operatic tradition in Seville.\textsuperscript{163} His eminence also

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\textsuperscript{160} Senra, Appendix C.
\textsuperscript{162} Tarín, 184.

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helped the city’s debut on the national cultural landscape.\textsuperscript{164} 

Writing about the tenth anniversary of the Maestranza Theater, the critic Justo Romero, boasted that “between the inauguration of the Expo on April 20 and its closure in October 12, no city had ever before welcomed such a variety of first-class orchestras and conductors.”\textsuperscript{165} Though this statement may seem exaggerated, it must be acknowledged that in this short period of six months all the most important classical performers came to Seville. In addition to the desire to create a positive international impression with the exposition, politicians clearly turned to symbols of the cultural elite to show power and status.

Since musical performances at the exposition were often tied to the national days, some of the outstanding orchestras of the world represented their own countries. From April to October 1992, several orchestra performances took place each month in the Maestranza, including the Spanish National Orchestra that April. And there were also performances of a zarzuela (La Verbena de la Paloma), Don Giovanni, and Carmen, as well. In May, La Favorita (Teatro de la Fenice orchestra directed by Luciano Pavarotti), Carmen (National Orchestra of Spain directed by Rafael Frühbeck de Burgos), and Un Ballo in Maschera (Metropolitan Opera, New York directed by James Levine) were presented. At the same hall, symphony concerts by the National Orchestra of Spain, Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, Paris Orchestra, Symphony Orchestra of Oslo, National Orchestra of Belgium, Young European Symphony Orchestra, and the Radio and Television Orchestra of Luxemburg took place. The ballet companies of Lausanne and


\textsuperscript{165} Justo Romero, \textit{Teatro de la Maestranza} (Barcelona, Madrid, Sevilla: Fundación José Manuel Lara, 2001), 161.
the Royal English Ballet were presented in the Auditorio.

According to Carlos Tarín, a Spanish music critic, general expectation about the time of Expo ’92 demanded the creation of a professional caliber symphony orchestra comparable to the level of scheduled guest groups during the Exposition.166 Thus, on 2 May 1992, the fusion of two newborn cultural institutions, the Symphony Orchestra of Seville and the Maestranza Theater, became a reality. The symphony’s first concert had taken place in the Lope de Vega Theater in January 1992 and was positively reviewed.167 Negative voices that had attacked the idea of the orchestra from the beginning now began to calm.

The Symphony Orchestra of Seville performed creditably for Expo ’92 on three different occasions, although their impact did not measure up to the spectacular presentations of some of the so-called “best” orchestras of the world. For example, the Berlin Philharmonic under Daniel Barenboim played symphonies by Schubert and Bruckner, and the Vienna Philharmonic under Claudio Abbado performed symphonies by Haydn and Mahler. As a whole, during Expo ’92, forty-four orchestras appeared in Seville, including groups such as the: National Orchestra of Paris, Metropolitan Opera Orchestra, Symphony Orchestra of Oslo, National Orchestra of Belgium, National Orchestra of Spain, Montreal Symphonic Orchestra, Orchestra of the Kirov Theater, Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra, Philadelphia Orchestra, Munich Philharmonic Orchestra, Concertgebouw of Amsterdam, Symphony of Cuba, Hungarian National Orchestra, and Philharmonic of Israel. These

166 Tarin, 183
orchestras offered some of the most important orchestral pieces in the classical music canon for the Expo ’92 visitors. Whether for the “Days of Honor” of their countries or for the general performance program of the exposition itself, these guest orchestras performed in the pavilions of the host countries, such as Canada, Belgium, or France, and received enormous attention. Seville’s world’s fair helped the city focus profoundly on classical music performed at the highest level.

The first participation of the Orchestra of Seville during Expo ’92 was its performance of Donizetti’s La Favorita (with a libretto related to Seville) on 17, 21, and 25 May in the Maestranza Theater.\textsuperscript{168} In this way, the orchestra revealed its high potential as a pit orchestra, and that stimulated the idea of continuing to program opera performances during the seasons of the orchestra.\textsuperscript{169} The Orchestra of Seville participated in Expo ’92 for a second time in a worldwide tribute for the ninetieth birthday of the composer Joaquin Rodrigo that was organized by Seville’s Society of Concerts (Sociedad Sevillana de Conciertos). On 12 September 1992, it programmed Rodrigo’s music for this performance at the Maestranza Theater in presence of the composer.\textsuperscript{170} The Orchestra of Seville’s last concert for Expo ’92 closed the fair on 11 October 1992.

By participating in the program of Expo ’92, the Orchestra of Seville made itself a place among the musical memories of the visitors. Later, the city would pay

\textsuperscript{168} Ramon Maria Serrera, \textit{Teatro de la Maestranza} (Barcelona, Madrid, Sevilla: Fundación José Manuel Lara, 2001), 268. According to Serrera, a professor at the University of Seville, Alfredo Kraus took on one of his “legendary roles” for these presentations as Duke of Mantua in \textit{Rigoletto}.

\textsuperscript{169} Ramon Maria Serrera, \textit{Book of the Twentieth Anniversary of the Maestranza Theater and the Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville} (Sevilla: Teatro de la Maestranza, 2011), 40.

\textsuperscript{170} Serrera, \textit{Twentieth Anniversary}, 41.
homage to the music performed during the exposition, by having it performed again by the Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville.

Appendices A and B analyze two compositions written specifically for performance in Expo '92, one by Manuel Castil116 and the other by Pedro Braña. These contributions to Seville's classical music tradition are best understood as occasional pieces. And, of course, both show how these composers sought to represent Spain in this international venue and serve as examples of a self-conscious representation of Spanishness in a city looking to establish international status and pan-European ties. Both pieces include musical elements that represent the character of Seville and are easily identified with that region.

