

**Performing a Political Shift:  
Avant-Garde Music in Cold War Spain**

**- Dphil Thesis -**

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## Abstract

In my thesis, *Performing a Political Shift: Avant-Garde Music in Cold War Spain*, I argue that towards the end of the 1950s the Spanish ultra-conservative regime of Francisco Franco started to promote avant-garde music. This music contrasted with the aesthetically conservative one that had been promoted since the end of the Civil War (1936-1939). I examine the causes of this shift and reveal for the first time that they are connected to specific trends in Spanish politics and policies.

In terms of national politics, the second phase of the Spanish dictatorship, from the late 1950s until Franco's death in 1975, was dominated by young ministers who wanted to distance themselves from previous cabinets, mostly controlled by ultra-nationalist fascist politicians. These younger politicians styled themselves as part of a 'technocratic' regime. Thanks to its supposed 'objectivity' and 'purely musical' ideology-free concerns, avant-garde music sat well with these technocrats' views of modern Spain, that is, a country benefitting from 'objective', ideology-free progress. On an international level, the defeat in the 1940s of Mussolini and Hitler, Franco's main allies, had resulted in isolation for Spain. In order to break this isolation, the Spanish regime started to make a sustained effort at the end of the 1950s to establish diplomatic relations with other Western countries. These relations resulted in cultural, economic and military agreements with European democracies and the US.

I also consider why recent Spanish musicology has failed to confront the political implications of the promotion of avant-garde music under Franco. I connect this void with the Spanish transition to democracy (1975-1978), which recent historians have called an exercise in amnesia, a discourse of forgiveness

meant to promote reconciliation between Spaniards. As a result of this transition, the political implications of the activities of the composers and musicologists during the Franco years have been ignored or forgotten.

The results of my thesis challenge the widely accepted view of the European avant-garde as a left-leaning movement. The main contribution of my thesis is precisely its substantial consideration of the cultural and political meanings of the avant garde and its context, using Franco's Spain as a case in point.

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Among my friends and relatives, academics or otherwise, there is a list of people whose encouragement has made this thesis possible. In Oxford my cousin Santiago Schnell, his wife Mariana and their children provided me with family warmth. Among my Spanish friends, Xiana Barros has always provided me with an example of discipline; when I was a first-year undergraduate, Xabier Cid opened my eyes to everything that still matters to me; Alfredo López-Vivié has been a kind, generous, supportive and stimulating friend. Musicologists David Bretherton, Anni Oskala, Bettina Varwig and Alberto Bosco have been my breakfast partners at Blackwell's. With the four of them I have shared all my

joy and sorrow (and a good deal of gossip). There must be a very special mention to María Liñeira with whom I have had numberless conversations about Spanish history, that is, about ourselves. Much more than that, María's selfless friendship has been a permanent source of emotional support and advice that I will never be able to repay.

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In order to write this thesis, I have interviewed composers Luis de Pablo, Juan Hidalgo and Jesús Villa-Rojo. All of them have been very generous and shared with me their points of view. I have also been helped by librarians and archivists who have made my research easier at the Archivo General de la Administración, Biblioteca Nacional, Ateneo de Madrid, Centro de Documentación Musical del INAEM, Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas at Austin (where I counted on the help of Caitlin Murray), Orquesta Nacional de España, Orquesta Sinfónica de Radio Televisión Española (where Matilde Fernández and Sonsoles Barderas proved essential), Archivo de Radio Nacional de España, the International Society for Contemporary Music, the Bodleian and the Oxford Music Faculty Library. The help from people who have fixed the often convoluted prose of this thesis (either in its current form or when it was presented at conferences) has also been crucial. They are Mark Detre, Chris Higgins and Kaitlin Walsh. Emily Eisen was particularly involved in the final corrections of the manuscript. I am very grateful to her. On the

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Last, but certainly not least, this thesis is dedicated to Flora Sacau, *mi madre*, the most extraordinary person I have ever come across.

## Introduction

### 'No Style, All Idea'<sup>1</sup>

'I went abroad on a State Department trip, conducting in Scotland, Yugoslavia and Portugal. I even managed to sandwich in three days in Madrid where I uncovered an active dodecaphonic school!'

Letter from Aaron Copland to Carlos Chávez (1961)

The exclamation mark that closes Copland's remark betrays the American composer's surprise at having found a group of avant-garde composers working in Madrid. In the 1950s Spain was known for its stale conservatism and isolation, the results of twenty years of Francisco Franco's dictatorship – hence Copland's surprise when he visited Spain in 1961, as witnessed by his letter to Carlos Chávez. In 1961, however, Spain was breaking through its previous isolation and, therefore, the expectations that caused Copland's surprise were the result of misconceptions regarding politics and culture during Franco's dictatorship, often seen from the outside as monolithic and unchanging. In other words, Copland expected to see and listen to the image of Spain Franco promoted both internally and abroad in the 1940s and the 1950s. Franco held power between 1939 and 1975, however, and over the span of nearly four decades his regime changed in multiple ways. These changes affected the promotion of the arts, specifically music. I devote a substantial part of this introduction to examining Franco's dictatorship in all its complexity. I focus in particular on how the Cold War affected Spanish politics, a crucial topic often overlooked by Spanish historians who have tended to understand this period

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<sup>1</sup> 'No Style, All Idea' is the title of an essay on avant-garde music written by Duncan Strachan, one of my students at St Catherine's College. I will return to it later in this chapter.

without its international context. Thus, I provide the framework for a discussion of the promotion of avant-garde music under Franco and its propagandistic undertones, the topic of this thesis. Of course, the terms 'avant garde' and 'propaganda' merit careful consideration, and I turn to them after I discuss the political context of my period of study.

On 1 April 1939 General Francisco Franco announced: 'Today the Red Army has been captured and disarmed. The national troops have achieved their final objectives. The war has ended'. Shortly after, Franco announced that Spain would be reconstructed through the imposition of a totalitarian state, based on 'natural' institutions such as family and Church. Franco's dictatorship was ultra-conservative and Catholic, yet somewhat eclectic. He always adopted a pragmatic position, sharing the power amongst a number of right-wing groups, which proved a key factor in his long-standing rule, often divided by historians in two broad phases, autarchic and technocratic.

The 'autarchic' phase of the Spanish dictatorship coincided with the years immediately following the war, when the rightist coalition that had won—conservatives, fascists and royalists—had to face significant socio-political problems. During the 1940s the financial situation of the country was dire. Political opponents of Franco were summarily executed. The II World War also posed a dilemma. Franco flirted with the idea of joining Hitler's army, but Spain's exhausted troops could hardly face another war after three years of fighting. From 1942 onwards Franco realised that the Axis might lose the war and began approaching the Allies, if timidly, hoping to avoid an invasion. Franco's ploy could not fool the allies, who saw Spain as a squarely Fascist

country. After the two main European fascist regimes—the Italian and the German—were defeated in the Second World War, the Allies imposed an international blockade on Spain that closed the French border and expelled Spanish representatives from most international organizations. Yet, as explained by historian Boris Liedtke, the relationship between Spain and the Allies became very complex.

Spain had supplied Germany with wolfram and mercury... Spanish soldiers had fought under German command in Russia. However, [the Allies] were grateful to Franco for having remained neutral during a vital period of the Allied offensive: the landing in Northern Africa... Spain's past was controversial and it provided diplomats and politicians with enough material to justify either isolation from or integration into the Western defence structure.<sup>2</sup>

On the one hand, Franco's support for Hitler and Mussolini at the onset of the war was obvious. On the other, towards the end of the conflict Franco hedged his bets, thus winning the respect of some international leaders.

Indeed, Franco benefited from the Allies' division over which sanctions to apply to Spain. They considered an invasion, but in the end they adopted less severe measures. At Postdam, Stalin proposed a diplomatic and economic blockade to force the fall of Franco. The British delegation, however, claimed that such strong sanctions would reinforce Franco's position. His dictatorship, the British also said, did not constitute a threat to international security. In

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<sup>2</sup> Boris Liedtke, "Spain and the United States", *Spain and the Great Powers in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Sebastian Balfour and Paul Preston (London: Routledge, 1999), 230.

general, Britain was Franco's least staunch opponent. At Postdam Churchill realised that a rift would soon divide the Allies, since the relationship between the USSR and the West was already strained. Anti-communist countries such as Spain, Churchill thought, should not be dismissed but approached.

Franco's authorities also sensed the impending split between the USSR and the rest of the allies, and portrayed their regime as fundamentally anti-communist in order to win the support of the West. As Franco's confidante, and president of one of his governments, Carrero Blanco put it:

It must be recognised that in Postdam we had been defended energetically by Truman and Churchill... They defended us for their own *interests*... when the last shot was fired in the Pacific, a diplomatic war broke out between the Anglo-Saxons and Russia... Out of this basic *cold interest*, the Anglo-Saxons will not only not support, but will oppose everything they can which might lead to a situation of Soviet hegemony on the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>3</sup>

Some measures against Franco's government were taken, however. On 12 December 1945 France and the USSR put forward the UN Security Council resolution that would condemn Franco's regime. The UK tried to persuade the USA that an embargo would favour Franco, whose control of the nationalist military would allow his regime to survive. But the Americans did not want to be seen as protectors of the last fascist regime in Europe and agreed to back the

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<sup>3</sup> Florentino Portero, "Spain, Britain and the Cold War", *Spain and the Great Powers in the Twentieth Century*, 216.

resolution. Only two years later, in March 1947, President Truman declared the start of the Cold War; America's attitude towards the Spanish regime changed.

The USA's Chargé d'Affaires in Madrid expressed doubt as to whether the Spanish people 'had the capacity to coexist under a democracy'. He continued:

When I contemplate democracy as practised in those European countries that have 'regained their liberty' and the spectacle presented by democracy in Italy and France, I feel a sickening doubt about the whole thing as regards to Spain and come to the conclusion that a strong hand—police or army or what have you—is probably *the* only thing for these wild and extravagant people.<sup>4</sup>

At the time no political leader in the West could see an alternative to Franco. The royalists were divided and so were the members of the Republican government in exile. Franco offered stability, something London and Washington did not want to risk especially as Communism gained ground in other Western European countries such as France and Italy. If the development of the Cold War had undermined the proposed isolation of the Franco regime, new events in the world ended that idea once and for all. This shift in American rhetoric and policy perfectly echoed one of Franco's own justifications of his regime; that is, Spaniards cannot peacefully sustain democracy.

This change of attitude on the part of the USA happened gradually and America's highest authorities did not openly recognise that they were *de facto*

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<sup>4</sup> Quoted in Portero, "Spain, Britain and the Cold War", 221.

endorsing Franco. Undoubtedly, however, Spain was identified as a potentially strategic ally, crucially positioned at the south-western tip of the European continent guarding the entrance to the Mediterranean, as well as the Pyrenees. In 1947 the US decided to furnish economic aid to Spain. Shortly afterwards the Policy Planning Staff decided that it was in the national interest to modify US policy towards Spain. With the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, the need to exploit Spain's military potential became even more pressing. For the first time since the end of the Spanish Civil War, the US Export and Import Bank earmarked specific funds for projects in Spain. The UN decided to withdraw its 1945 recommendation and promptly Britain and the United States appointed ambassadors to Madrid.<sup>5</sup>

As a result of this, more cooperation was brought about between the Allies and Spain. The USA wanted air force bases in Spain, as well as a naval base for the Sixth Fleet, operating in the Mediterranean and of enormous strategic importance. In Liedtke's words, 'Washington not only had to rise to its global responsibilities but had to abandon its previous idealistic approach to world affairs'.<sup>6</sup> The American compromise with the Franco dictatorship could be seen as 'the first in a series of Realpolitical decisions' that led the United States compromise its own democratic alliances to fight Communism. In President Kennedy's words during his inaugural speech, the United States was willing to 'pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty'.<sup>7</sup> What President Kennedy did not mention is that in order to assure the 'survival and the success

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<sup>5</sup> Discussed in Liedtke, "Spain and the United States", 230-8.

<sup>6</sup> Liedtke, "Spain and the United States", 238.

<sup>7</sup> Liedtke, "Spain and the United States", 230.

of liberty' at home the USA would compromise liberty elsewhere. Franco's regime was one beneficiary of the Cold War and its resulting policies.

This new international recognition served as a catalyst for changes in Spanish domestic politics which led to a change in phase by the mid 1950s from autarchy to what historians call technocracy. The 'Stability Plan' of 1959 brought about economic improvements and encouraged private investment.

Furthermore, the promotion of Spain as a 'holiday paradise' opened the country to more direct international influences. This period was driven by younger politicians who were appointed as ministers in the early 1960s. They replaced 'autarchy' with a new buzzword, 'technocracy', which promoted the belief that political ideology had been cast aside. The regime would now be praised for its 'objective' achievements rather than for its ultra-nationalist ideology. Franco stopped the purges and turned his totalitarian regime into an authoritarian one. Franco's was always a dictatorship, of course, but one which moved from fascism to a form of authoritarian conservatism which lasted until the death of the Caudillo. My investigation of the promotion of avant-garde music in Franco's Spain is focused upon the technocratic years, from the mid 1950s until the death of the dictator.

This account of Franco's political evolution shows the flexibility of his regime in both international and national politics. It resembled a chameleon, changing its appearance in order to live for as long as its leader was alive. These changes affected the promotion of the arts. As cultural historian Jordi Gracia says, 'after years of isolation' Spanish culture was used 'to give the

regime an image of modernity'.<sup>8</sup> In his work, Gracia only hints at the shifts in the promotion of culture during the technocratic years; in my thesis I go further.

Indeed, I explore in depth these changes of Franco's dictatorship in its relationship to the music it promoted. In doing so, I argue that Spanish music existed in a symbiotic relationship with the regime's political agenda: it was shaped by this agenda and contributed to it in turn. Indeed, the promotion of nationalistic music in the 1940s and 1950s gave way to an emphasis on the promotion of composition and performance of avant-garde music in the 1960s and 1970s – that is, during the technocratic years. Before engaging in this discussion, I turn my attention to two crucial terms that deserve careful consideration: avant-garde music and propaganda.

The avant garde is not an 'ism', which makes it particularly difficult to define. While 'isms' often have common audible stylistic features that delineate their boundaries, the avant garde goes well beyond style and form. Indeed, when I discuss avant-garde music, I refer to an intellectual movement that transcended musical idioms and functioned mainly in the realm of philosophy, particularly in the philosophy of history. As Duncan Strachan (mentioned in footnote 1) quips in a play on the title of Schoenberg's book, the avant garde is 'no style, [but] all idea'. But which idea?

The avant garde as an idea is ultimately the product of high modernism. As it has been suggested over the last two decades, high modernism was

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<sup>8</sup> Jordi Gracia, *Estado y cultura: El despertar de una conciencia crítica bajo el franquismo (1940-1962)* (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 1996), 23. See also, José María Castellet et alii, *La cultura bajo el franquismo* (Barcelona: Bolsillo, 1977), which contains articles about history, philosophy, politics, psychiatry, literature, sociology, religion, cinema, art, pedagogy, theatre, science, but not music. See Juan F. Marsal, *Pensar bajo el franquismo: Intelectuales y política en la generación de los años cincuenta* (Barcelona: Península, 1979) and Eduardo Martín de Pozuelo: *Los Secretos del Franquismo: España en los papeles desclasificados del espionaje norteamericano desde 1934 hasta la Transición* (Barcelona: La Vanguardia, 2007).

based on the myth of progress, a post-Enlightenment substitute for God, according to which history constantly moves forward, aiming to reach a Platonic form of perfection. Needless to say, this idea strongly affected music composition and music scholarship. Advocates of the avant garde like Theodor Adorno and René Leibowitz have stressed the importance of constant innovation. I find it particularly difficult to contribute something new to the critique of the penchant for permanent innovation, since scholars from Leo Treitler to Richard Taruskin, Susan McClary, Amy Beal and Martin Brody have already undertaken this criticism. I will discuss their work elsewhere in this thesis, but I do want to add one more scholarly voice to this debate in order to support my own characterisation of the avant garde.