171 Manuel Castillo was a composer from Seville. His family has given a permission to include the piece he composed for Seville’s Expo ’92 in Appendix A.

172 Pedro Braña was the conductor of the Wind Band of Seville when he received this commission.
Chapter V. The Beginnings of the Symphony Orchestra of Seville in 1991, its Connections with Expo ’92, and its Recent Role in Seville

After analyzing how an orchestra came to be established in Seville, this chapter will discuss some possible reasons for reactions to this event. The second part of the chapter will analyze the interrelationships among institutions, such as the conservatories, the orchestra, the city hall, and the Andalusian Government, and enumerate the musical activities connected to the orchestra, and will emphasize this orchestra’s importance in Andalusian society. Some of the data about the inter-relationships of these institutions stem from an interview with the first general director of the Royal Orchestra of Seville, Francisco Senra.

The creation of a symphony orchestra in Seville was hailed by some as a big “step” in the cultural development of the city.\textsuperscript{173} In the Seville newspaper \textit{ABC}, the local composer Manuel Castillo describes the enthusiasm that the audience manifested at the opening concert of the orchestra. He also talks about the role of the arts, such as literature, architecture, or painting in the city of Seville. Castillo finds that, in contrast with the rest of the arts, music as an “immaterial art” needs the connection among composer, performer, and audience in order to live in an “authentic social dimension.”\textsuperscript{174} In this context, the new orchestra would play a truly important role in the musical life of Seville. Such generous support was not

\textsuperscript{173} The preface of the book for the twentieth anniversary of the orchestra starts off by emphasizing how important this orchestra has become for the city, and how its presence now seems to be eternal. See: Jose Luis Pavon, Juan Maria Rodriguez, and Ramon Maria Serrera, \textit{Twentieth Anniversary of the Theater Maestranza and the Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville: Celebrating a Dream} (Seville, 2011), 3.

\textsuperscript{174} Manuel Castillo, "Una Orquesta," 62.
unanimous among the media. Through the radio, television or the press, various attitudes and reactions were expressed, in part because relatively few people were really connoisseurs of classical music. A major complaint about the newly organized orchestra was the decision to begin “without making use of the pre-existing organizations.”175 Secondly, disapproval centered on the fact that the musicians were from sixteen different countries. Although classical music has become an international phenomenon, the presence of only twenty-six Spanish musicians, and merely eleven from Andalusia, among the ninety-seven members of the orchestra, raised criticism, especially before the opening concert.176 Once the orchestra was officially presented to the audience, however, this attitude receded. The program for that first performance helped generate a warm welcome because it placed the spotlight on the local composer Joaquín Turina, by performing his Procesión del Rocio and Sinfonía Sevillana.177 The second part of the program presented Mussorgsky’s Pictures at an Exhibition (in Ravel’s orchestration). With this piece the conductor intended to “let the audience observe the quality of the orchestra and who is who inside it.”178 The impact of high-quality music-making and the feeling of “owning” a symphony orchestra of international caliber made the critical environment turn friendly.179

Negative press about the new symphony orchestra in Seville stressed that

176 Guerra, 47.
177 The manuscript for this symphony, only recently located, was part of the concert program. See: Asunción Fernández del Castillejo, “La Sinfónica de Sevilla, con Vjekoslav Sutej al frente, cosechó ayer un rotundo éxito en su debut en el Lope de Vega,” ABC Seville Edition (11 January 1991): 57.
178 Ibid.
musicians already in the city were not used in the new group. In particular, members of the Betica Philharmonic Orchestra, who were represented by Seville’s labor unions, protested openly, using the press to express their fears that the older group would be eclipsed by the new symphony orchestra.\textsuperscript{180} Bernardo Bueno, the Councilor of Culture of Seville, however, declared the day before the new orchestra’s debut that “Seville needs a professional orchestra, and here it is.”\textsuperscript{181} In this way, he made it clear that the Symphony Orchestra of Seville would have the political support of the Andalusian government, and, by implication, that the Betica Philharmonic Orchestra was not good enough to be seen as a truly professional orchestra.

Despite negative press before the first concert in January 1991, the general public was curious about live performances of a repertory which they knew only through recordings. Due to rigorous auditioning and substantial economic investment in this orchestra, its quality exceeded that of any earlier group.

Richard Maddox has vividly pictured the character of Seville’s population and has provided a plausible explanation for their reaction to novelty. He shows that the society was changing from one composed of the “working-class consumers, the petit bourgeois shopkeepers, and a small circle of regional elite” to a “new generation of professionals, well educated functionaries and bureaucrats, and ambitious university graduates of the present.”\textsuperscript{182} The emerging, educated group of professionals were those more likely to embrace the new. And yet some still clung to a traditional reality.\textsuperscript{183} The openness of the educated group does not necessarily imply wholehearted acceptance, but it at least allows

\textsuperscript{180} Guerra, 47.
\textsuperscript{181} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{182} Maddox, 9.
\textsuperscript{183} Maddox, 91.
for the possibility of different ways of existence.\textsuperscript{184}

A symphony orchestra can introduce a population to these “different” ways of living and thinking, especially when the group is formed by members who come from various countries.\textsuperscript{185} It can introduce and propel changes even in Spain, “a country where a revolution is made not to make a change, but to reject a change.”\textsuperscript{186} In general, socio-cultural transformation has been difficult in Spain, and especially in the south. Even among professionals, creation of the orchestra in Seville created a suspicion that this might be a threat than rather an improvement.\textsuperscript{187} However, the south of Spain led the way in developing infrastructure (social, economic, cultural, and educational) in the post-Franco era,\textsuperscript{188} which included practical improvements in matters of communication and transportation in Seville, promoted by the Socialist party.\textsuperscript{189} Many new conservatories opened in Andalusia, and the position of different orchestras was reinforced in the cities of the region. Support from the Andalusian government has brought about a vibrant musical life and regular concert seasons for orchestras in Seville, Granda, Malaga and Cordoba.

The orchestra of Cordoba, for example, has since 1992 maintained a season with a dozen concerts from October to June, focusing on repertory of the Classic and Romantic

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{184} The creation of a new symphonic orchestra in Seville caused a smaller impact on the city than Expo ’92. However, Maddox has framed the relationships among national party leaders, local politicians and the residents of Seville during the late 1980s and early 1990s in a way that helps explain the impetus to start up a symphony. He stresses that cosmopolitan liberalism, which supports certain values for a society and leads to its development, were relatively new to Spain; thus, “not long ago many of (…) (Spain’s) citizens would have rejected crucial elements of this structure and the process of liberalization has been long, complex, and difficult.” (Maddox, 15).
\textsuperscript{185} Senra, Appendix C.
\textsuperscript{186} Jean Francois Chabrien, \textit{Goya} (Sofia: Bulgarian Painter, 1980), 8.
\textsuperscript{187} The interview with the first general director of the orchestra alludes to this suspicion. See Appendix C.
\textsuperscript{188} Maddox, 110.
\textsuperscript{189} Maddox, 111.
\end{footnotesize}
period. It also participates in other concerts like the Música de la Universidad and Educational concerts for schools. The orchestra of Granada, created in 1990, gives fifteen concerts per season, and, in addition, educational concerts, public rehearsals, the Joven Academia, and concerts involving dance, cinema or jazz. The orchestra of Malaga, created in 1991, also maintains a season of fifteen concerts, as well as the Jornadas de Música Contemporánea (a week of contemporary performances), Festival de Música Antigua, and concerts for schools (two different programs performed for several days). A more detailed examination of the Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville follows below.

The idea for forming a symphony orchestra in Seville emerged in 1982, and in 1989 led to a study of the technical, economic, artistic, and legal questions relating to this project. In record time the problems relevant to this initiative and its execution were studied and solved. The Andalusian Government and the City Council of Seville signed a protocol of intentions in early 1990, and the creation of the orchestra began in earnest on 1 March 1990, when the Government of Andalusia hired a general director for the orchestra.

For support the orchestra depended, and still depends, on the city government and the regional government. The Andalusian state has maintained an interest in the institutions related to music, like the music conservatories and orchestras. Nonetheless,

\footnote{Vayón, 185. An orchestral workshop that offers at least one concert per season and the young musicians play together with the professional musicians of the orchestra of Granada.}

\footnote{Vayón, 185.}

\footnote{Senra, Appendix C. The issues of preparation, like the purchase of instruments and a library of score, a place to rehearse, and a concert venue, were still unresolved. Purchasing instruments started by comparing prices of at least three different music shops in Spain and France. Eventually the order was divided among shops in Madrid, Valencia, and Donosti (San Sebastián). The chairs and the stands came from Madrid, and copy those of the National Auditorium of Spain, where the National Orchestra performed.}

\footnote{Senra, Appendix C.}
the relationship among institutions is not always as easy to maintain as it should be since it depends, in most cases, on political and economic factors. This issue surfaces in the connections between Expo '92 and the Symphony Orchestra of Seville. The State Society for Expo '92 was in charge of organizing the event and supervised the construction of the infrastructure (the pavilions and the theaters that presented the guest and local performances). However, none of the institutions that sponsored the exposition provided support for the Symphony Orchestra of Seville or its participation in the exposition. Once the varied classical music performances presented during the Expo '92 ceased, the big question was whether the city would continue its musical and cultural awakening. For when the exposition finished, Seville remained alone, “facing itself culturally.” The immediate consequence was that the Maestranza Theater closed due to the lack of a plan and supporters. In fact, the theater remained “unoccupied and static” until the Symphony Orchestra of Seville reopened it on 3 December 1992 as its permanent concert hall. The first conductor of the orchestra, Vjekoslav Sutej, described the situation as “comic,” and also expressed his deep sadness that Expo '92 organizers offered the orchestra only three opportunities to participate on the world stage. Then, in 1994 the Andalusian Government, and in 1996 the Ministry of Culture of Spain, revived the initial idea that the Maestranza should be an opera theater. Only in 2004 did

194 Sociedad Estatal para la Exposición Universal, Proyectos y Obras Expo 92 (Sevilla, 1992) and Sociedad Estatal para la Exposición Universal, Sevilla y el 92, no.14 (Sevilla, 1992).
195 Senra, Appendix C, p. 76.
196 Juan Maria Rodriguez, Book of the Twentieth Anniversary of the Maestranza Theater and the Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville, p. 21.
197 Ibid.
198 Twentieth Anniversary, 46-52.
199 Asunción Fernández de Castillejo, “La Orquesta Sinfónica ofrecerá sesenta y seis conciertos en la temporada 91-92,” ABC Seville (4 July 1991): 59. The article misspells the conductor’s first name (“Vejkoslav” instead of Vjekoslav), as does another article (“Vjekoslav”). Such errors can be understood as symptomatic of Seville’s insularity.
the theater establish a permanent opera season with some in-house productions that avoided the expensive rental of foreign productions.\textsuperscript{200}