In his "What was Abstract Art? (From the Point of View of Hegel)", Robert B. Rippin traces the origins of abstract art, and the avant garde in general, to Hegel.<sup>9</sup> But Rippin does not focus on Hegel's idealism, as other critics of the avant garde implicitly or explicitly do, but on his idea of progress in art as a journey away from the imitative. Thus, Rippin argues, Hegel deviates from the long-established idea of imitation and establishes a fundamental break with the eighteenth century. Hegel's neo-Platonic argument carries manifold consequences. Most relevant to this thesis is the avant-garde's obsession with breaking with nature, since, according to Hegel, as we approach perfection, we move further away from the natural world. Plato's 'ideal object', in Hegel's re-evaluation, is an abstraction. Along with this idea of the departure from nature, in the aftermath of the Second World War the world witnessed an era in which technology enjoyed unprecedented levels of prestige. As Taruskin argues in the

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<sup>9</sup> Robert B. Rippin "What was Abstract Art? (From the Point of View of Hegel)", *Critical Inquiry*, 29 (2002), 1-24.

introduction to the fifth volume of his *Oxford History of Western Music*, technology had won the war for the Allies; technology had defeated Nazism. This circumstance seemed to endorse Hegel's idea of progress as distant from nature.<sup>10</sup>

The avant garde is the child of these ideas, but apart from that lineage, it has no other defining factors. It is primarily obsessed with progress, with departing from the past and following an ascending historical path as a forward arrow described by Karol Berger in his recent book *Bach's cycle, Mozart's arrow: An essay on the origins of musical modernity*.<sup>11</sup> The avant garde fixates on technology, bringing about the introduction of modern devices in the composition and performance of music, as well as the alteration of traditional instruments (such as is the case with Cage's experiments with the piano) to subvert their position as traditional and to present them as part of a general break with the past. Stylistic criteria, on the other hand, are absent.

This understanding of the avant garde as an idea rather than a style helps to focus my discussion. Rather than seeking characteristic features in the music, I refer to avant-garde music as that created and performed in order to break away from traditional conceptions of what music is, and as that understood by audiences and critics as fulfilling such task. While I discuss whether that aim was accomplished, it is not my primary concern to specify in which ways the avant-garde went about breaking with the present.

By not discussing avant-garde music in its own musical terms, but rather as an ideology, I do not engage analytically with the music. In this thesis I

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<sup>10</sup> Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, vol. 5 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 1-8.

<sup>11</sup> Karol Berger, *Bach's cycle, Mozart's arrow: An essay on the origins of musical modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), see introduction.

succinctly describe some musical works for the purposes of my discussion of the politics of their reception; I talk about the music when it helps to understand the function it played. When I discuss Cristóbal Halffter's *Secuencias* and *Microformas* in chapters 1 and 3, respectively, I provide additional musical detail. Otherwise, I do as Amy Beal and Martin Brody do in their own political analyses of the Cold War avant garde and leave the notes out of my discussion.<sup>12</sup> My detailed examination of the avant garde as an idea allows me to focus on the politics of the Spanish avant garde, which are not about 'the music itself', but about the function music played and how it has been received and understood.

Within that discussion, I often refer to the problematic concept of propaganda. As defined by the Oxford Dictionary, propaganda is 'any association, systematic scheme, or concerted movement for the propagation of a particular doctrine and practice'. Propaganda is also 'the systematic propagation of information or ideas by an interested party, especially in a tendentious way in order to encourage or instil a particular attitude or response. Also, the ideas, doctrines, etc., disseminated thus; the vehicle of such propagation'.<sup>13</sup> But propaganda is more complex than a dictionary definition, in part due to the role of personal intention.<sup>14</sup> In my final chapter I try to elucidate the extent to which composers understood the role their music played in their political context. This is not an

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<sup>12</sup> Amy C. Beal, "Negotiating Cultural Allies: American Music in Darmstadt, 1946-1956", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 53 (2000), 105-39; and *New Music, New Allies: American Experimental Music in West Germany from the Zero Hour to Reunification* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: The University of California Press, 2006). Martin Brody, "Music for the Masses': Milton Babbitt's Cold War Music Theory", *The Musical Quarterly*, 77 (1993), 161-92.

<sup>13</sup> "Propaganda", *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), vol. 12, 632.

<sup>14</sup> See the introductions to the classic Jacques Ellul, *The formation of men's attitudes*, tr. Konrad Kellen and Jean Lerner (New York: Knopf, 1968; first time in French, 1965) and Randal Marlin, *Propaganda and the ethics of persuasion* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2002).

easy task. Much easier is to determine whether the dictatorship chose to foster the avant-garde in the 1960s and 1970s and whether this choice was conscious and deliberate, if not always logical or coherent. I endeavour to prove this point in the next 200 pages (especially in chapters one and two).

An introduction to a doctoral thesis which does not contain an apology in the form of a manifesto is not an introduction. Here is mine: I believe that sound historiography does not produce unambiguous answers. As the title-character in Margherite Yourcenar's *Memoirs of Hadrian* says,

Historians present us with a view of the past that is too precise and too clear to be completely true; they rearrange that docile dead matter.<sup>15</sup>

In the following five chapters I attempt to complicate the questions too often answered with affirmative or negative answers in order to avoid systems 'too precise and too clear'.

Chapter 1, '1964: Celebrating Franco Musically', is a record of my research in which I discuss at length my primary research and contextualise my findings. Therefore, it could be read as a Marxist analysis of the relationship between super and infrastructure, between those paying for the art works, those who created them and those who received them. The chapter is full of data to prove that there is a propagandist element to the promotion of avant-garde music in Franco's Spain. In particular, I consider in depth the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the dictatorship in 1964, known as the '25 Years of Peace'. The arts played a prominent role in the commemoration, and I analyse

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<sup>15</sup> 'Les historiens nous proposent du passé des systèmes trop exacts et trop clairs pour avoir jamais été entièrement vrais; ils réarrangent cette docile matière morte' Marguerite Yourcenar, *Mémoires D'Hadrien* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1951), 22-3.

the most prominent musical events. I start by discussing the 'Concert for Peace', the most important musical event that ever took place under Franco. The works commissioned for this concert sit squarely in the avant-garde camp. This aesthetic choice was made to show the new face of Spain, both to Spaniards, through a television broadcast, and to Western countries, whose ambassadors in Madrid were invited to attend. It seems that the politicians proved their point while appearing 'innocent' at the same time: music critics supported their policy by emphasising the 'inherent modernity' and 'political impartiality' of these works. The celebration in Madrid of the First Festival of America and Spain and the First Biennial of Contemporary Music further confirmed this new function of Spanish music. By examining these events and others, I aim to connect the promotion of avant-garde music to technocratic policies. By also examining stances of public support to avant-garde music festivals before and after 1964, I uncover a trend and prove that the connection between technocratic politics and the avant-garde was long-standing and not coincidental.

In Chapter 2, 'The Generation of 1951 and Falla: Searching for a Place in History', I discuss the Generation of 1951. This group of composers was the main beneficiary of the promotion of avant-garde music under Franco. I pay special attention to these composers' anxiety to gain a place in history and how this self-awareness led them to reshape the image of Manuel de Falla. Hitherto, Falla had been portrayed by Spanish cultural authorities as a 'nationalist' composer. The Generation of 1951, in particular the reviewers and musicologists who supported it, challenged this view and shaped an image of

Falla that made him an ideal predecessor for these young avant-garde composers.

Through a discussion of the reception of Falla in Franco's Spain and the relationship between the Generation of 1951 and its past, I aim to contribute to the debate about the identities of 'modern' composers in the second half of the twentieth century. An 'anxiety of influence' can also be detected in composers such as Pierre Boulez or Igor Stravinsky. But the intrinsically political connotations of this process in Spain make this case study particularly interesting. Furthermore, I argue that the promotion of avant-garde music in Franco's Spain occupied the centre of a process of redefining Spanish nationalism that affected the arts.

In Chapter 3, 'Cristóbal Halffter, or the Self-Fashioning of an Avant-Garde Composer', I discuss the career of the most important Spanish avant-garde composer, Cristóbal Halffter (b. 1930). Music critics, musicologists and composers alike have paid homage to him as the main figure of the Generation of 1951. Indeed, Halffter's career under Franco was a tale of constant success. In the 1950s he adhered to nationalist aesthetics; in the 1960s he became a most enthusiastic advocate for the avant-garde, benefitting enormously from its official support. He wrote numerous works for public institutions and celebrations, such as a *Mass* dedicated to the Youth of the Fascist Party and *Secuencias* for the Concert for Peace; he was also appointed director of the Madrid Conservatory in 1964. However, the literature on his life and music stresses Halffter's profound commitment to democracy and his relentless defense of human rights. Some of his works have been specifically credited with having paid particular attention to these issues.

I challenge these views, providing a different reading of Halffter's biography and his oeuvre that, I believe, helps understand the way in which the construction of an avant-garde myth or hero has taken place, one that may be used as a case study to revise the musical biographies of other European composers.

In Chapter 4, 'Religion at Work', I discuss the fraught relationship between religion and music in Franco's Spain. The outcome of the Second Vatican Council (1962-65) deeply affected the relationship between Franco's dictatorship and the Papacy. If until the 1960s Franco had counted on the enthusiastic support of the Catholic Church, new trends made this relationship increasingly difficult. A growing number of left-wing priests opposed the death penalty and advocated freedom of speech and democracy. It was not strange to see priests attending concerts by left-wing song-writers or other pro-democratic cultural manifestations of popular culture. Franco put many of these renegade priests in jail.

In contrast with this trend, the ultra-conservative Catholic organization Opus Dei was thriving. Many technocratic ministers were members of Opus Dei, and so were many of the most prominent public supporters of avant-garde arts, especially architecture and music. I analyse the links between Opus Dei and the promotion of avant-garde music by examining Cuenca's Religious Music Festival, the activities of the Opus Dei-dominated Aula de Música (the main supporter of the Generation of 1951) and the experimental music ensemble Alea (fully funded by an Opus Dei family). I suggest that Opus Dei unofficially distanced itself from left-leaning branches of the Catholic Church by promoting intrinsically elitist forms of art. Furthermore, I argue that the rhetoric supporting

the composition and performance of avant-garde musics sat well with the theological principles of Opus Dei, which I discuss at some length.

Finally, in Chapter 5, 'Beyond Amnesia', I consider why recent Spanish musicology has failed to confront the political implications of the promotion of avant-garde music during the second phase of the dictatorship. I connect this historiographical void with the Spanish transition to democracy (1975-1978), which recent historians have called an exercise in amnesia, a discourse of forgiveness meant to promote reconciliation between Spaniards. This general forgiveness has had significant consequences for academic and cultural life. The political implications of the activities of the composers and musicologists during the Franco years have been forgotten even when, as it sometimes happened, they carried out duties that were decidedly at odds with democratic practices. Instead, this amnesia has allowed the composers and critics involved in the promotion of avant-garde music in Franco's Spain to explain away their careers as anti-Francoist struggles.

As suggested by the outline of my chapters, my approach is interdisciplinary, taking into consideration diverse issues related to identity, including what it meant to write avant-garde music under Franco and what Spanishness meant. In all cases I present substantial data to support and substantiate my discussions. I am the first scholar to analyse Spanish avant-garde music from a political viewpoint, and I also provide the first discussion of most of the primary sources presented. Because of the volume of new material in this dissertation, I provide substantial appendices containing music reviews, programmes of the Festivals and other materials. If I aim to go 'beyond

amnesia', I must set the facts straight and make my valuable primary sources available to readers.

I hope my thesis will not only alter the common understanding of the history of avant-garde music under Franco, but will also provide a stimulating example of the malleability of avant-garde music. I would like this thesis to be read as a case study, an example and not as a model so as not to upset Hadrian, whose comments on the impossibility of making real sense of the past have held fast in my mind ever since I began this exploration.

Two notes about style. Sometimes I quote short passages from the literature in the body of the text whilst including the whole quotation in the relevant footnote. I provide the full references of the literature I use the first time they get a mention in every chapter; thereafter I use a shorter version.

## Chapter 1

### 1964: Celebrating Franco Musically

The 'Concert for Peace' was the most important musical event within the celebrations of the 25 Años de Paz (25 Years of Peace), a patriotic commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the end of the Civil War. It was also a major event in a commemoration that, according to historian Paloma Aguilar, brought about the 'staging of the largest propaganda campaign ever carried out under the Franco regime'.<sup>16</sup> Spanish classical music monthly *Ritmo's* 1964 headlines about the Concert read: 'Music was part of the great national celebration. Attendees enjoyed the presence of the wife of the head of state... who was greeted by the Minister of Information and Tourism'.<sup>17</sup>

This seemingly simple statement contains a wealth of information about the interaction between music and politics, and in this chapter I begin to unpack its meaning. I offer a detailed account of the 'Concert for Peace', the activities of the Festival de América y España and the Bienal de Música Contemporánea. Presenting the results of primary research in Spanish libraries and archives, I address issues of reception history and focus on reviews and other texts about the period written by composers, music historians, critics and publicists. By uncovering the reasons behind the musical choices of the dictatorship in 1964, I intend to show that these choices functioned as part of a wider propaganda

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<sup>16</sup> Paloma Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy*, trans. Mark Oakley (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2002; first edition in Spanish, 1996), 112.

<sup>17</sup> 'La Música se asoció a la gran efemérides nacional con esta magna audición de música española... honrada con la presencia de la esposa de S.E. el Jefe del Estado... que fue recibida por el Ministro de información y Turismo'. Headline of *Ritmo*, 345 (July 1964).

campaign designed to facilitate the previously discussed political shift from autarchy to technocracy.

### **'25 Years of Peace'**

Even though on 1 April 1939 Franco addressed the nation on the radio and declared the war over, its consequences could not be erased as simply. The situation that followed was bleak: 600,000 people had died, important cities such as Madrid and Barcelona had been flattened by the bombings and hunger affected most of the country. Purges that would claim another 200,000 lives and would imprison many more people loomed on the horizon. However, twenty-five years later the financial situation of the country had significantly improved: 'A general level of improvement... effectively took place because the liberalisation of the Spanish economy enabled it to take advantage of the general wave of development that the Western economies were witnessing'.<sup>18</sup> This progress was the main asset of the technocratic governments that followed the two decades of crisis and isolation. This economic boom made the costly celebration of the '25 Years of Peace' feasible.

One of the primary goals of the celebration was to stress that political change was under way. It was also essential to highlight the improvements of the quality of life in Spain. The celebration 'constituted an attempt to convince the youngest members of society, through any means, that the Francoist solution was the only one capable of preventing the Spanish from becoming embroiled in civil war again'.<sup>19</sup> By 1964 the government judged that the country was ready to accept these assertions.

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<sup>18</sup> Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia*, 127.

<sup>19</sup> Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia*, 121.