Both the Maestranza Theater and the Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville have just celebrated their twentieth birthdays, and their impact on the city of Seville and its metropolitan area have been hailed as crucial for cultural life.\textsuperscript{201} During these two decades, the orchestra has participated in countless tours, festivals, and performances. It has served the entire Andalusian region and has performed in Spain’s most important halls (Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, San Sebastian, and Bilbao) and festivals (Granada, Santander, Úbeda, Cádiz) as well as abroad: Germany (Wiesbaden, Stuttgart, Berlin), Austria (Vienna), Italy (Rome), Portugal (Lisbon), Puerto Rico (Festival Casals). It undertook important tours to Japan (concerts in fourteen cities), China (Peking, Shanghai, Shenzhen), and Central Europe (twelve cities in Austria, Germany, and Switzerland).\textsuperscript{202}

The Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville has maintained a regular season, which is the most substantial in Andalusia and among the most important in Spain. Since its inception in 1991, it averages eighteen to nineteen programs per year,\textsuperscript{203} and fills out its activities with several operas, ballets, and zarzuelas.\textsuperscript{204} For its twentieth anniversary the Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville gave a highly acclaimed gala performance on 10

\textsuperscript{200} Rodríguez, 21.  
\textsuperscript{201} Season brochure 2010-2011, Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville.  
\textsuperscript{202} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{203} Vayón, 185. In the last ten years, the number of programs in each season dropped below nineteen due to the orchestra’s commitment to other genres in the Maestranza Theater. Vayón fails to mention the orchestra’s participation in non-symphonic performances and speculates that the decrease of concerts in the season was due to disagreements between orchestra and theater, which led to “long periods of time without activity.”  
\textsuperscript{204} Zarzuela is a Spanish lyric-dramatic genre that alternates between spoken and sung scenes, the latter incorporating operatic and popular song, as well as dance.
In addition, the orchestra organized a cycle of the nine Beethoven symphonies and opened the general rehearsals for students (this access has been maintained for six years). It has given concerts in the schools and as of 2010-11 has begun a new program called “Adopta un Músico.” In addition, at the beginning of the season 2011-2012, the orchestra offered 300 season tickets to young audiences (less than twenty-six years old); these were sold out in the first ten minutes after their public announcement. Young people in the city have developed interest in classical music, and they will be part of the future of the Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville and the Maestranza Theater.

In closing, we turn to a statement by the current President of Andalusia, Jose Antonio Griñán for the twentieth anniversary of the Maestranza Theater and the Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville as he summarizes the importance of both institutions for the city. He credits the orchestra and theater, which “gave a stimulus to our deep-rooted musical tradition, they enriched our heritage, and demonstrated the universality of Andalusian culture.” Griñán points out the accomplishments of both orchestra and theater in the two decades of their existence, and emphasizes society’s obligation to support its “commitment to invigorating the rich Andalusian culture.” These words exemplify the position of a leader who supports dynamic change and believes in the creation of new traditions that affirm the vibrancy and plasticity of Andalasia part of a more globalized world. In the same anniversary

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205 A video recording that was edited by a member of the orchestra, especially for the occasion of the 20th anniversary, can be seen in the group on Facebook, created for friends and musicians of the orchestra.

206 In the program Adopta un Músico a school “adopts” a professional musician who then teaches music lessons to the students there.

207 Twentieth Anniversary, 176.

208 Ibid.
book, the Minister of Culture, Ángeles González-Sinde, describes the orchestra and
the theater as “international references” that fulfill the needs of a “big city.” In
Seville, dynamic, government-sponsored change since the early 1990s has led to a
remarkable increase in activities related to classical music.209

209 Ibid.
Conclusion

An important goal of this inquiry has been to show how a city can turn to a classical music organization and its repertory to broaden a society’s world view. Over the centuries non-European forces have exerted their influence on Seville, but, as shown here, the city also has deep and longstanding connections to European classical music; by reawakening these, it has added a new and valuable dimension to local and regional traditions.

The significant changes in the musical scene in Seville over the past twenty years demonstrate what a city can achieve when visionary leaders coordinate their efforts to alter the cultural horizons of a population and support events and institutions that focus on international rather than local or regional cultural products. These leaders, by their actions, have aligned Seville with other major European capitals. In addition to the contribution of its regular season of symphonic music, the Royal Orchestra of Seville has played a role in developing the minds and tastes of the next generation of Sevillians and in educating the city’s youth.

This study has examined a society’s reactions to cultural development in Seville from internal and external sources. An historical survey of Spanish and Andalusian music provided a background for this analysis. Comparisons with the impact of international fairs on other European capitals, as for instance the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1889, helped frame how Seville's population, based on its own collective experience, responded to a similar occasion that introduced numerous presentations of classical music by world-class performers, Expo ’92.
Several events that led the way in the cultural awakening of Seville have served as the main focus here: the hosting of Expo '92, the building of its principal opera and concert hall, and the creation of the Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville, a professional orchestra of international caliber and membership. Expo '92 had a noticeable impact on Seville both socially and culturally. On short notice, the population had to change from living in a relatively small city to becoming residents of a center that not only acknowledged pan-European standards and customs but supported them and maintained them after the world’s fair itself. Seville received its visitors in 1992 with hospitality but confronted the lasting changes that appeared then with a mixture of resistance and adaptation. Resistance stemmed from comfort with past traditions and habits and was strongly practiced by certain inhabitants. Adaptation to innovation, however, has effected a slow but regular transformation of Seville’s predominantly popular character since the early 1990s.

This study has put to rest two misconceptions, the first attributing the creation of the Symphony Orchestra of Seville to preparations for Expo '92 (when in fact they were quite separate from one another) and the second assuming that the Maestranza Theater was always intended to be an opera house (when it was truly planned as a multi-purpose hall). Unlike Expo '92, which lasted for only six months, the Maestranza Theater and the Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville have had two decades work their impact on the population. They have endured despite the vagaries of financial and social obstacles. At the present, however, the reality for all concert halls and orchestras through Europe is similar—the future for classical music depends on developing the public through continuing education.
Today it is clear that Seville has added classical music in live performances to its roster of accepted traditions. This has been possible thanks to the vision of its leaders and others committed to the cultural and social values that classical music can bring to a society. A transformative goal is documented, for example, in the interview with Francisco Senra and José Manuel Delgado transcribed in Appendix C. Of course, that transformation could have proceeded more quickly, if, as in other parts of Europe, classical music culture had had fewer opposing forces, not the least of which is the still powerful appeal and commercial strength of popular music and the increasing resistance of taxpayers to support expensive “elitist” institutions like opera houses and symphony orchestras.

In the last twenty years I have seen how classical music has become an important part of Seville’s cultural life and its educational system, especially in recently established private music academies (where I have taught students myself). More and more young people have become involved in making classical music. As a member of the Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville, I have participated in the Symphony’s outreach projects and seen the increasing presence of children, adolescents and young adults at its concerts in the Maestranza Theater. These facts speak to the wisdom of the city’s investment in classical music and the Royal Symphony Orchestra. But these are the anecdotal observations of an individual, and future scholarly research could quantify and qualify specifically how classical music and its institutions affect the city’s population. A broader survey of the role of classical music and institutions associated with it might also undertake an analysis of their social and economic impact: the social bonds created by concert attendance
or between teacher and student in individual music lessons or the economic impact of employment provided by music schools or in music shops. Since analyzing modes of resistance to innovation and adaptation to progress offers a particularly useful framework to approach music and musical institutions as manifestations of general culture, future socio-cultural research could also compare Seville’s musical and cultural transformation in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century to that of another European city with a similar population, but different historical, educational, and social background. The decision to pursue these future avenues of research implies a belief that classical music has a valuable, even indispensable, function in a developed society. Some might wish to debate that stance, but the author pledged her own allegiance to classical music many years ago.
Appendix A. Manuel Castillo, Official Music for Expo ’92 (Música Oficial para la Exposición Universal Sevilla 92)\textsuperscript{210} wrigh

Manuel Castillo (1930-2005), the most important Andalusian composer in the second half of the twentieth century, studied composition and piano in Seville, Madrid, and Paris. His style blended musical regionalism and the most experimental forms of the European avant-garde. He composed this piece in 1989 for Expo ’92 in Seville, and it was performed by the Orquesta Bética Filarmónica that same year. The score comes from the archives of the Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville. Although in 1992 they rehearsed the work, the symphony did not perform it during or after Expo ’92.

General structure of the piece:

This one-movement piece of 63 measures is orchestrated for a large symphonic orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 4 horns, 3 trumpets, 3 trombones, tuba, timpani and drum, violins, violas, celli, basses.

The main structure is divided in four parts: 1. a short wind section (fanfare) mm. 1-8; 2. an E-flat major section, mm. 9-24; 3. a contrasting section in B-flat major, mm. 25-47; 4. a return to the first section, mm. 48-63.

Specific Features:

The fanfare specifies the tempo \textit{Maestoso. Enérgico}. The meter is $\frac{3}{4}$, and the key signature has two flats. E-flat is the principal tonality, but the dominant B flat Major is quite present in the principal theme. The trumpets in the fanfare suggest

\textsuperscript{210} Inclusion of the score has been made possible thanks to the Castillo family’s generous permission.
the main theme of the first section, which ends with a B flat chord. The principal theme sounds B-flat harmony insistently. Once the principal theme reaches the string and woodwind sections, it is presented in legato, contrasting the trumpet’s performance.

As it begins, the second section refers briefly to the fanfare, using brass and woodwinds only. In bar 28, with an upbeat, strings and woodwinds enter with a second theme, again in legato. The texture features dialogues between brass and the rest of the orchestra. From bar 44 to the end of the contrasting section, strings and woodwinds play in an almost unison texture that had not appeared before and in staccato.
Música Oficial para la Exposición Universal Sevilla 92

Orquesta

Manuel Castilla
Appendix B. Pedro Braña, Overture for Expo ’92.

Pedro Braña (1902-1995), the chief conductor of the wind band of Seville from 1945 to 1972, studied in Gijón, Madrid, and Turín. He composed numerous pieces of religious music for processions performed by the city’s band during the Holy Week in Seville. The Obertura para la Expo 92, composed specifically for the exposition, was one of his last pieces and was performed by the Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville on 28 February 1992. The scores were obtained from the archives of the orchestra.

Translation (by Anna Emilova) of program notes by the composer:

*Overture for Expo’92 of Seville*212

*It was suggested that I publish explanatory notes about my “Overture for the Expo’92 of Seville.” This idea seemed very pertinent to me, and for that reason, I am allowing myself to offer a small analytical outline in order to clarify several important points [about the piece].

*I will pass over the one and only reason motivating the creation of the present work—that is to pay tribute to Seville at the opening of its Expo’92—and will point out some information related to the structure of the piece, especially to clear up any*


212 Inclusion of the score has been made possible thanks to the Braña family’s generous permission. The scanned copy provided to the author was crooked.
“misunderstanding” that could emerge with respect to the liberties that I took in this work.

Broadly speaking, the overall structure of the work is as follows: the piece starts with a bar and a half from the piece “Sevilla” of Isaac Albeniz in 4\4 meter. This inclusion does not relate to the piece thematically; for me, it works, however, as an allegorical reference and justifies a sense that the piece is connected to the “City of the Giralda.”

Then, after this brief introduction, the overture begins after the upbeat of the fifth bar. Through its entire length, the overture maintains classical and traditional binary form.