The celebrations that took place in 1964 involved a wide range of activities: exhibitions, special series of stamps, coins and medals, official publications and competitions in the fields of cinema, journalism, literature, radio and television.<sup>20</sup> Even advertisements for vacuum cleaners and food mixers (see Fig. 1 on page 28) or the annual Army demonstration (whose name changed from 'Victory Parade' to 'Peace Parade') reflected the extent of the official propaganda effort. The official poster of the celebration showed the image of a Castilian field at dawn, and featured a radiant sun whose light makes the rest of the picture shine. This image served as a metaphor of the hopes that a new day brings for Spain, in clear reference to the final line of the most important official anthem during the Franco years, *Cara al sol*: 'A new day dawns upon Spain' (see full text in both English and Spanish in Appendix 1).

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<sup>20</sup> Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia*, 115-6.

The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.

Fig. 1: In 1964 the popular brand of food-mixers and vacuum-cleaners *Ruton* used the theme of forgiveness in advertising its products. Such rhetoric implied that in that year even women would be relieved of their domestic tasks. I found this advert on the back cover of every issue of *Ritmo* in 1964

The arts played a major role in this commemoration, not only through its practice, but also in writing. Official books and magazines devoted pages upon pages to discussing cultural issues in support of the '25 Years of Peace'. In *España cumple 25 años de paz*, a special official magazine, the arts take up six out of the first ten pages, relegating industry and foreign affairs to the end.<sup>21</sup> And a specific chapter on music was commissioned from avant-garde composer Cristóbal Halffter for *Panorama español contemporáneo*, yet another official book published as part of the celebration. An overview of contemporary Spanish

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<sup>21</sup> Dámaso Santos, "El espíritu y la cultura en veinticinco años de paz", *España cumple 25 años de paz (Suplemento Nacional de la Prensa del Movimiento)*, dir. José Antonio Revilla and Aguirre (Madrid: Prensa del Movimiento, 1964), 6 pp.

culture, *Panorama español contemporáneo* implicitly links the Spanish avant-garde to the country's general forward-looking political attitude.<sup>22</sup> Both publications draw a direct link between the regime's policies and flourishing Spanish culture.

Musicologist Ángel Medina describes 'the blossoming of [avant-garde] music in 1964', a year he deems as 'particularly fruitful'. Indeed, an expansive list of events made it exceptional: the First Festival de Música de América y España (heretofore referred to as 'First Festival'), the Bienal Internacional de Música Contemporánea ('Bienal'), Halffter's appointment as director of the Madrid Royal Conservatory, the founding of the avant-garde music ensemble Zaj and, last but certainly not least, the 'Concert for Peace'.<sup>23</sup> This concert and its reception can serve as a case study of the dictatorship's aesthetic choices for the 1964 celebration.

### **The Concert for Peace**

The Auditorium of the Ministry of Information and Tourism was the venue for the 'Concert for Peace' on 16 June 1964. The presence of Franco's wife Carmen Polo, of the future King Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón and of foreign ambassadors and consuls gave the concert the mark of a great occasion (see Fig. 2 on page 30). In accordance with the political stature of the day, the regime insisted on only 'the best' music for the concert. There were three commissions: *Visión Profética* by the priest Miguel Alonso (1925-2002) for orchestra, choir, tenor and baritone; *Testimonio* for orchestra by Luis de Pablo

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<sup>22</sup> Cristóbal Halffter, "La música", *Panorama español contemporáneo: XXV Años de Paz* (Madrid: Cultura Hispánica, 1964), 267-82.

<sup>23</sup> Ángel Medina, "Primeras oleadas vanguardistas en el área de Madrid", *Actas del Congreso Internacional "España en la Música de Occidente"*, Emilio Casares, Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta and José López-Caló, eds. (Madrid: INAEM, 1987), 381.

(b. 1930); and *Secuencias* for orchestra by Halffter (b. 1930). The concert also featured the winner of that year's composition prize from the Ministry of Information and Tourism (the ministry in charge of culture in the 1960s and 1970s), *La cueva de Nerja* (Nerja's Cave) for orchestra by Ángel Arteaga (1929-1984). Finally, excerpts from *Atlántida* by Manuel de Falla (1876-1946) were performed, and Rafael Frühbeck de Burgos (b. 1933), a member of the Army, conducted the Orquesta Nacional de España. The concert was performed in the auditorium of the Ministry of Information and Tourism and was broadcast live on television and radio; all the major Spanish newspapers offered previews and reviews of it (see full programme in Appendix 2 and transcriptions of the reviews in Appendix 3).<sup>24</sup>

The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.

Fig. 2: from left to right, the wife of Manuel Fraga (minister of culture), Franco's wife and Fraga at the Concert for Peace.

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<sup>24</sup> I consulted all the available music reviews at the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid and quote some of them in the following pages. The reviews not quoted in this chapter are in *El Correo Español*, 18 June 1964; *La Vanguardia*, 18 June 1964; *Blanco y Negro*, 20 June 1964; *Ya*, 17 June 1964. I quote the television review published by *Ya*.

I shall not provide a detailed analysis of the works presented in the Concert for Peace in this chapter, but I shall comment briefly upon each of them, in order to understand better their reception. I was fortunate to have access to the broadcast of the concert at the Madrid archives of the Radio Nacional de España (National Radio). However, the broadcast's original introductory comments were cut, as was the applause following the performance of each work, making it more difficult to assess their reception by the public.

Two pieces on the program are still unpublished compositions. The first, Alonso's *Visión profética*, is a thirty-two-minute piece containing an alternation of tonal and atonal episodes. Soloists combine singing with speaking over the orchestral accompaniment. The text, taken from the Book of Joel, invites the people to rejoice and celebrate the blessings of God and the peace they provide. The second, Arteaga's *La cueva de Nerja*, is a fourteen-minute atonal piece characterised by a lavish orchestration and divided into four movements that include a large percussion section and piano.<sup>25</sup>

De Pablo's eight-minute-long *Testimonio* had already been premiered in Belgium in 1963 as *Tombeau*, the name under which it was published by Unión Musical Española. *Tombeau* is dedicated to Wolfgang Steinecke, director and founder of the Darmstadt Festival. In its treatment of orchestral textures and its frequent use of clusters, it is reminiscent of Stockhausen's *Gruppen*.

Halffter's *Secuencias* for orchestra lasts eleven minutes, and was published by Universal. It starts off when the conductor walks towards the podium, transforming the noise of the steps against the wooden surface and the

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<sup>25</sup> The Caves of Nerja are a series of caverns close to the town of Nerja in Andalusia. Stretching for almost 5 km the caverns are one of Spain's major tourist attractions.

audience's courtesy applause into its first elements. When the conductor of the piece is a member of the army, as was the case at the Concert for Peace, the implications of this opening become worthy of further exploration.

Immediately after the applause, a *tutti* long cluster sounds, followed by the presentation of the first series, which nearly vanishes under percussive noise. The series evolves slowly through repetitions of its original and retrograde forms. The conductor-cum-military-officer begins to make sense of the initial chaos, leading the piece to a harmonic end that adheres to the expectations of integral serialism. In the programme note to *Secuencias*, which I have not been able to access in its original form, Federico Sopeña, a Catholic priest, musicologist, director of the Madrid Conservatory between 1951 and 1956 and one of the most influential writers about music during the dictatorship, clearly interprets the piece as a journey from chaos to cosmos so that it becomes a metaphor for the previous twenty five years, 'conducted' by General Franco.<sup>26</sup> It is almost inevitable to think of Christopher Small's masterful characterization of the work of an orchestra conductor:

For in the end the conductor's function is not just the physical coordination of the orchestra and the production of an interpretation. It lies also in his heroic stature as focus for the imagination of those who sit in the audience. His role is that of the powerful and dependable autocrat, who will lead the orchestra and the listeners safely through the tensions and conflicts of the symphonic work, to the final resolution and cadence on the home tonic. His presence gives meaning to those conflicts and to their resolution, in terms that apparently make sense to

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<sup>26</sup> Medina, "Primeras oleadas", 381.

members of the modern industrial middle classes and in a way in which no orchestra without him could do it. He is the incarnation of power in the modern sense and represents the image of what all of us dream at times of doing and of what many in our time have tried to do in the field of social and political action: to resolve conflicts once and for all through the exercise of unlimited power.<sup>27</sup>

Sopeña's metaphoric reading of *Secuencias* combined with Small's understanding of the conductor as the person who resolves 'conflicts once and for all through the exercise of unlimited power' and indeed the fact that Frühbeck is a member of the Army could give way to enlightening political readings. However, the Spanish media at the time ignored the discussion of politics.

In the daily newspaper *Ya* an enthusiastic reviewer, Diego Belalcazar, praised 'this blessed television of this blessed Spain which enjoys the peace of God' that allowed one million households to witness the concert. Belalcazar went as far as to say that the 'peasants' had enjoyed the broadcast; that night, he claims, the Spanish villages did not 'smell of stables', but of music. In short, the peasants of the whole country were able to appreciate and enjoy the serial works of De Pablo and Halffter.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Christopher Small, *Musicking: The meanings of performing and listening* (Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), 86.

<sup>28</sup> 'En presencia de las más destacadas personalidades del Gobierno, y en el cálido clima de las noches madrileñas, se ha vuelto a producir el milagro. Ha sido como una tibia transpiración, como un rocío benéfico, que ha invadido los campos y las aldeas de España. Todos: eruditos, cosmopolitas, labriegos, intelectuales. Todos han guardado silencio, obsequioso silencio, mientras la maestra batuta de Frühbeck [sic] amasaba la calma cristalina de la pequeña pantalla. Un millón de televisores en la geografía de España es como un millón de charcos en los que se refleja el cielo estrellado. Nunca se ha podido decir con más propiedad: España se ha vestido de gala para asistir al concierto. En la última de las aldeas, perdidas en el valle, no huele esta noche a establo y a tomillo. Huele a noche de concierto, y los oboes salmodian con la amplia

In his review for the daily newspaper *Abc*, Sopeña praises the entire performance and stresses the effort made by the Ministry to organise an event that was a ‘manifestation of art set free’, carried out in order to ‘protect art and allow it to be apart from daily affairs and beyond any age’.<sup>29</sup> In stark contrast to his programme note, in the widely-published review it seems crucial for Sopeña to show music as a non-ideological art that can be appreciated and understood from a ‘purely aesthetic’, abstract point of view.

Enrique Franco, director of the National Radio and one of the most enthusiastic public supporters of the Spanish avant-garde (and not a relation of the dictator), published his review in *Arriba*. As an aside, it is interesting to note that ‘Arriba’ was the word used before ‘España’ in every public celebration. It is the equivalent of the German ‘Heil’ and was used only by Francoists to stress the greatness of Spain and its ‘empire’. It also appears in the last line of General Franco’s political testament in its common form ‘¡Arriba España!’ Enrique Franco regularly broadcast Spanish music, making him an important figure in the process of promoting the avant-garde in Spain. In light of this influence, his review of the ‘Concert for Peace’ merits close reading. Firstly, he draws a distinction between what he calls the ‘garde’—the works by Alonso and Arteaga—and the ‘avant-garde’—those by De Pablo and Halffter. Secondly, he claims that the concert should be regarded not only as a recapitulation of what had been achieved over the past twenty-five years, but also as a window onto the future. Enrique Franco’s teleological view of history comes across as clearly

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sonrisa de nuestras damas. ¡Bendita televisión de esta bendita España que goza de la paz de Dios!’ Diego Belalcazar, *Ya*, 17 June 1964.

<sup>29</sup> ‘Proteged al arte para que permanezca ajeno a las querellas del día y para que esté más allá de cualquier época’. Federico Sopeña, *Abc*, 17 July 1964.

as his willingness to praise everything in the concert. Thirdly, he stresses the importance of separating politics from art:

This ambitious project [the concert] was presented from an absolutely open point of view. It was never conceived in order to promote programmatic music and even less, 'political music'... On the contrary, everything was done according to the best policies concerning the arts: those which allow everyone to follow their tastes and tendencies.<sup>30</sup>

As with Sopeña, Enrique Franco's review instead functions as an extension of the concert's image as presented by its organisers. Enrique Franco insists that the composers were free to choose their own musical style, thus following their own 'tastes and tendencies'.

Fernando Ruiz Coca wrote a review for *El Alcázar*, a newspaper which took its name from the castle of Toledo assaulted by the Republican forces during the Spanish Civil War. Those who resisted at Toledo's Alcázar were considered heroes, making the Alcázar itself a quintessentially Francoist symbol. Ruiz Coca's review falls in line with those of his contemporaries. He claims that these pieces were the best examples of the new challenges Spain was 'ready to face after these twenty-five years', and he supports the idea that

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<sup>30</sup> 'El proyecto ambicioso y comprometido se planteó, además, desde un criterio absolutamente abierto y jamás se pensó en música programática para una cierta ocasión y, menos aún, en lo que se conoce como "música política", concepto en el que suelen salir malparados los dos términos. Por el contrario, se ha hecho todo con arreglo a la más sana política para lo artístico: la de que cada cual, como decía Falla, "siga su gusto y sus tendencias". Sea pues para los promotores del esfuerzo el primer "¿Bravo!" [sic], más fuerte si se tiene en cuenta que, a juzgar por todos los síntomas, la actitud de apoyo a nuestra música y la decisión de protegerla no queda reducida a una ocasión conmemorativa sino que se hará uso, hábito necesario'. Enrique Franco, *Arriba*, 18 June 1964.

art can be separated from politics when he calls for these composers to continue working to overcome musical nationalism. Like Enrique Franco, Ruiz Coca stresses the dichotomy between 'garde' and 'avant-garde', and uses Falla as the ultimate model for the 'apolitical' modern Spanish composers.<sup>31</sup>

While these reviewers discuss and praise the composers whose pieces were included in the concert, an examination of these articles also reveals the composers whose work was quietly ignored. The composers involved in the celebration were all born between 1925 and 1930; they were only children during the Civil War and lacked strong ties to that period, musically or otherwise. Moreover, they all received their musical education during the feted twenty-five years of peace. According to one reviewer, even the National Symphony Orchestra that played the concert was a 'fruit' of those years of peace, since it was founded in 1942.<sup>32</sup>

The only exception is Falla. The presence of his music at the concert can seem problematic because he left Spain in 1939, shortly after Franco's victory. Nevertheless, Falla's reasons for leaving proved no threat to the new order: he went to Argentina not because he was looking for a democratic political environment, but to give a series of concerts. As Carol A. Hess explains, Falla

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<sup>31</sup> 'No son músicas para la nostalgia estas que han compuesto el padre Miguel Alonso, Cristóbal Halffter y Luis de Pablo. La Junta Interministerial encargada de la celebración, que pidió las obras, parece haber querido hacerlo bajo un signo de esperanza. Y ello está bien, porque lo que realmente importa no es tanto lo que se haya hecho en este cuarto de siglo, sino lo que, gracias a estos años, podemos hoy afrontar. De Pablo, Halffter y Miguel Alonso inician su adolescencia en los años de nuestra posguerra. Entre los maestros—Falla, Turina, Rodrigo, Ernesto Halffter, Esplá, Mompou, Guridi...—, ellos, junto a otros muchachos, quisieron encontrar su propio camino: saben rendir la admiración justa, pero sin renunciar a la insobornable fidelidad a sí mismos. Su ambición la ponen en superar la época de la música nacionalista, que, en el concierto mundial, nos relegaba al amable rincón de las curiosidades pintorescas. Y, quemando gozosamente las ambiciosas etapas, se recobra, así, en nuestros días, una universalidad que sólo Falla, en los suyos, conoció. Hoy, las obras de Halffter, Miguel Alonso... De Pablo las publican importantes editoriales europeas, y son interpretadas en todo el mundo: su españolía no es producto de fórmulas folclóricas, sino que nace de la profunda personalidad de sus autores'. Fernando Ruiz Coca, *El Alcázar*, 18 June 1864.