The aesthetic character of the piece? I confess that it, never(!) exceeds the boundaries of the romantic genre and that it maintains, in every way, strict respect for established canons; it tries not to corrupt in its harmonic and contrapuntal presence, my decision to maintain, no matter what, the characteristic directing that I have been adhering to through my entire professional life. For this reason, we can affirm that the harmonic function through the entire piece seems transparent and clear, like the “brilliant Sun of Seville.”

For the rest, it is necessary to emphasize that the ending of this work reaches its climax with a “Sevillanas” dance, but the authentic ones, not the fakes. This detail does not relate to the basic piece, however; because of its vivid contrast with the rest of the overture, I think it is an appropriate element to say nostalgically: “Goodbye to the great Exposition of Seville!”
Before ending the present note, I want to take this happy opportunity to greet cordially all the sons of my beloved land of adoption, and to express to them, once more, the total affection and fondness that I still have for them.
OBERTURA
PARA LA EXPO 92
DE SEVILLA
PEDRO BRAÑA
OBERTURA PARA LA EXPO'92 DE SEVILLA
(Nota del autor)

Alguien me ha sugerido la idea de publicar unos datos explicativos, sobre mi "Obertura para la Expo'92 de Sevilla", y, como dicha consideración me parece muy acertada, me permito formular un pequeño esbozo analítico, para aclarar algunos puntos importantes.

Dejando a un lado la razón única y exclusiva que ha motivado la creación de esta obra, que ha sido la de rendir un modesto homenaje a Sevilla en la apertura de su Expo'92, quiero señalar algo relacionado con la estructura de la obra; sobre todo, para disipar cualquier "mal entendido" que pudiera surgir, en torno a las licencias que me ha tomado en este trabajo.

Así pues, la figura esquemática de la Obertura, a grandes rasgos, es la siguiente: Con un compás y medio en ritmo de 4/4 - "Sevilla de Alcázara" del comienzo de esta página; y, aunque la citada inclusión no tenga nada en común con el sentido temático de la obra, sin embargo, se sirve como dato alegórico y justificativo, de que algo se presiente relacionado con la "Ciudad de la Giralda".

Pues bien; tras esta breve introducción, con la sorpresa del compás cinco del principio, arranca la obertura propiamente dicha; que mantendrá, durante toda su andadura, la forma musical clásica, tradicional bitonística, hasta su terminación.

¿Caracter estético de la obra? Confieso que ¡jamás! traspasa los cauces del género romántico, y que mantiene, en todo caso, un estricto acatamiento a los cánones establecidos; procurando (eso sí!) que el procedimiento armónico-contrapuntístico, no tarde en sobornar, mi decisión "atávica" de mantener - a toda costa- la línea característica que ha sustentado durante toda mi vida profesional. Por eso, podemos afirmar que, la función armónica, a lo largo de toda la obra, se muestra transparente y clara, como el propio "Sol radiante de Sevilla".

Por lo demás, es menester subrayar que, el final de esta página culminará con el "desgarro" de una "salida por sevillanas" pero de esa auténticas, infalibles. Este detalle, tampoco guarda relación alguna con los temas básicos de la obra; pero, por su verso contraste con el resto de la obertura, se me antoja elemento adecuado para decirlle un nostálgico: ¡Adiós a la magna Exposición de Sevilla! Antes de poner fin a esta nota, quiero aprovechar esta feliz ocasión para saludar cordialmente, a todos los hijos de mi amada tierra de adopción, y expresarles, una vez más, todo el afecto y cariño que les sigo teniendo.

Pedro Braña
Appendix C. Summary Transcription of Joint Interview with Francisco Senra and Jose Manuel Delgado.

1. When was the idea for creating a symphony orchestra for Seville first presented?

The idea for a symphony orchestra in Andalusia took shape in 1982. Later the decision was made to create two orchestras, one in Seville, and another in Malaga. In 1989 a study was done on the technical, economic, artistic, and legal questions necessary for the formation of a new orchestra in Seville. In 1990 a protocol of intentions was signed by the Andalusian Government and the City Councils of Malaga and Seville, which made a commitment to present both orchestras in (January) 1991.

2. Who participated in the project?

The Andalusian Government and the City Council of Seville participated in the project. Among the essential figures gathered then were: José Rodríguez de la Borbolla (President of the Andalusian Government), Javier Torres Vela (Minister of Culture of the Andalusian Government), and Pedro Navarro Imberlón, the General Director of Cultural Promotion for theater, music, and cinema.

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213 Francisco Senra was the first general director of the Symphony Orchestra of Seville, and Jose Manuel Delgado, his assistant. This interview took place on 26 June 2010 and the contents were approved by Senra and Delgado on 8 January 2011. Translation by Anna Emilova.

214 This is a legal document that expresses the intention to do something without a binding commitment.
3. **What were the precedents in Seville, both for similar groups and for a tradition in the city?**

The Orchestra *Bética Filarmónica* had existed in Seville since 1923. Although the tradition for a season of symphonic programs existed in Seville and in Malaga, it had always been short and the dates of its performances varied.

At first the orchestra founded by Manuel de Falla was a chamber group. Its existence was rather sporadic, and in the 1960s it was very weak in quality. It was in the 1970s, when a philharmonic orchestra created in Seville in 1964 took the name *Bética* and began using the original name, *Orquesta Bética Filarmónica*.

4. **What steps were taken once the project of the creation of an orchestra was approved?**

The process of creating the orchestra started on 1 March 1990. Francisco Senra was hired as a general manager and was assisted by Jose Manuel Delgado as technical director, plus a staff of two. At the end of April Jose Manuel Delgado contacted the orchestra conductor Vjekoslav Sutej, who was then the principal conductor of the *Teatro la Fenice* of Venice.  

The Andalusian Government had suggested the names of two other Spaniards to be invited to participate in the project as principal conductors; however, they refused. In May/June, therefore, a detailed plan was presented to Sutej, who accepted it and signed on as principal conductor. Sutej, Delgado and Senra determined a plan of action. Nothing would be left to chance. They decided how many string musicians should be hired (60) and the number of wind players (3

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215 Jose Manuel Delgado was the general manager of the *Bética Filarmónica* Orchestra in Seville, where Vjekoslav Sutej had conducted the orchestra several times.
or 4 for each wind instrument), etc. They also set up requirements: the pieces, piano accompaniment and the place for the auditions, which were scheduled for August 1990. Hiring foreign musicians was allowed. The German magazine Das Orchester posted a notification for the auditions, and applications from Spain and abroad were received. When the auditions finished, it was clear that the task of finding enough qualified musicians for the orchestra was not yet accomplished. The organizers wanted to hire at least 25% Spanish musicians for the orchestra. After the auditions, however, only 55% of the chairs were filled and, of these, Spanish musicians represented less than the 25%.

Although the first presentation of the orchestra was set for January 1991, the membership was not yet complete. The next step was to announce auditions abroad during the month of October. Because of the emergency situation, Sutej, the conductor was given carte blanche. Through an English company, auditions were organized in London. In addition, contact was established with a Russian group from Moscow. The board also traveled to Sofia, Bulgaria, where a small nucleus of musicians was located, and finally to Carnegie Hall in New York for further auditioning.

216 Das Orchester is a German magazine that contains “the largest number of job offers for orchestral musicians throughout the world.” http://www.dasorchester.de/en_UK/index.html.
217 There was also the curious case of fifteen applications (fourteen violinists and one pianist) received by fax from members of the Bolshoi Theater Orchestra of Moscow. They were on a tour in Spain, and after a concert in the Monumental Theater in Madrid as a group called “The Soloists of the Bolshoi,” they learned about the creation of a new orchestra in Seville. Senra also shared that several musicians from a Romanian orchestra performing in Andalusia during the Seville auditions came and auditioned between the two performances of their orchestra. Some of them got the job and returned to Romania in order to prepare for moving to Spain. When they came to Spain at the end of 1990, the Romanian group landed at the Seville airport in a military plane.
auditions. Some Spanish musicians were also brought in by Delgado from Valencia in September. Sutej recruited the concertmaster Alan Traverse, from the Houston Opera; he stayed in Seville for four years.

Other issues related to preparations, like instruments, rehearsal space, concert venue, and score library were still unresolved. The purchase of instruments was a process that started with price comparison among at least three different music shops in Spain and France. Since prices varied, the order was divided among shops in Madrid, Valencia, and Donosti (San Sebastián). The chairs and the stands were ordered in Madrid and copy those used by the National Orchestra in the National Auditorium of Spain. The tailor commissioned to make concert attire for the whole orchestra was not able to cover the entire order and had to distribute the job to several villages next to Seville.218

The rehearsal place was found by chance, after the organizers had looked over many possibilities. It was an old cinema, unused at that time, that needed several forms of renovation, like installation of air conditioning, adaptations for orchestra rehearsal and construction of an instrument storage room. Two buildings were joined together and several small locales were renovated as dressing rooms and small rehearsal rooms. Construction and remodeling over the next three months resulted in a theater with a capacity during the first season of 600 seats on the ground level, and in the balcony, which was constructed later, 207 more seats.

218 The day of the opening concert, the concert attire arrived two hours before starting time, and some outfits did not fit perfectly; finally, all was solved and the show went on. This story still circulates among the musicians as one of many anecdotes.
Although the existing theater in Seville, the Lope de Vega, did not allow the orchestra to use its facilities because there was not enough space to host it permanently, the opening concert took place there on 10 January 1991. Despite such challenges, Sutej decided on the program, conducted nine concerts during the season, and suggested soloists and guest conductors. He had solid criteria for his decisions, and formed a good team that acted with flexibility.

Despite the short period that the organization had available, the orchestra was formed in record time. Due to prior analysis and the work of the “creators”, everything was ready on time.

5. **What criteria were used in the whole process of selection of the members (musicians, conductor, office staff)?**

   Quality was the principal criterion. Since the conductor had the final say, his input was paramount. On the other hand, people who looked for a job in the orchestra did it for various reasons: curiosity, a first job opportunity, or an escape from societal difficulties.

6. **How did the city of Seville respond to the idea of the creation of an orchestra?**

   There was a problem with the musicians of the Bética Filarmónica Orchestra, which had existed since 1923, drawing its musicians from the Conservatory of Seville. Once it was known that foreign musicians would be part of the new orchestra, the musicians of Seville openly showed their disapproval of the situation. The labor union demanded involvement and Sutej had to accept that the audition board would have some Spanish musicians as members. One board judged
string auditions and one, woodwinds and brass. Sutej served as president and
Delgado as secretary (who could express his views but did not have a vote). The
board also included a Spanish musician, one for strings and another one for winds,
and an English musician for each instrument. The auditions were videotaped as
proof to protect the leading figures of the organizations of the orchestra, in case of
misunderstanding or contest by the labor union. Despite the pressures of the labor
union in Seville, the boards operated with total objectivity.

7. **What were the cultural interests in Spain and in Seville?**

The situation in Spain was at its peak in issues related to orchestras and
concert halls. It was the “Glorious Period” when the government built or renovated
congrt halls in the Basque country, Asturias, Valencia and Tenerife.

The *Bética Filharmónica* Orchestra had only around 100 regular subscribers.
For most people, the musical culture of Spain was a “recording culture,” which
means that people were musically educated because they listened to musical
recordings, but hardly ever because attended a classical concert. Suddenly, the
public in general became highly expert in music.