<sup>32</sup> See, for example, Fernando López-Lerdo de Tejada, *Ritmo*, 345 (July 1964) in Appendix 3.

had every intention to return to Spain and had even made plans for a trip to Venice the following year.<sup>33</sup> In spite of the generous financial offers he received from Franco's government, he stayed in Argentina in order to avoid the perils and instability of post-war Spain and the World War II in Europe. Most Spanish leftist intellectuals who did flee to Latin America for ideological reasons settled in Mexico, not in Argentina. The latter country was ruled by the ultranationalist politician Juan Domingo Perón, the first international leader who offered his help to Franco during the post-war years.<sup>34</sup> With regard to Falla's political allegiances, Hess quotes a telegram the composer sent to José María Pemán in which he said: [I profess] 'complete respect for and loyalty to His Excellency the Generalísimo'.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, the unfinished work by Falla played in the concert, *Atlántida*, contains the movements 'La Atlántida sumergida', 'Himnus Hispanicus', 'Las Carabelas' and 'Salve', all of which sat squarely with the patriotic discourse of the Franco regime. Especially suited to nationalistic spin was 'Las Carabelas', which refers to the three ships used by Columbus in his first trip to America, a reference to the Spanish empire. It is also worth noting that *Atlántida* was completed by Ernesto Halffter, uncle of Cristóbal Halffter, a connection that further strengthened the piece's credentials with the regime.

Some prominent composers were missing from the celebration. These were Joaquín Rodrigo (1901-99) and Xavier Montsalvatge (1912-2002). The former, composer of the *Concierto de Aranjuez* and arguably the most successful Spanish composer of the second half of the twentieth century, was

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<sup>33</sup> Carol A. Hess, *Sacred Passions: The Life and Music of Manuel de Falla* (New York and Oxford: University Press, 2005), 243-83.

<sup>34</sup> The visit of Perón and his wife to Spain in 1947 was highlighted by Franco's authorities as the visit of the representatives of a wealthy and developed country willing to support his regime and help Spain to face the problems derived from the Civil War.

<sup>35</sup> Letter from Falla to Pemán quoted by Hess, *Sacred Passions*, 233. Hess discusses Falla's politics at length throughout her book. In her examination of the composer's political ideas, Falla's support for Franco was anything but unambiguous.

no longer young in 1964, so that the regime could not use him as an example of the 'ruddy health' of modern Spanish music, the 'fruit of the post-war years'. Furthermore, Rodrigo's compositional techniques were hardly considered advanced. Also missing from the celebration was Montsalvatge, even though some of the most famous female singers around the world performed his *Canciones negras* (1945-9). According to musicologist Xoán M. Carreira, he refused the invitation to participate arguing that his 'muse' was 'not suited to the heroic genre'.<sup>36</sup>

The presence of Falla's music coupled with the absence of Montsalvatge's and Rodrigo's hint at a broader process of redefinition of Spanish musical nationalism at work in programming the concert, which I shall discuss at length in chapter two. The open promotion of avant-garde music reached its peak with the 'Concert for Peace', which was part of an overall strategy on the part of the dictatorship. Before drawing conclusions, that is, before establishing the links between technocratic politics and the promotion of the avant-garde, I shall discuss other major musical events in which the avant-garde took centre stage.

### **First Festival de América y España**

Between 14 and 31 October 1964 Madrid witnessed an unprecedented level of musical activity. On top of the symphonic season of the National Symphony Orchestra and the activities of the Aula de Música and other minor events, the city hosted the First Festival de América y España. Sopeña describes the

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<sup>36</sup> Xoán M. Carreira, "Elegía para un hombre de la calle", *Mundoclasico.com* (Accessed 10 May 2004) <<http://www.mundoclasico.com/articulos/verarticulo.aspx?id=0008877>> De Pablo, however, contradicts Carreira and asserts that Montsalvatge was simply ill. Personal interview with De Pablo, Madrid, December 2005.

frenzied state of affairs in Madrid when he apologises for having missed the second part of one of the concerts: 'These days the Madrid critics keep going from one auditorium to the other in the afternoons and evenings'.<sup>37</sup> The First Festival featured twelve concerts and another twelve events, ranging from an exhibition to press conferences, from lectures to cocktail parties. This feat of cultural programming produced a substantial critical reception, and its political repercussions are entwined with the rhetoric of the celebration of the '25 Years of Peace'.

The First Festival was organised by Antonio Iglesias and Manuel Orgaz, both senior officers at the Ministry of Information and Tourism, and sponsored by the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica and the Organization of American States (OAS). The 1964 Festival in Madrid thus had a clear meaning: the Pan-American community accepted Spain back into the fold and emphasised that homecoming through the choice of host city.

The Spanish media were keen to stress this success, and hailed it as both cultural and diplomatic. As the classical music magazine *Ritmo* claimed on its first page, 'the importance of the Festival was obvious in the extraordinarily large space that Spanish newspapers devoted to it'.<sup>38</sup> The media could highlight the political consequences of the Festival in part because of the signing of a cultural agreement between the Spanish Instituto de Cultura Hispánica and the OAS. The agreement encouraged both institutions to exchange information about their respective cultural programmes and to extend invitations to each

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<sup>37</sup> 'No pudimos oír la segunda [parte] porque en estos días la crítica musical madrileña va de una sala para otra en la tarde y en la noche'. Sopeña, *Abc*, 23 October 1964.

<sup>38</sup> 'La importancia del magno festival se acusó en los extraordinarios espacios dedicados al mismo en la prensa española diaria, servidos por sus críticos musicales que en todo momento estuvieron presentes en el certamen y en los animados coloquios celebrados'. *Ritmo*, 349 (December 1964).

other as appropriate.<sup>39</sup> Madrid also became the permanent host of this particular international festival. There were plans to stage a Second Festival almost immediately in 1966, but it did not take place until 1967, with the Third Festival occurring in 1970. To confirm the social importance of these events, Iglesias and Orgaz were awarded the Encomienda del Mérito Civil, one of the highest official honours in Spain, for their role in the organisation of the festival.<sup>40</sup>

In musical terms, the First Festival was rather eclectic. Most of the pieces fell under the umbrella of what Arnold Whittall has labelled 'the moderate mainstream', a branch of musical modernism that avoids serialism, electroacoustic techniques, and other forms of hard-core experimental music, staying within the boundaries set by Béla Bartók's and Igor Stravinsky's atonal works.<sup>41</sup> Ernesto and Rodolfo Halffter's music was played alongside works by Mozart Camargo-Guarnieri, Carlos Chávez, Roque Cordero, Óscar Esplá, Blas Galindo, Celso Garrido-Lecca, Alberto Ginastera, Montsalvatge, Walter Piston, Quincy Porter, Harry Sommers and Virgil Thomson, to mention only the most famous names. The presence in Madrid of the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra, sponsored by the American State Department, was also one of the musical highlights of a festival that counted on the generous praise of the media.

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<sup>39</sup> 'Un acuerdo básico en las relaciones entre España y las naciones de América fue firmado ayer por la mañana en el Salón de Embajadores del Instituto de Cultura Hispánica... La OEA [Organización de Estados Americanos] concierta una acción de convivencia con el organismo español de modo que éste será siempre informado de las actividades culturales que aquella organiza y fomenta invitando al Instituto a los actos de tal carácter, y el Instituto, a su vez, hará partícipe en igual forma de sus trabajos de índole cultural hispanoamericana a la OEA'. *Abc*, 1 November 1964.

<sup>40</sup> *Ritmo*, 349 (December 1964).

<sup>41</sup> See Arnold Whittall, "Individualism and Accessibility: The Moderate Mainstream, 1945-75", *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*, eds. Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 364-94.

In addition to the 'moderate mainstream', there were some more avant-garde events. On 22 October the auditorium of the Ateneo de Madrid, a cultural institution that provided a base for the activities of the Aula de Música as well as other avant-garde artistic events, hosted the sixth concert of the festival. A chamber group of the Madrid Philharmonic Orchestra and the Choir of the National Radio played José Vicente Asuar's *Preludio 'La noche'*, Carmelo A. Bernaola's *Mixturas*, Mario Davidovsky's *Sincronismos 2*, De Pablo's *Cesuras*, Pozzi Escot's *Lamentos*, José Soler's *Constantes rítmicas en modo primero (Improperia ad honorem beatae Trinitatis)* and Gerald Strang's *Piece for computer IBM7090*. Packed with riskier pieces displaying more experimental avant-garde techniques, this concert drew the most sustained critical acclaim of the whole festival.

The electroacoustic works by Asuar, Davidovsky, Escot and Strang enjoyed a very positive critical reception. Most reviewers highlighted the presence of Spanish avant-garde music alongside pieces by these reputed international composers. Avant-garde composer and music critic Tomás Marco, for example, devoted more space to reviewing this concert than to any other, and unsurprisingly described this event as 'by far the most interesting of all'.<sup>42</sup> Enrique Franco's interest was inspired by Bernaola, De Pablo and Davidovsky, whereas Ruiz Coca praised the entire concert enthusiastically.<sup>43</sup>

The critical reception of this concert resembled that enjoyed by the rendition of Roberto Gerhard's *Quartet 2* and Halffter's *Secuencias* in yet another avant-garde programme during the First Festival. The former was praised by Enrique Franco and Marco, who nevertheless avoided talking about

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<sup>42</sup> Tomás Marco, *Aulas*, 21 (November, 1964).

<sup>43</sup> See Enrique Franco, *Arriba*, 27 October 1964; and Ruiz Coca, *El Alcázar*, 24 October 1964.

Gerhard's status as a political exile in England.<sup>44</sup> The latter was unanimously acclaimed. According to Sopeña, 'the significance of Halffter's work... represents the maturity of a whole movement'.<sup>45</sup> For Enrique Franco, *Secuencias* was 'increasingly more perfect in its form, more audacious and more suggestive in its creativity'.<sup>46</sup> Ruiz Coca found *Secuencias* to be 'increasingly more interesting'. Marco seemed to agree, and went as far as to say that Cristóbal 'is the best among the Halffters'.<sup>47</sup> Sopeña summarises the particular fondness of these reviewers for the avant-garde programmes of the festival, stating that these concerts gave reviewers the opportunity to assess the 'fast assimilation of European techniques' by Spanish composers.<sup>48</sup>

However, the First Festival was not free from heated polemics. A lecture series called *Conversaciones de Música de América y España* (Conversations on American and Spanish Music) ran parallel to the musical activities of the festival. Composers, critics and musicologists took part in debates and gave lectures on the future of music, music criticism and musicological scholarship. In his talk, composer Óscar Esplá (1886-1976) voiced such strong criticism of the avant-garde that 'one Spanish composer who falls under the umbrella of Maestro Esplá's criticism left the room, perhaps as a result of some personal need, rather than to express his disagreement'.<sup>49</sup> Esplá's words were harsh indeed: he claimed that 'to accept all these abnormalities would be like

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<sup>44</sup> See Enrique Franco, *Arriba*, 30 October 1964, and Marco, *Aulas*, 21 (November 1964).

<sup>45</sup> 'La significación de la obra de Halffter... es ya como la madurez de todo un movimiento'. Sopeña, *Abc*, 25 October 1964.

<sup>46</sup> Las *Secuencias* están 'cada vez más pulidas en su forma, más ceñidas en su audacia y más sugestivas en su invención'. Enrique Franco, *Arriba*, 1 November 1964.

<sup>47</sup> Las *Secuencias* son 'cada vez más interesantes'. Ruiz Coca, *El Alcázar*, 3 November 1964. 'El mejor de los Halffter'. Marco, *Aulas*, 21.

<sup>48</sup> 'Conviene destacar una tónica general: la rapidísima asimilación de las nuevas técnicas europeas'. Sopeña, *Abc*, 25 October 1964.

<sup>49</sup> 'Mientras algún compositor español calificado en el campo centro de los juicios del maestro Esplá, abandonaba la sala, quizá por simple coincidente necesidad, que no postura'. Antonio Fernández-Cid, *Informaciones*, 16 October 1964.

accepting the love of the sodomites, instead of the love which put us all here in the world in the first place'.<sup>50</sup>

While Esplá's words are shocking, the manner in which they were discussed (or ignored) by the media is more important to our discussion. Predictably, a music critic who was not enthusiastic about the avant-garde, Antonio Fernández-Cid, quotes Esplá at length. Critic José María Franco (Enrique's brother), also not a keen avant-garde supporter, published selected quotations from Esplá's diatribe, such as his assertions that today's music is 'a childish game' and that 'musical notation has become complete scrawl'.<sup>51</sup> On the other hand, avant-garde enthusiasts Enrique Franco, Marco, Ruiz Coca and Sopeña ignored Esplá's comments instead of engaging in debate. They held public positions in the cultural institutions of Franco's regime and had contributed significantly to the promotion of avant-garde music; Esplá's words directly attacked their choices. Although these four did not respond directly to Esplá's lecture, the festival gave them the chance to attack his musical ideas following the premiere of Esplá's new symphony.

Esplá's *Sinfonía Aitana*, a tonal symphony in four movements written in late-Romantic style dedicated to 'tonal music *In Memoriam*', produced a variety of responses. Marco liked only the first movement, of which he wrote, 'had it been premiereed fifty years ago, it would have been a masterpiece'.<sup>52</sup> Sopeña, milder than Marco, said that *Sinfonía Aitana* was 'a work that adds a very important chapter to Spanish music that [most definitely] should have come

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<sup>50</sup> 'Aceptar todas estas anomalías "sería tanto como considerar normal el amor de los invertidos, en vez de aquel por el que todos estamos en este mundo"'. Quoted by Fernández-Cid, see previous footnote.

<sup>51</sup> 'Un juego pueril dice de la música de hoy Óscar Esplá' and 'La grafía musical se ha convertido en pleno garabato'. See *Ya*, 17 October 1964.

<sup>52</sup> 'En resumen, un primer movimiento que aislado hubiera sido hace cincuenta años una obra maestra'. Marco, *Aulas*, 21 (November 1964).

before'.<sup>53</sup> Enrique called the work a mere 'sonic landscape'.<sup>54</sup> In vaguely derogatory fashion, Ruiz Coca noted that the symphony 'is a summary and an exposition of everything that the old tonal system has meant to music'. While he apologised for not having enough space to comment fully on the work, he claimed that it was typical of Esplá; 'now we follow different paths'.<sup>55</sup> Fernández-Cid, in contrast, hails Esplá as a 'maestro'.<sup>56</sup>

The reception of Esplá's *Sinfonía Aitana*, as well as the general attitude of music reviewers towards the First Festival, confirms that the support enjoyed by avant-garde music from both the Ministry of Culture and the Media already present in the Concert for Peace was far from an exception. On the contrary, the 'Concert for Peace' was the standard-bearer of a far-reaching strategy meant to promote avant-garde music. Even the composers whose works were absent from the celebration acknowledged that the regime had succeeded. One of those composers, Rodrigo, summarises that success:

All of us... have stressed its importance. Spain had come to be excluded or forgotten at the festivals of Caracas and Washington. This important meeting held in Madrid will definitely allow our country to play a part in festivals from now on.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> 'En resumen: una obra que añade un capítulo importantísimo a la música española, que ojalá hubiera llegado antes'. Sopena, *Abc*, 1 November 1964.

<sup>54</sup> Enrique Franco, *Arriba*, 1 November 1964.