The social attitude of the people of Seville did not allow them to support
foreign musicians, and nobody wanted to demonstrate support openly, except on
the purely human level. On the other hand, the people who worked ceaselessly in
the office of the orchestra, contributed to the effort to make the project to become a
reality.
8. Because of the closeness in dates between establishment of the orchestra and Expo’92, please explain what connection existed between the two events.

The Orchestra of Seville and Expo’92 had no official institutional connection. They were completely separate, although the orchestra participated in the opening concert at the Maestranza Theater in October 1991, and was preparing and presenting concerts during Expo’92. (The orchestra also participated in performances before the opening of the Expo on 20 April 1992.) Once the Expo opened, the orchestra of Seville had five performances: La Favorita (three performances), a concert of Spanish music, and the closing concert of the Expo. Classical music at Expo ’92 was focused mostly on operas and large works.

9. What is the connection of the Orchestra of Seville to the buildings for concerts that were built for the Expo’92?

Plans for building an opera theater at the Expo’92 site did exist, but they were never implemented because they were too ambitious. The project was merged with the building of the Maestranza Theater, which had only its foundation constructed. The Maestranza Theater and the Orchestra of Seville were first presented the same year (1991), but they were not related institutions and had nothing else in common. The Maestranza Theater was first designed as a “palace for the culture” and an auditorium to hold congresses, ballet performances, small exhibitions and symphonic concerts, without any intention of hosting opera
performances. Its design explains why for many years opera productions had inadequacies when presented there.219

10. **Once the orchestra was formed, how did the public accept it?**

After the first concert, negative criticism of the entire organization suddenly turned extremely positive. Seville’s audience also had to become used to arriving punctually at the concerts. A process of reeducation was necessary for them. In general, from the moment of the official decision to create an orchestra, through all the procedures that followed, and until the first concert, the criticism was terrible. After the first concert however, the Symphony Orchestra of Seville suddenly became the “best orchestra of Europe!”

11. **What impact did the orchestra have in Seville on people and on institutions?**

Different entities emerged after the Orchestra of Seville was created. The first was the so-called Friends of the Orchestra of Seville. American orchestras have this kind of association that subsidizes them. What the association did for the orchestra in Seville was mostly human support: picking up musicians from the airport, showing them the city, hosting social activities, and so on. It was an external entity.

The conductor and musical director Sutej created the chamber music cycle, much appreciated by the musicians and the audience. Later, the cycle passed into the hands of the “Friends of the Orchestra,” an association that developed the idea and maintained it.

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219 Between 2005 and 2007/8 the Seville’s city government and Andalusian regional government sponsored a general renovation of the theater in order to improve opera productions. A new backstage mechanism was installed in order to support bigger and more complex opera scenery.
In 1996 a study done in the Young Andalusian Symphony Orchestra, showed that 80% of the young wind musicians and 100% of the string players who participated in that orchestra were taking private lessons with musicians of the orchestra of Seville. Only six years after the orchestra was established the level of playing rose spectacularly.

12. **What was the most important achievement of the Orchestra of Seville?**

Besides all the achievements mentioned up to now, another should be mentioned: the 200th anniversary of Mozart’s death, in 1991, the Orchestra of Seville offered a performance of Mozart’s Requiem in the Seville Cathedral. The line went around the building, and possibly 10,000 persons attended the concert.

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220 Seville’s fifteenth century cathedral is the biggest Gothic cathedral in the world.
Appendix D. Illustrations

Universal Exposition Seville, 1992. Pabellón de los Descubrimientos (Pavilion of Discoveries) *(photographer unknown, private collection).*
Round-shaped Maestranza Theater in Seville next to the Torre del Oro (Gold Tower) 

(photographer: Anna Emilova).
Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville, season 2010-2011, Maestranza Theater (photographer Guillermo Mendo, from the archives of the Royal Symphony Orchestra of Seville, used with permission).

Text: Joaquín and Serafín Álvarez Quintero.
English translation: Anna Emilova

¡Salud, americanos,
del mundo juventud!
¡Salud, pueblos hermanos!
¡Salud, Salud!

¡Acudid, hijos de españoles,
a fundirnos en un crisol!
¡De mil cielos y de mil soles
hay que hacer un cielo y un sol!
¡Évocemos los magnos hechos
de la vieja Madre inmortal,
y sintamos en nuestros pechos
el abrazo de Portugal!

Hoy se truecan las carabelas
En monstruos gigantes
que asustan al sol,
y los ecos de sus estelas
son cantos vibrantes
del mundo español.

Damas que cruzáis el mar,
Para venir a realzar
A esta Sevilla de plata:
el pueblo os ha de entonar
su mas precioso cantar
y su mejor serenata.

La Giralda ha de encender
las estrellas una a una,
porque no dejéis de ver
la que alumbró vuestra cuna.

¡Salud, americanos,
del mundo juventud!
¡Salud, pueblos hermanos!
¡Salud, Salud!

¡Salud, americanos,
Youth of the world!
¡Salud, pueblos hermanos!
Greetings, brother nations!
¡Salud, Salud!
Greetings, greetings!

Come, children of Spaniards,
To this melting pot!
From a thousand skies and a thousand
suns
We must make one sky and one sun!
Let us invoke the great facts
Of the eternal Mother,
And let us feel in our heart
Portugal’s embrace!

Today the ships turn
Into giant monsters
That frighten the sun,
And the echoes of their wakes
Are the vibrant songs
Of the Spanish world.

You Ladies, who cross the sea,
And come to enhance
This silver Seville:
The people will intone for you
Their most precious song
And their best serenade.

The Giralda Tower will light
The stars one by one
For you to see the one
That illuminated your birthplace.

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221 The tower of the Cathedral of Seville, which is still the highest building of the city.
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