<sup>55</sup> 'Dedicada a la música tonal "In Memoriam", quiere ser, y es, como un resumen y demostración de todo lo que el viejo sistema de la tonalidad ha aportado a nuestro arte'. 'Nos trae exactamente lo que del maestro esperábamos... Y no ha de estorbarnos para hacer justicia el hecho de que hoy avizoremos otros caminos'. Ruiz Coca, *El Alcázar*, 3 November 1964.

<sup>56</sup> Fernández-Cid, *Informaciones*, 2 November 1964.

<sup>57</sup> 'Todos... hemos subrayado su importancia. España venía siendo excluida u olvidada de los Festivales de Caracas y Washington, y esta importante reunión habida en Madrid hará que nuestro país se incorpore definitivamente a los Festivales que se vienen organizando periódicamente en América'. See "El Festival visto por 4 compositores españoles", *Ritmo*, 349 (December 1964).

For Rodrigo the ultimate proof of success was not simply that Madrid hosted an important international music festival; it was also that Spain would be invited to attend American festivals from then on. The First Festival was crucial, therefore, because it had focused American attention on Spain as well as having opened up new opportunities for Spanish musical composition in the Americas. In this respect, it is not surprising that De Pablo commented enthusiastically that the festival was ‘doubtless the most important musical event Spain has enjoyed since 1936, when the Festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music took place in Barcelona’.<sup>58</sup> Nor is it surprising that Montsalvatge detects mystical undertones, since the First Festival strengthened the ‘spiritual union’ between America and Spain thanks to a ‘community of language, religion and music’.<sup>59</sup>

The most important twentieth-century Spanish composer, Falla, was honoured with an exhibition, the opening of which coincided with the inauguration of the festival, and with the performance of his neoclassical puppet show *El retablo de Maese Pedro*. I postpone a discussion of the decision to include this piece in the festival until Chapter Two. I also cannot discuss the materials exhibited here simply because they are not part of a single collection, making them prohibitively difficult to trace – I have not found the catalogue either. Instead, I intend to look at Falla’s symbolic value as a composer and a source of Spanish culture.

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<sup>58</sup> ‘Sin duda, es el acontecimiento musical más importante—socialmente hablando—que España ha visto desde hace casi treinta años (exactamente, desde 1936, año en que se celebró el Festival de la SIMC en Barcelona)’. De Pablo, “El Festival visto por 4 compositores españoles”.

<sup>59</sup> Xavier Montsalvatge, “El Festival visto por 4 compositores españoles”.

Falla's deeply religious faith aligned him with Franco's soldiers, but in 1939, only a few months after the Civil War had ended and on the verge of World War II, Falla and his sister María del Carmen moved to Argentina, as I mentioned earlier. There the Fallas found a peaceful place where the aging composer could work and rest. Despite their financial problems, which stemmed from difficulties in procuring Falla's copyright dues in a world devastated by the war, they remained in Argentina until the composer's death in 1946.<sup>60</sup>

Falla's presence in Argentina was understood as a cornerstone of musical fraternity between the Americas and Spain, as expressed by articles published about him in daily newspapers during the festival.<sup>61</sup> Amongst these articles, Felipe Ximénez de Sandoval's "With Falla in silence", published in *Arriba*, states this opinion in particularly hyperbolic terms. Ximénez de Sandoval describes Falla as a 'great and generous figure, both strict and fair, who smiles happily in his glory at the sight of the fraternity of his spiritual sons from the two sides of the ocean'.<sup>62</sup>

Nationalism and internationalism, hand in hand, acrobatically bridge the gap between parochialism and universalism. Indeed, they act as representations of the tensions of a nation still hurting from years of isolation. This isolation had been hitherto represented with pride, but in reality Spain craved stronger ties with what it considered its natural friends, former colonies, a sort of Spanish-speaking commonwealth labeled with the banner of "hispanismo".

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<sup>60</sup> Hess, *Sacred Passions*, 243-284.

<sup>61</sup> Enrique Franco lectured on "Manuel de Falla and America" as part of the Festival's lecture series.

<sup>62</sup> 'Inmensa sombra bondadosa y generosa, exigente y justísima, que hoy desde su Gloria de hombre y artista sonreirá con gozo ante la ilusión de una hermandad total entre sus hijos espirituales de un lado y otro del océano'. Felipe Ximénez de Sandoval, "Junto a Falla en silencio", *Arriba*, 23 October 1964.

In light of these considerations, conventional views of cultural power during the Cold War must be reevaluated. Most discussions of cultural propaganda in Cold War Europe present the USA as the origin of the products that made their way to Europe. The concept of 'Cold War music', coined by Martin Brody, was also discussed by Frances Stonor Saunders in her 2000 book *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War*.<sup>63</sup> Saunders has been accused of exaggerating the extent to which the CIA played a role in the making of European cultural policies during the Cold War. However true this might be, the inaccuracy of Saunders's ideas lies in her overall emphasis on the US as the sole source of Western cultural policies at the time. This broader criticism has not been previously articulated by scholars working in Saunders's field.

Instead, in many subsequent treatments of this issue, scholars still focus exclusively on the USA. In her recently published book *New Music, New Allies: American Experimental Music in West Germany from the Zero Hour to Reunification*, as well as in an earlier article on a similar topic, Amy Beal primarily discusses the cultural planning carried out by the American Army in occupied Germany, ignoring the role played by other countries and the complex web of relationships that constituted German musical life.<sup>64</sup> Further supporting this line of thought, Richard Taruskin has recently canonised this American-

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<sup>63</sup> Martin Brody, "'Music for the Masses': Milton Babbitt's Cold War Music Theory", *The Musical Quarterly*, 77 (1993), 161-92; Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (London: Granta, 2000).

<sup>64</sup> See Amy C. Beal, "Negotiating Cultural Allies: American Music in Darmstadt, 1946-1956", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 53 (2000), 105-39 and *New Music, New Allies: American Experimental Music in West Germany from the Zero Hour to Reunification* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 2006), especially pages 11-8.

centric concept of Cold War music by devoting a section to it in his *Oxford History of Western Music*.<sup>65</sup>

The situation in post-war Europe, however, was much more complex than Taruskin and Beal show. In the case of Germany, Toby Thacker suggests in *Music after Hitler* that the four occupying forces—Britain, France, the USA and the USSR—had disparate ideas about which music to promote and how to advance their cultural values.<sup>66</sup>

My research suggests yet another supply chain. Many books on modernism, as well as modernist novels such as James Joyce's *Ulysses*, were read in Spain in Latin-American translations. Many non-mainstream American films, as well as Disney films, arrived in Spain via Argentina or Mexico, with dubbed voices that featured distinct Latin-American accents. Booming Latin-American capitals such as Buenos Aires, Caracas and Mexico City were idealised in Spain, and many Spaniards emigrated to these cities in the 1950s and 1960s. Émigrés sent their relatives in Spain pictures of their brand new cars, refrigerators and washing machines that they could admire and show to their friends. Most importantly, Latin America was also a musical reference, both in popular culture—its dances and songs became the highlight at upper-class parties—and high culture, as reflected in the music of Chávez and Revueltas as well as the experimental literature of Jorge Luis Borges and Alejo Carpentier and the paintings of Diego Rivera.

Cold war culture arrived in Spain also in Spanish, via Latin America, making these imports seem less foreign and thus easier to assimilate than their North American counterparts. Through the international fraternity demonstrated

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<sup>65</sup> Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, vol. 5 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 103-74.

<sup>66</sup> Toby Thacker, *Music after Hitler, 1945-1955* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 1-15.

by the First Festival, this culture was transported as part of a community of 'language, religion and music', as Montsalvatge acknowledged. The First Festival was an event in which the political undertones of the peace celebration took on the garments of 'Hispanismo', an allegedly 'natural' and 'universal' evolution of the culture of Spain and its former colonies.

### **Bienal de Música Contemporánea**

Although the Concert for Peace and the First Festival had passed, the celebrations of the '25 Years of Peace' were not over yet. Between November and December 1964 Madrid hosted an avant-garde music festival called Bienal de Música Contemporánea. Fully sponsored by the Ministry of Information and Tourism and directed by De Pablo, the Bienal featured seven concerts and a lecture series. Naturally, it too was hailed by the media as a milestone of Spanish cultural history. *Ritmo* called the Bienal 'one of the most important achievements in the past twenty-five years, and perhaps the past one hundred'.<sup>67</sup> In his preview for *Aulas*, Marco echoed *Ritmo* when he claimed:

No one can deny that the Bienal transcends the limits of a simple music festival to become a true earthquake in the life of Spanish music. The national, and above all international, attention it has attracted indicates clearly that [the task] undertaken with such enthusiasm helps to integrate our compositions into the international musical arena... Such an

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<sup>67</sup> 'Una de las realizaciones más importantes en estos últimos veinticinco años, y puede que en todo lo que va de siglo'. "I Bienal Internacional de Música Contemporánea", *Ritmo*, 349 (December 1964).

achievement has not been attained at least since the time of Manuel de Falla.<sup>68</sup>

Even if the Bienal's concerts and lectures failed to draw crowds, Marco asserted that the event would still have succeeded because it put Spain back on the map of modern music, something that had not happened since Falla's times.

The list of composers whose music was played in the Bienal includes the most prominent names of the 1960s international avant-garde: Luciano Berio, Pierre Boulez, Earle Brown, John Cage, Niccolò Castiglioni, Giuseppe Chiari, Morton Feldman, Kazuo Fukushima, Rudolf Komorous, Włodzimierz Kotoński, György Ligeti, Toshiro Mayuzumi, Luigi Nono, Seppo Nummi, Maurice Ohana, Frederic Rzewski, Nikos Skalkottas, Karlheinz Stockhausen, Iannis Xenakis, Michael von Biel and Christian Wolff. Spanish avant-garde composers De Pablo, Benaola, Miguel Ángel Coria, Halffter and Juan Hidalgo were included, as well as the holy trinity of the Second Viennese School, Alban Berg, Arnold Schoenberg and Anton Webern. Claude Debussy, Olivier Messiaen and Antón García-Abril completed an ambitious roster.

The lecture series 'Examination of different aesthetic styles in contemporary composition' was opened by José-Eugenio de Baviera y Borbón, avant-garde music enthusiast, aristocrat and President of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (the Spanish Royal Academy of Fine Arts). Five guest lectures followed De Borbón's introduction. First came Manuel Valls

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<sup>68</sup> 'A nadie puede ocultársele que la inminente primera Bienal Internacional de Música Contemporánea trasciende los límites de un simple festival musical para convertirse en una verdadera conmoción del tranquilo discurrir de la vida sonora nacional. La atención interna, y sobre todo externa, que ha despertado nos indica claramente que, a despecho de eventuales detractores, y yo diría más, aun independientemente de su éxito o fracaso, la empresa que con tanto ardor ha cometido el Servicio Nacional de Educación y Cultura supone el mayor intento de integrar en el mundo musical internacional a nuestra música, al menos desde el tiempo de Manuel de Falla'. Marco, "Impacto de una Bienal", *Aulas*, 21 (November, 1964).

Gorina, representing Spain, with his talk entitled 'Contemporary musical notation: reasons and problems'. He was followed by the Italian Massimo Mila with 'Meaning of aleatory music', the German Hans-Heinz Stuckenschmidt with 'Timbre as a constructive factor in contemporary music', the Chilean Vicente Salas Viu with 'Examination of some styles of new music' and the Frenchman Jean-Etienne Marie who spoke on 'Modern media and its influence on the music of our time'. On 6 December there was a final session to draw 'conclusions', as well as a cocktail party.

The national reception was wide indeed. National Radio broadcast the concerts and the lecture series, the main daily papers featured reviews, and the official monthly magazine *Aulas* devoted a special issue to the Bienal that included transcriptions of the lectures. Marco thoroughly reviewed each of the concerts, while Enrique Franco stated that the Bienal was a 'unanimous success'.<sup>69</sup>

The Bienal followed a clear recipe for success. Official support was key. Sopeña stated unambiguously that 'never could a generation of advanced, groundbreaking composers dream of such public support... for the more-or-less artificial creation of a "market"'.<sup>70</sup> Fernández-Cid seemed to agree and also seemed to believe that this support was not a singular occurrence, but rather another instance where 'once again... an official institution is concerned about

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<sup>69</sup> 'El éxito no tuvo disidencias'. Enrique Franco, *Arriba*, 1 December 1964. The special number of *Aulas* is 22 (December 1964).

<sup>70</sup> 'Nunca jamás pudo soñar una generación de compositores, no ya avanzados, sino resueltamente "rompedores" tener tales facilidades, tales apoyos para el estreno, para la edición, para crear más o menos artificialmente un "mercado"'. Sopeña, *Abc*, 29 November 1964.

modern music and sponsors a festival which would otherwise have been impossible'.<sup>71</sup>

Also crucial to the success of the Bienal was the presence of Spanish avant-garde music alongside works by the most prestigious international composers. Referring to the performance of Bernaola's *Espacios variados* and De Pablo's *Testimonio*, Ruiz Coca says that 'it fills us with pride' to listen to 'our music being played together with those of the most illustrious and universal composers'.<sup>72</sup> Ruiz Coca's pride is inseparable from his desire that Spanish music become known abroad:

The Service of Education and Culture... drawing on the masterful expertise of De Pablo has managed to capitalise on the efforts of the last few years. The Bienal has the double objective of showcasing to our public a brief and well-chosen anthology of works and aesthetics with universal validity. At the same time, it offers an exhibition of our music, now freed from the folkloric traits that had characterised it.<sup>73</sup>

The Bienal served as the ultimate sign that Spanish culture and, more importantly, the official promotion of music in Spain, had changed significantly.

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<sup>71</sup> 'De nuevo una entidad oficial se preocupa por la música infrecuente y patrocina un ciclo de imposible desarrollo en otro caso'. Fernández-Cid, *Informaciones*, 30 November 1964.

<sup>72</sup> 'Las obras que cerraron el concierto, ya bien conocidas y comentadas, *Espacios variados* de Bernaola y *Testimonio* de Luis de Pablo, poniendo dos firmas españolas como colofón de la Bienal, nos llenan de orgullo, al poder escuchar nuestra nueva música al nivel de los nombres más ilustres universales'. Ruiz Coca, *El Alcázar*, 9 December 1964.

<sup>73</sup> 'El Servicio de Educación y Cultura de Organizaciones del Movimiento, al convocar estas reuniones, con la inteligente asesoría de Luis de Pablo, ha sabido polarizar los esfuerzos de los últimos años, con el doble objetivo de mostrar a nuestro público una breve y bien elegida antología de obras y estéticas con validez universal, ofreciendo, al propio tiempo, a los visitantes extranjeros un muestrario de la realidad de nuestro arte, ya liberado de los tópicos pintoresquistas, que, hasta hace pocos años, lo había calificado ante propios y extraños'. Ruiz Coca, *El Alcázar*, 1 December 1964.

The 'folklorism' of the previous era, often synonymous with nationalism, was replaced by a modern Spanish aesthetic that aligned itself with universal ideals.

In addition to its domestic effects, the Bienal had a certain international impact. In particular, Massimo Mila's article in the Italian daily newspaper *L'Espresso* entitled "Schoenberg amongst the *falangisti* [Spanish fascists]", attracted attention.<sup>74</sup> Mila's article commented on the significance of the promotion of avant-garde music in Spain, highlighting the peculiar nature of a group of fascists who celebrated Schoenberg. However, he over-simplified the Spanish political situation and wrongly characterised Franco's dictatorship as fascist, when it had already changed to a technocracy. According to De Pablo, Franco's cultural authorities understandably did not like Mila's article.

They reacted quite differently to Arthur Custer's 1965 article in *The Musical Quarterly*. Entitled "Contemporary Music in Spain", the article surveyed the emergence of the avant-garde musical environment in Spain and discussed the Bienal at length. Custer first asserted unambiguously that 'current musical practice in Spain finds its focus in a concern for the "universalization" of Spanish music...Their syntax is serialism'.<sup>75</sup> However, Custer was not 'simply' an American citizen who happened to live in Spain, as De Pablo describes him.<sup>76</sup> I argue that his involvement with a number of Spanish avant-garde musical activities and his enthusiastic advocacy of them had deep-seated political motives.

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<sup>74</sup> Massimo Mila, "Schoenberg tra i falangisti", *L'Espresso*, 15 December 1964.

<sup>75</sup> Arthur Custer, "Contemporary Music in Spain", *The Musical Quarterly, Special Fiftieth Anniversary Issue: Contemporary Music in Europe: A Comprehensive Survey*, 51 (1965). (Revised version of an article first published in *MQ*, 48 [1962], 1-18), 44.

<sup>76</sup> Personal interview with De Pablo.

After serving in the United States Navy, Custer (b. 1923) graduated from the University of Connecticut in 1949 with a major in music education.<sup>77</sup> He then studied composition at the University of Redlands in California under Paul Pisk, receiving instruction in twelve-tone techniques and graduating in 1951 with a Master's degree in Music. In 1952 Custer took a position as Assistant Professor of Music at Kansas Wesleyan University, becoming the Head of the Department of Fine Arts in 1954. After a short period in Omaha, he entered the PhD programme at the University of Iowa in 1956, studying under Philip Bezanson. Upon receiving his doctorate, Custer took up a position as Director of Music at the American School in Seville, Spain.

While in Spain, he became involved with a group of Spanish avant-garde composers who would be known as the Generation of 1951 (discussed in the following chapter), joined the Sociedad General de Autores de España—the association in charge of Spanish copyright—and eventually had several of his compositions, including his *Symphony 1* and *Concert Piece for Orchestra*, performed by the Madrid Philharmonic. He moved to Madrid in 1960 to take up the position of Supervisor of Music for the US Air Force Dependent Schools in Spain. During his time there, he hosted a Sunday morning programme, *Music for Music's Sake*, on Armed Forces Radio. In addition to these pursuits, Custer worked with the US Information Service as the music consultant to Casa Americana, giving lectures, conducting and helping to organise a series of concerts of American music, which included a visit by the composer Aaron Copland in June of 1961 (probably the one he refers to in the quote with which I

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<sup>77</sup> All the information on Custer is from David Sherman, "Historical Note", *Arthur Russell Custer Papers*, University of Rhode Island: Special Collections (Accessed 28 January 2007), <[http://www.uri.edu/library/special\\_collections/registers/manuscripts/custer/historical.html](http://www.uri.edu/library/special_collections/registers/manuscripts/custer/historical.html)>

started the introduction to this thesis). He returned to the US in 1962, but kept close ties with Spain until his death in 1998.

As an employee of the American government, Custer played a significant role in promoting avant-garde music in Spain. He helped organise Copland's visit, supported Spanish composers in his radio programme and published an article in *The Musical Quarterly* that some Spanish avant-garde composers still mention as the most important token of scholarly support they ever received. Custer was not 'simply' an American citizen; he was a deeply involved American public employee in Spain. Furthermore, he was in charge of implementing typically American Cold War cultural policies in Europe. The label 'cultural agent' may be too strong to describe Custer's situation, but he was clearly a keen supporter of the ideas of the Congress for Cultural Freedom (discussed in chapter five) and their implementation in Spain. His article, therefore, cannot be understood as an example of uninterested praise.

The state-sponsored promotion of avant-garde music in Spain was not confined to 1964; on the contrary it was a phenomenon that started with technocracy, at some point in the mid-fifties, and lasted until Franco's death. The director of the National Radio, Enrique Franco, was one of the most important supporters of avant-garde music, and especially of the Generation of 1951. Under his influence, Radio Nacional began to promote the performance of avant-garde music, in particular Spanish compositions, but also the most relevant international pieces. In fact, Radio Nacional broadcast most of the avant-garde music events examined in this thesis. Enrique Franco also organised programmes dedicated to the discussion of this music; by 1954 he had already engaged Cristóbal Halffter to talk about modern music on a daily

basis.<sup>78</sup> In an interview with me, De Pablo said that Enrique Franco was ‘not a Stuckenschmidt or a Jean-Etienne Marie, but for Spanish standards he made a huge difference to the musical life of the country’.<sup>79</sup> Recent events have paid homage to his efforts and enthusiasm. In January 2007 Enrique Franco was surrounded by the Generation of 1951 and other avant-garde composers at the presentation of *Escritos de Enrique Franco*, a compilation of his articles with a foreword by Marco.<sup>80</sup>

As the most public of all the institutions that supported the Spanish avant garde, Radio Nacional had the greatest and most extensive impact. However, a number of publicly-funded instrumental groups and ensembles provided the necessary infrastructure. The two symphonic orchestras in Madrid played a significant role in the promotion of avant-garde music. The National Symphony Orchestra was founded in 1940 with a conventional purpose: to play Spanish music as well as the most important works of the European repertory. In 1973 Madrid critic Antonio Fernández-Cid wrote that the programmes of the orchestra were ‘very conservative in essence and by tradition and hardly ever change’.<sup>81</sup> On the contrary, I argue that the National Symphony Orchestra keenly

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<sup>78</sup> Enrique Franco, “Música y músicos en la radio española”, *Música*, 8-9 (1954), 29.

<sup>79</sup> Personal interview with De Pablo, Madrid, December 2005.

<sup>80</sup> Tomás Marco, ed. *Escritos de Enrique Franco* (Madrid: Fundación Albéniz, 2006), see Foreword.

<sup>81</sup> The programmes of Orquesta Nacional are ‘harto conservadores por hábito y tradición que apenas se altera a lo largo de su historia’. Fernández-Cid, *La música española del siglo XX* (Madrid: Fundación Juan March, 1973), 185. Fernández-Cid had already published a book on the National Symphony Orchestra in 1953: *La Orquesta Nacional de España (Introducción, tema, variaciones y coda)* (Madrid: Dirección General de Bellas Artes-Comisaría de la Música, 1953). For a more general survey of the activities of the National Symphony Orchestra, see García del Busto, *Orquesta Nacional de España: Crónica de sesenta años* (Madrid: OCNE, 2002). A list of all the programmes played by the orchestra between its foundation and 1980 is to be found in Luis Alonso, *40 años de Orquesta Nacional* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1982). All the information about programmes I quote in this chapter is from this source.

supported the Spanish avant-garde as well as its international counterpart in the 1960s and 1970s.

Between 1958 and 1978, the National Symphony Orchestra presented seventy programmes that included Spanish avant-garde music, in particular works by members of the Generation of 1951. That figure means that the orchestra played three and a half Spanish avant-garde music programmes per year. More significantly, the orchestra chose such pieces for its international tours. On 26 October 1960, it played Halffter's *Microformas* at the Salle Pleyel in Paris. His *Requiem por la libertad imaginada* was performed at the Teatro Comunale in Florence on 19 and 20 May 1972, while his cantata *Yes, speak out, yes* was played in the Grande Auditório in Lisbon on 3 July 1973. Clearly, Cristóbal Halffter's music appeared the most frequently on the orchestra's programmes that included the avant garde; De Pablo's music came second. Their music was paired with Schuller's *7 estudios sobre cuadros de Paul Klee* in 1962, with Ligeti's *Aparitions* in 1972 and with Edgard Varèse's *Amériques* and Ligeti's *Lontano* in 1974, to name a few instances.

The Orquesta Sinfónica de Radio Televisión Española (Spanish National Radio Symphony Orchestra, heretofore referred to as the 'OSRTVE') also contributed to the promotion of avant-garde music. The OSRTVE was founded by the Ministry of Information and Tourism under Minister Manuel Fraga in 1966. This ensemble focused on the performance of national and international repertory as well as Spanish premieres, and was less inclined than the National Symphony Orchestra to play foreign avant-garde pieces. Enrique Franco usually wrote the programme notes for these concerts, in addition to overseeing the radio broadcasts and writing the reviews for *Arriba*.

The OSRTVE commissioned a number of works from the prominent Spanish avant-garde composers, most frequently from Halffter and De Pablo. It premiered Pablo's *Sinfonía para instrumentos de viento* on 17 December 1966; Halffter's *Brechtlieder* was first played on 8 April 1967 and his *Anillos* was first performed on 8 November 1969. Other composers besides the 'top two' received commissions, among them Bernaola (*Impulsos*, 8 April 1972), Francisco Cano (*Sensorial*, 1974) and Gombau (*Grupos tímbricos*, 25 March 1972). The OSRTVE played the first Spanish performances of De Pablo's *Imaginario II* and a number of works by Marco.

Beyond the efforts of these orchestras, avant-garde music was also promoted through the important public initiative of the Semanas de Música Española, which were celebrated in different Spanish towns between 1971 and 1974. Their traditional character and their intrinsically nationalistic tone notwithstanding, at least one programme every year out of a total of seven was devoted to avant-garde music. The I Semana took place in Salamanca in May 1971. On 6 May Bernaola's *Trío* was played, together with Gombau's *Texturas y estructuras* and Jesús Villa-Rojo's *Tres piezas op. 2-A*. The next day featured music by Gombau and De Pablo's *La libertad sonrío*, a commission by the I Semana. Zaragoza hosted the II Semana in the spring of 1972. One of the programmes, played by the Koan Quartett, was entirely devoted to the avant garde and included Gombau's *Texturas y estructuras*, Barce's *Parábola*, Rodrigo A. de Santiago's *Imagen Sonora de un quinteto en Fa*, Oliver's *Interpolaciones* (a world première), Marco's *Kukulkan* and Prieto's *El juego en la música*.

The III Semana, which was celebrated in Santiago de Compostela in March 1973, featured two programmes devoted to avant-garde music. On 21 March the Wind Quintett of the OSRTVE played Agustín Bertomeu's *Quinteto*, Manuel Castillo's *Quinteto op. 2*, Victorino Echevarría's *Quinteto en Re menor*, Gombau's *In Memoriam* and De Santiago's *Imagen sonora de un quinteto en Fa*. On 25 March the avant-garde music ensemble Diabolus in Musica played the world premiere of R. Alis's *Campus Stellae*, Blanquer's *Abracadabra* and Guijoan's *Improvisación I*, along with González Acilu's *Contracturas*, Halffter's *Antiphonismoi*, D. Padrós's *Stix* and the Spanish premiere of Marco's *Nuba*. In May 1974 the IV Semana returned to Santiago de Compostela, and again two programmes presented avant-garde Spanish works. On 7 May, music by Barce, Marco and Villa-Rojo was played, followed by a talk by Marco. Bernaola's *Sinfonía en Do* was also performed during this festival. Avant-garde music was hegemonic in this important publicly-funded festival.

While the Semanas targeted national audiences, in 1965 the Festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) and the second and third editions of the Festival de América y de España had far more significant international resonance. In March 1965 *Ritmo* published extensive information about the meeting of the ISCM in Madrid, at which the participants set the programme for the festival. At that time, the ISCM was formed by Argentina, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, England, Finland, France, Germany, Holland, Hungary, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, the US, Yugoslavia and Spain, all capitalist countries, with the exception of Yugoslavia, which was a relatively US-friendly country in Eastern Europe. The representatives of these countries

received excessive diplomatic and media attention; they were welcomed at the airport by important Francoist officials, and the ministers of Information and Tourism and of Education hosted a gala dinner for them that was attended by the Madrid music critics.

The members of the ISCM faced the task of selecting twenty-eight works for performance out of a pool of over one hundred and twenty. Spain put forward De Pablo's *Polar*, Halffter's *Secuencias* and De Falla's *El retablo*, which the Spanish press hailed as the 'Spanish contribution to new musical trends'.<sup>82</sup> In June 1965, a month after the Festival had taken place, *Ritmo* published an editorial article about the progress in music history entitled "Adelante, hacia las conquistas de la Música" (Move forward with the conquests of Music). This article teleologically connects the avant garde to the history of Western music, beginning with Eximenus and Guido D'Arezzo and moving through Rousseau, Beethoven and Wagner.<sup>83</sup> In the review of the events, *Ritmo* highlights the 'perfect organization' and the 'triumph for Spain' and the audience 'which has filled' the auditoriums. But it emphasises:

Most foreign composers came to listen to their music. Some important representatives of foreign media also came. These critics and musicologists will honestly report on the importance of this musical event that is taking place in Spain. Thus, they will contribute to the exaltation of Spain in those countries which have proved to be friends of our nation.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> 'Aportación española a las nuevas tendencias de la música'. *Ritmo*, 354 (June 1965).

<sup>83</sup> "Adelante, hacia las conquistas de la Música", *Ritmo*, 354 (June 1965).

<sup>84</sup> 'Los compositores extranjeros acudieron en su mayoría a la audición de sus obras, y con ellos, destacados representantes de la prensa internacional: críticos y musicólogos que informarán con toda veracidad de la importancia de esta manifestación musical en España,

Once again, it seems crucial to the Spanish media that Spain is portrayed abroad as a modern place, if only in those countries that are ‘friends of our nation’.

The success of the First Festival de América y España prompted the celebration of a second one. This happened in Madrid between 14 and 28 October 1967 and featured Cristóbal Halffter on the panel. Held in Madrid between 1 and 11 October 1970, the Third Festival de América y España boasted not only Halffter on its panel, but Enrique Franco as well. The prominent placement of an avant-garde composer and of the champion of the Spanish avant-garde explains the presence in the programme of four world premieres, 21 European premieres and three Spanish premieres. Spain was represented by avant-garde music: Bernaola’s *Espacios variados*, De Pablo’s *Prosodia*, Bertomeu’s *Confluencia sobre Do sostenido*, Marco’s *Aura para cuarteto de cuerda*, Montsalvatge’s *Cinco invocaciones al crucificado*, Gonzalo de Olavide’s *Sistemas II* and Halffter’s *Anillos*, among others. Piston’s *Quintet*, Custer’s *Found objects II*, Cage’s *Atlas Eclipticalis*, John Corigliano’s *Piano concerto* and Varèse’s *Densidad 21.5* represented the USA.

This chapter has hitherto presented evidence of an unprecedented avant-garde music life in Spain which counted on the support of public institutions, from the Ministry of Culture to the National Radio. I have also discussed musical events that show that Spain was anything but isolated from international avant-garde circles. After having ploughed through numerous facts and dates, the patient

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añadiendo una nota más a la exaltación española en aquellos países que se muestran amigos de nuestra nación’. *Ritmo*, 354 (June 1965).

reader must be wondering, firstly, who was behind these policies and, secondly, what they meant in the context of technocratic Spain.

One of the architects of these cultural policies was Manuel Fraga, the Minister of Information and Tourism. He led a group of young politicians called 'aperturistas', who favoured limited reform; it is widely accepted that Fraga was responsible for the cautious liberalisation of the press, leading to the passing of the 1966 Press Bill which abolished pre-emptive censorship. Fraga supported national hotels and *paradores* in an effort to improve the international image of the country.<sup>85</sup> As he repeatedly states in his memoirs, he was a keen Francoist who, however, wanted to give the dictatorship a new image as a modern regime.<sup>86</sup> The arts could play a key role in this process, and Fraga, a cultured Anglophile, knew it.

Fraga's cultural policies reflected the newborn alliance between Spain and the Western countries of the Cold War. The financial help offered by the USA to European countries after World War II, known as the Marshall Plan, had not favoured Spain. The 1953 film *¡Bienvenido Mister Marshall!*, directed by Luis García Berlanga, exemplifies this situation (see Fig. 3 in page 63): a poor, folkloric and autarchic Spanish village prepares a great party to receive Marshall himself.<sup>87</sup> However, in the final scene, one can see the black cars carrying Marshall and his party sweep through the village without stopping. This image captures the state of the hopeless, uncultivated and poor people of Spain, but it also describes the meagre relations between the dictatorship and Western democracies. Determined to establish Spain as an ally to Western

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<sup>85</sup> A *parador* is a Spanish castle or palace converted into a hotel and run by the state.

<sup>86</sup> See Manuel Fraga, *Memoria breve de una vida pública* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1980).

<sup>87</sup> Luis García Berlanga wrote the script for this film in collaboration with Miguel Mihura and Juan Antonio Bardem. The film obtained a prize at Cannes and was premiered in 1953.

democracies, Fraga tried to align Spanish culture with the cultural modernity in fashion in the West while building bridges between the Spanish technocracy and Western democracies.<sup>88</sup>

The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.

Fig.3 : Poster for *¡Bienvenido Mister Marshall!*

Fraga's memoirs on musical life in the 1960s perfectly preserve the mindset that drove these changes. He characterised his period at the Ministry of Information and Tourism as one marked by many commissions and premieres of 'abstract' works. He describes the 'Concert for Peace' in detail, noting that some of the music played in the concert was 'abstract indeed'.<sup>89</sup> Fraga's emphasis on the 'abstract' characteristics of the music reveals a political

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<sup>88</sup> During the 1960s, the daily presence of American politics in Spanish newspapers contrasted with the scarce mention of European affairs. Europe was often accused of dangerous leftist tendencies while the United States was praised as a friend of Spain. The frequent visits of American authorities to Spain were always documented with pictures and many lengthy columns.

<sup>89</sup> Fraga, *Memoria breve*, 112.

intention behind these artistic choices in the very circumstances where the regime would have claimed to have no such motive.

Why, then, the avant garde? The critical reception of the events discussed above provides me with a well of material to come up with an answer. In most reviews of the 'Concert for Peace' and the other avant-garde events politics are not discussed. Instead, these texts stress three other elements: the music is 'modern', 'objective' and goes 'beyond nationalism' to become 'truly international'. Avant-garde music's supposed 'modernity', 'objectivity' and 'internationalism' suited technocratic Spain well. Finding a useful parallelism between technocracy and the avant-garde, Franco's cultural authorities and music publicists promoted avant-garde music in order to perform a political shift: an autarchic and ultra-nationalist country giving way to an internationally accepted one that wanted to imitate—to a certain extent, without giving up its dictatorial political regime—Western democracies. The 'Concert for Peace' and its critical reception, in particular, demonstrate that avant-garde music played a crucial role in this process of propaganda.

The programming of avant-garde music and, more importantly, its portrayal in the media as non ideological, present a musical style as 'modern' and forward looking using words similar to those used to portray the dictatorship as equally 'modern' and forward-looking. Some of the older Spanish music lovers I have interviewed for this thesis claimed that they did not understand the music, but it was clear to them it was modern and good. Enrique Sacau-Davila, my grandfather, interviewed for this thesis said: "The meaning of the 'Concert for Peace' escaped me. But we were told it was good, it was

American-like and modern, and symbolised the progress of Spain and indeed represented the very reason for which I fought the war on Franco's side".

The importance of promoting the avant-garde extended to arts beyond music. A social and cultural myth surrounding abstract paintings helped the government to justify its overt support of this form of art. This myth concerned the allegedly 'abstract' murals in the Cave of Altamira—at over 14,000 years old, one of the oldest manifestations of art ever found—that were considered quintessential examples of the ancient 'Hispanic' civilization. Using this evidence, Spanish cultural authorities could argue that abstract art was part of the ancient national character and was rooted in the oldest Iberian cultural practices. Abstract pictures were the best artworks Spanish culture could offer the world, since they were a modern version of one of the most 'primitive manifestation[s] of the Spanish being'.<sup>90</sup> In *Movements in Art Since 1945*, Edward Lucie-Smith puts this theory into practice when he discusses Spanish abstract painter Manolo Millares (1926-1972) who 'enjoyed a certain degree of favour in the eyes of the authorities in Franco's day'.<sup>91</sup>

However, a significant difference exists between 'enjoying a certain degree of favour' and having a work played at the most important musical event ever staged under Franco. The extant literature on music in Cold War Europe does not discuss such straightforward uses of avant-garde music to promote the political allegiances of a country as seen in Spain. That Franco's cultural authorities used avant-garde music to perform a political shift challenges the

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<sup>90</sup> Julián Díaz Sánchez, "Al servicio del espíritu: la redefinición de la vanguardia artística en el franquismo", *Dos décadas de cultura artística en el franquismo*, eds. Ignacio Henares Cuellar, María Isabel Cabrera García, Gemma Pérez Zalduondo and José Castillo Ruiz (Granada: Universidad, 2001), vol. 1, 269 and 275.

<sup>91</sup> Edward Lucie-Smith, *Movements in Art Since 1945*, revised edition (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000; first published, 1969), 60-1.

commonly accepted idea of the avant-garde as an inherently rebellious and primarily leftist musical style. The 'Concert for Peace' and its critical reception played an important role in the regime's efforts, but it was not the only event of its kind that occurred in 1964. Having examined the First Festival and the Bienal reframes the rhetoric surrounding the 'Concert for Peace' as part of a wider strategy on the part of Franco's cultural authorities. These and other avant-garde activities demonstrate a sustained effort on the part of Franco to support the composition and performance of avant-garde music, but this effort was by no means isolated. In the following chapters I discuss other major avant-garde musical activities.

Furthermore, these activities raise a number of questions. First, the reasons behind the presence of Falla's music at some of the most important celebrations are unclear. Second, the general and repeated claim that Spanish modern composition overcame nationalism has been reproduced elsewhere without sufficient critical detachment. By juxtaposing these two issues in chapter two, I connect them to a broader reinvention of Spanish musical nationalism that occurred in the 1960s and 1970s.

## Chapter 2

### The Generation of 1951 and Falla: Searching for a Place in History

In *Imagining Spain: Historical Myth and National Identity*, American historian Henry Kamen states:

The myth of decline is the most fundamental of all myths in Spain's history, because it supplies a simple and universal explanation for every aspect of the country's development. It will survive for as long as the myth of Spain's greatness in the age of empire survives, since it is the exact reverse of it: a mirror image that contrasts present disasters with past successes.<sup>92</sup>

While Kamen describes this view of the past as quintessentially Spanish, it surfaces in the collective psyche of other countries. The evident nostalgia of some British conservatives, who seem ever willing to go back to the times of the empire, resonates with Spain's wistful memories of past colonial glory. However, in Spain conservatives and progressives often share the nation's foundational myths, even if, as Kamen argues, 'in time... these groups disagreed over exactly what the founding myths represent, and they went on to elaborate [different] political principles'.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Henry Kamen, *Imagining Spain: Historical Myth & National Identity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 172. In his *Spain's Road to Empire: The Making of a World Power 1492-1763* (London: Allen Lane, 2002), Kamen questions the might of the Spanish empire, arguing instead that it was a not very coherent, corrupt and inefficient machine whose end could not be reversed by inept politicians.

<sup>93</sup> Kamen, *Imagining Spain*, xii.

This form of pessimism carries with it significant implications. According to Spanish historiography, at the height of the empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, literature, fine arts and music flourished in the Iberian Peninsula. The best-known representatives of this period of splendor were Miguel de Cervantes (author of *Quijote*), Diego de Velázquez (painter of *Las Meninas*) and, in the musical world, Francisco Guerrero (1528-1599), Cristóbal de Morales (c.1500-1553) and Tomás Luis de Victoria (1548-1611). As seen by Spanish intellectuals, the Golden Age 'established an immovable peak' in which Spain enjoyed 'riches, pride, influence, empire [and] cultural hegemony'.<sup>94</sup>

Since the Golden Age Spanish culture has declined, and Spanish historiography implies that this loss was due to a decrease in riches, national pride, influence and empire. Only at the beginning of the twentieth century, shortly after the loss in 1898 of the last Spanish enclaves overseas (Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines) in a short yet disastrous war against the emergent United States, national culture experienced a revival. In spite of economic crisis, a feeling existed at the time that the country was nonetheless living what historians now call the Silver Age of Spanish culture. This period, as described by José Ortega y Gasset's disciple Julián Marías, was characterised by a generation of cosmopolitan intellectuals willing to look beyond the Pyrenees in search for inspiration. These intellectuals, Marías argues, exaggerated the country's economic woes since at that time Spain actually fared quite well compared to most European nations.<sup>95</sup> But the idea of national cataclysm engendered a pro-European reaction from many intellectuals whose

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<sup>94</sup> Kamen, *Imagining Spain*, xii

<sup>95</sup> This is discussed in Julián Marías, *España ante la historia y ante sí misma (1898-1936)* (Madrid: Espasa, 1996), see epilogue. First published in *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal*, ed. Pedro Laín Entralgo (Madrid: Espasa, 1994), vol. 38.

guiding principle was suitably summarised by philosopher and novelist Miguel de Unamuno: 'Spain waits to be discovered, and only Europeanised Spaniards will discover it'.<sup>96</sup> Or, in Ortega's words, 'Spain is the problem, Europe is the solution'. Thus the emphasis on decline was not backward-looking but positive, since it promoted a strive to achieve again the cultural excellence of the past. The past became an indicator of future glory, with decline sandwiched between the two as a transitory phase in which Spain was isolated.<sup>97</sup>

The Silver Age was subsequently divided into successive generations. The two most important before the Civil War were the so-called 'Generation of 1898' and 'Generation of 1927'. The musical representatives of the former were Isaac Albéniz and Enrique Granados; Manuel de Falla (1876-1946) represented the latter and is generally considered the most important composer of the Silver Age. Albéniz, Granados, and Falla introduced Spanish concert music to international circles after centuries of total obliteration and neglect. As their biographies often acknowledge, these three figures were Europeanised Spaniards.<sup>98</sup> For most historians, the deaths of Albéniz and Granados, Falla's exile and the autarchic cultural policies put in place after the Civil War brought the international flourishing of Spanish music to an abrupt end. The result was a period of isolation, as exemplified by the agenda of music journalism in autarchic Spain.

This chapter is neither about the Golden nor the Silver Age of Spanish culture. Instead, I focus on the Generation of 1951, which both fuelled and

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<sup>96</sup> Unamuno quoted in Kamen, *Imagining Spain*, 186.

<sup>97</sup> Kamen, *Imagining Spain*, 174.

<sup>98</sup> I discuss the extant literature on Falla later in this chapter. As for Albéniz and Granados, the most comprehensive monographs are both by Walter Aaron Clark. See, *Isaac Albéniz: Portrait of a Romantic* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) and *Enrique Granados: Poet of the Piano* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

benefited from changes in the official promotion of music that occurred during the technocratic phase of the dictatorship. I am mainly interested in discussing the Generation of 1951's historical anxieties, and I focus on three specific issues. First, I attempt to define the Generation of 1951; it is not simply a group of musicians, I argue, but an ethos, an attitude, which was embraced by journalists, music publicists and politicians, whom I also consider members of this generation. Second, I discuss the emotional relationship of this generation to the memory of Falla as representative of the Silver Age. Finally, I argue that the myths concerning the relationship between the Generation of 1951 and the memory of Falla, as well as the rhetoric put in place in order to explain such relationship, continue to thrive in Spanish musicology and music criticism. Because these models exist today, I lastly turn my attention to characterising modern Spanish musicological practice in relation with the narrative of decline which has the Golden and Silver Age in the background.

More importantly, I believe, this chapter explores the blurry boundaries between music composition and musicological discourse. This is not a factual chapter, but an attempt to introduce the reader to a cultural environment, a mixture of collective and individual feelings about the past whose emotional charge can be difficult to convey at times.

### **Avant-garde music and the media**

As shown in chapter 1, committees, societies and authorities stuffed state-sponsored musical events to the brim with avant-garde music, which received an extra boost from the careful attention paid to them by the media. The most important cultural magazines celebrated the eagerness of the authorities to

promote avant-garde music, displaying a drastic break from a recent past, autarchic Spain, which these very magazines had previously celebrated. In particular, the most important classical music magazine, *Ritmo*, provides an excellent example of the evolution of musical promotion and taste in Franco's Spain.

Founded in 1910, *Ritmo* accurately reflects the cultural trends of Franco's dictatorship as well as its political agendas. There in 1941 Sopeña published an article praising Hitler and Mussolini; in 1945 the editorial article referred to the 'extraordinary President of the USA, Roosevelt'.<sup>99</sup> As explained in the introduction to this thesis, during World War II Franco's Spain shifted its support from the Axis to the Allies. Seeing that Hitler and Mussolini had slim chances of winning, the regime first adopted a neutrality policy, followed by open gestures that indicated Franco's sympathies towards the winning armies. *Ritmo* reflects this shift. Indeed, from 1945 onwards the content of the magazine showed an increasing interest for American music and included a 'noticiero jazzístico' (Jazz news). In terms of national musical policies, the tone of the magazine was triumphal during the 1940s and 1950s: it claimed Spanish music was experiencing a wonderful period and that little should be done to change it. *Ritmo* declared nationalistic music to be the future and anointed Joaquín Rodrigo the most important composer.

By the late 1950s, however, some avant-garde composers and their supporters began to complain about the musical climate of the country, which they deemed as nationalistic and conservative. In January 1957 *Ritmo* identified this as a problem.<sup>100</sup> The recipe to overcome this situation, they claimed, was

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<sup>99</sup> 'Genial presidente de los Estados Unidos, Roosevelt'. See *Ritmo* 147 and 192, respectively.

<sup>100</sup> "Meditación post balance", *Ritmo*, 284 (January 1957).

threefold. They wanted the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to foster the performance of Spanish avant-garde compositions abroad; they charged the Ministry of Education with filling the same role domestically; and they expected the press to support these efforts. If this formula were successfully implemented, the editorial article argued, Spaniards would have to prepare themselves to write 'glorious pages for the History of Spanish Music'.<sup>101</sup>

From subsequent issues of *Ritmo*, it seems that these 'glorious pages' followed close on the heels of this proclamation. In May 1958 the magazine published an enthusiastic article about Juventudes Musicales, a concert society that programmed the music of Ramón Barce, Luis De Pablo and Cristóbal Halffter and engaged Enrique Franco to lecture on the 'Tendencias actuales de la nueva música' (Current trends of new music). At the end of that year, *Ritmo* wholeheartedly praised the Grupo Nueva Música (an avant-garde society) in an editorial article entitled "Un solo frente" (One unified front), of obvious military connotations.<sup>102</sup> Following this title, Spanish music was explained to function in 'one unified front' that included both composers and critics, united with the common goal of placing Spanish music 'in the realm of absolute universalism without the slightest romantic trait'. *Ritmo's* enthusiasm for the avant garde took a few swipes at audiences who did not share the magazine's taste. In 1960 the following passage appeared:

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<sup>101</sup> 'Páginas gloriosas a la Historia de la Música española'. *Ritmo*, 294 (Abril, 1958).

<sup>102</sup> 'A las puertas del universalismo absoluto sin el menor reflejo romántico'. *Ritmo*, 299 (December, 1958).

Some members of the audience at the matinees of the [Teatro] Monumental have crossed the line. They take the premiere of a more or less dodecaphonic or atonal piece as an excuse to cause trouble.<sup>103</sup>

According to *Ritmo*, individuals who disliked the dodecaphonic premieres and other atonal pieces deserved the labels in the title of this article: “Gamberrismo y cerrilismo musical” (Anti-social behaviour and musical narrow-mindedness). Slowly but steadily, therefore, avant-garde music became part of the establishment to the point that the adjective ‘gamberrismo’ could be applied to those who opposed it. Enrique Franco did not hesitate to use the word ‘terrorism’ to describe the boeing of the premiere of Halffter’s *Microformas* in 1961.<sup>104</sup> For Barce:

It is embarrassing to feel the need to remind the audience of elemental truths such as that contemporary music, just as the music of all times, has a meaning, an inner logic and that is not easy, but as difficult as any other music was when it was created. In a few years historical perspective... will teach us... that from one aesthetic movement to the next you can trace all the steps.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> ‘Ya se va pasando de la ralla cierto público asistente a los matinales del Monumental, y no hay domingo sin su poquito de ‘meneo’, con pretexto de un estreno más o menos dodecafónico, de una obra contemporánea atonal...’ “Gamberrismo y cerrilismo musical”, *Ritmo*, 308 (January, 1960).

<sup>104</sup> Quoted in Emilio Casares, *Cristóbal Halffter*, (Oviedo: Universidad, 1980), 86.

<sup>105</sup> ‘Avergüenza un poco tener que decir cosas tan elementales como que la música actual— como la de todos los tiempos—tiene un sentido, una estructura interior y un desarrollo lógico, y que no es fácil, sino tan difícil como cualquier otra música lo fue en su momento... La perspectiva histórica... nos dirá, dentro de algunos años... que de una estética a otra pueden contarse todos los pasos’. Barce, “Aspectos y problemas de la música española”, *Ritmo*, 312 (July 1960).

This embarrassment he feels at stating such 'elemental' truth probably led the reticent audience to believe that the music they may have abhorred was to the present what Beethoven's compositions were to its time. This is a recurrent trope in avant-garde rhetoric.

*Ritmo* championed the cause of avant-garde music, and other publications such as *Música*, *Harmonía*, *Acento*, *Sonda* and *Aulas* contributed to this effort. One of the most important magazines at this time was *Aulas de Educación y Cultura* because, under the direction of Félix María Ezquerro, it was the strongest advocate of avant-garde art. *Aulas* regularly featured articles by Barce, De Pablo, Halffter, Marco and other important avant-garde music supporters. *Aulas* also published translations of articles by Mario Bartolotto, Lucien Goethals, Ligeti, Stockhausen, Webern, as well as specials on the Bienal and information about the musical activities at Darmstadt. *Aulas* had no room for non-experimental music. The same aesthetic criteria applied to *Sonda*, which was published between 1967 and 1974 by Juventudes Musicales. In its seven issues it included articles by foreign avant-garde composers and critics as well as the most prominent Spanish ones. *Sondas* also informed its readership about avant-garde music activities in Madrid, focusing especially on the internationally-minded experimental musical laboratory Alea.

These cultural magazines, together with the musical activities that they supported, document the historical change that occurred in the realm of musical promotion during Franco's regime. Immediately after the Civil War, late Romantic, nationalistic music was promoted by Spain's cultural authorities and duly endorsed by the media. A self-complacent patriotism dominated music criticism, whose task was to support the autarchic culture of autarchic Spain.

Dancing to the rhythm of political change—and indeed, as the title of this thesis suggests, performing it—music composition and music criticism responded to the new needs of technocratic Spain and contributed to the implementation and promotion of new cultural policies on the part of the dictatorship. However, these sudden changes put composers and critics at a complex historical crossroad. They had to break with their recent past, which they had hitherto praised with abundance of hyperbolic adjectives. Moreover, they were left with no roots, emotional or technical, and therefore lost in the barren land of a fatherless present. This shift forced them to search for a legitimising past. By ‘they’, I mean the Generation of 1951 and its supporters.

### **The Generation of 1951**

The Ateneo de Madrid was, and still is, a cultural club. From the late 1950s until the end of Franco’s dictatorship, it strongly supported avant-garde activities in the arts, literature and also music. Due to its links with Opus Dei, I discuss the musical activities of the Ateneo de Madrid in chapter four. But it is relevant to note here that the Grupo Nueva Música was born there. Composer Ramón Barce (b. 1930) was largely responsible for forming the group in December 1958. Its members were composers born around 1930 who were too young to have fought the Civil War. They had been educated in autarchic Spain and were eager to react against the conservatism of Spanish musical life, which they doomed as nationalistic. With the exception of Antón García-Abril, most members of the Grupo Nueva Música were avant-garde composers.

Among these are Luis de Pablo, Cristóbal Halffter, Ramón Barce, Amando Blanquer, Agustín Bertomeu, Manuel Castillo, Carmelo Alonso

Bernaola, Antón García Abril, Juan José Falcón Sanabria, Miguel Angel Coria Varela, Angel Oliver, Francisco Calés, Juan Hidalgo, Angel Arteaga and Claudio Prieto. This generation derives its name from the year in which most of its members began to compose. Initially they admired Bartók and Stravinsky, whose music was occasionally played by the National Symphony Orchestra. But by the late 1950s, they were increasingly fond of post-Webernian experimentation as well as electroacoustic music.

The most important music critics supported their work and contributed significantly to the promotion of their compositions. In fact, as Arthur Custer writes, strong ties existed between musical scholarship and the avant-garde, since lectures often preceded or followed concerts. As Custer notes:

As concert followed *conferencia*, the regressive effects of Spain's twenty-five-year cultural isolation began to vanish, and for the first time since 1936 musicians in Madrid could begin to evaluate their creative efforts in terms of contemporary production across the frontier.<sup>106</sup>

Custer explains that avant-garde music helped to overcome 'the regressive effects' of cultural isolation and mentions the date 1936, when the Civil War broke out, as an idealised starting point. The Generation of 1951 would thus be effecting a renaissance of Spanish musical production after twenty-five years of isolation. He makes this point explicit later in his article when he writes:

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<sup>106</sup> Arthur Custer, "Contemporary Music in Spain", *The Musical Quarterly, Special Fiftieth Anniversary Issue: Contemporary Music in Europe: A Comprehensive Survey*, 51 (1965), 44-60. (This is a revised version of an article first published in *MQ*, 48 [1962], 1-18), 45.

In effect, this *is* Spanish music today. Reflecting upon the greatness of this country's cultural heritage, one wonders whether this delayed flowering of vigorous and worthy activity may not signal the beginning of a new renaissance in Spanish music.<sup>107</sup>

In fact, Custer goes beyond claiming that Spanish music is living a 'renaissance', to say that Spain is living a 'new' one, implying the existence of a previous happy period that happened before the war, the Silver Age.

Both the literature of the period and recent musicological writings credit the Generation of 1951 with having led a regeneration of Spanish musical life that allowed it to catch up with international trends and to find 'its focus in a concern for the "universalization" of Spanish music'.<sup>108</sup> In his 1970 *La música de la España contemporánea*, Marco claimed that the musical situation of Spain was

the best in centuries. There are excellent performers. Composers are amongst the most prominent in the international arena. Musical institutions grow in number and quality. Audiences have multiplied spectacularly, especially thanks to improved communications. Still, there is even more hope in the future and, comparatively, more than in other educated countries in the West.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Custer, "Contemporary Music in Spain" (1965), 60. [Italics by Custer]

<sup>108</sup> Custer, "Contemporary Music in Spain" (1965), 44.

<sup>109</sup> 'El mejor que ha conocido desde hace varios siglos. Existen excelentes intérpretes, los compositores se colocan entre los más significativos del panorama internacional, las entidades musicales crecen en número y afinan en calidad, el público, especialmente en algunos lugares, se ha multiplicado con espectacular rapidez y gracias a los modernos medios de comunicación la facilidad de acceso al arte musical se ha visto notablemente aumentada. Con todo, el panorama alentador lo es más de cara al futuro, como posibilidad que,

Scholars and writers echo this enthusiasm at the quality of Spanish musical composition, supporting the portrayal of the previous twenty-five years as a cultural desert. In his 1965 article on the Bienal, critic Salas Viu eloquently summarised the point of departure for the Generation of 1951:

I can only imagine the years of disorientation and anguish, chronic anguish, that Cristóbal Halffter, Luis de Pablo, Carmelo Alonso Bernaola, Ramón Barce and all the others must have endured, given the state of Spain during their time, the state of Spanish musical culture, and how each one shut himself away. And yet, the great value of this most advanced generation lay in their ability to find a healthy path towards more demanding horizons. Each in his own way, some with greater skill than others in the early works, those budding Spanish composers showed an ambitious outlook, an elevated purpose, an honourable desire to be praised for raising the level of Spanish music to that of the concerns and achievements of the foremost works in the other realms of our common European culture.<sup>110</sup>

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comparativamente hablando, con respecto a otros países cultos de Occidente'. Tomás Marco, *La música de la España contemporánea* (Madrid: Publicaciones Españolas, 1970), 3.

<sup>110</sup> 'Imagino muy bien, porque no estuve aquí, los años de desorientación y de angustia, de medular angustia, que debieron sucederse para un Cristóbal Halffter, Luis de Pablo, Carmelo Alonso Bernaola, Ramón Barce y todos los demás, estando por entonces como estaba España, la cultura musical española, y ellos mismos encerrados en sí mismos. Y, sin embargo, como primer mérito de la novísima generación a que aludo, supieron hallar la vía de salud hacia horizontes de mayor exigencia. Cada uno a su manera, con mayor o menor acierto de unas en otras primeras obras, esos incipientes compositores españoles mostraron ambiciosas miras, altos propósitos, un afán digno de elogiarse por elevar el nivel de la música española al de las inquietudes y los logros de las más avanzadas en los otros dominios de nuestra cultura europea común'. Vicente Salas Viu, "Una experiencia de la Bienal de Música Contemporánea", *Aulas*, 23 (1965), 38-9.

The words Salas Viu used, especially ‘chronic anguish’, seem rather dramatic for a description of a musical process. But they imply the messianic nature of the deed in question: the resurrection of Spanish musical composition.

‘Universalism’ and ‘renaissance’ (but also ‘front’) are the buzzwords of the Generation of 1951, proclaimed by both its members and supporters. These two words reveal a good deal about the shared goals of the members of the Generation of 1951, and are often linked to the perceived struggle of the generation to find its own place in history. In order to pursue this renaissance, these composers turned against their immediate past, autarchic Spain.

Every time I use the word ‘renaissance’, I refer to three periods: the present, the idealised past and the implicitly demonised period in between. The search of the Generation of 1951 adhered to this model. In our personal interview De Pablo lamented the success of Rodrigo, claiming that it delayed the ‘evolution of Spanish music and contributed to the isolation of Spanish composition’. ‘In such an overwhelming crisis, how could one orientate oneself? To whom could one turn?’, asked Salas Viu.<sup>111</sup> He presumed that the Generation of 1951 had struggled to decide which line to follow in order to break with such an ‘overwhelming crisis’. This crisis was autarchic culture and, therefore, the Generation of 1951 and its supporters were reacting against their immediate past.

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<sup>111</sup> ‘En tan sobrecogedora crisis, ¿cómo orientarse, a quién dirigirse? Dicho, ¿con mayor claridad, ¿podían los jóvenes músicos de España, los que contaban alrededor de veinte o veinticinco años hacia 1950, seguir la línea del neoclasicismo castellanista (o nacionalista) de *El retablo*; les bastaba con esto como vía de incorporación a la música “universal” de aquel momento? ¿No eran el neoclasicismo y el nacionalismo de Falla, caminos cerrados ya por esas fechas? Separados por el corte de nuestra guerra, de la generación joven anterior, hacia 1950, ya en plena madurez; separados de las últimas consecuencias del esfuerzo renovador de Falla en los músicos que a él siguieron, con la única excepción de Ernesto Halffter y de Joaquín Rodrigo, ni podían medir hasta qué punto *El retablo* era el final de un proceso más que la iniciación de otro’. Salas Viu, “Una experiencia de la Bienal de Música Contemporánea”, 38.

In this search, the Generation of 1951 never missed an opportunity to establish its links with Falla. Indeed, Halffter provides a clear example of this anxiety at work through statements such as: 'I did not know Falla, but Falla did know me'.<sup>112</sup> Halffter claims to have met Manuel de Falla (1876-1946) at his grandparents' house at the age of five; although he was too young to remember the famous composer, somehow he seems sure that Falla, who was fifty-nine at the time, remembered him. While this assumption on the part of Halffter seems both presumptuous and historically trivial, it exposes a particular relationship between the memory of Falla, the most internationally acclaimed Spanish composer of the twentieth century, and one of the figureheads of the Spanish avant-garde movement.

Halffter's claims do not provide the only testimony towards this relationship. In times of 'deep crisis', as described by Salas Viu, De Pablo had no doubts as to whom the Generation of 1951 should worship:

Falla was our idol. The youth needs idols. It hardly ever is the father. It could be the grandfather. This is my opinion. For me Falla was the only composer who could give me hope and help me find the way to get started. Naturally, when I talk about Falla I mean his *Retablo* and *Concerto*.<sup>113</sup>

De Pablo's references to Falla's neoclassical pieces (*Retablo de Maese Pedro*

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<sup>112</sup> Ramón Fernández Escobar, "El Metódico Utópico: Entrevista con Cristóbal Halffter", *Paisajes Desde el Tren*, 125 (2001), 24.

<sup>113</sup> 'Falla era nuestro ídolo. Todos los jóvenes necesitan ídolos. Casi nunca sucede que coincide con el padre. Podría que ser el abuelo. Hablo de manera personal. Para mí Falla fue la única persona que me podía suscitar entusiasmos y ver la forma de empezar algo por mi cuenta. Naturalmente al hablar de Falla estoy hablando del *Retablo* y del *Concerto*'. Personal interview with De Pablo, Madrid, December 2005.

and *Concerto for Harpsichord*) contrast with the lack of interest in these works expressed by the autarchic Spanish music establishment. To explain this fracture, I briefly offer an overview of Falla's career, with special consideration given to the work of Carol A. Hess.

### **Falla and the Spanish historical imagination**

Encyclopaedias, text books and the teaching of music history at school level in Spain, of which I have vivid memories, depict Falla's career as a journey from nationalism to universalism. This narrative explains Falla's early music as late Romantic and profoundly Spanish—that is, Andalusian—in character. During the 1920s and 1930s, the story goes, Falla lost interest in nationalistic music and tried to achieve 'purity' and 'modernity' by resorting to neoclassicism, and thus overcoming nationalism. Hess's more subtle reading of Falla's evolution as a composer understands it as a shift in the kind of musical nationalism he represented. Falla, Hess argues, moved from Andalusian folklore to its Castilian equivalent. While it provides a more nuanced interpretation of Falla's life, Hess's book was not published until 2001. Until then the standard explanation of the composer's career exercised a good deal of sway over the reception of the composer's neoclassical pieces in Spain. Contrasting these two approaches allows me to juxtapose the reception of Falla within different periods of recent Spanish musical history.

In the literature published on Falla in autarchic Spain his late works, including neoclassical pieces such as *El retablo de Maese Pedro* and *Concerto*, were hardly mentioned – they were also very seldom performed. Instead, Falla's 'overtly folkloric' works such as *El amor brujo*, *El sombrero de tres picos*

and *Siete canciones populares españolas* were played in many music seasons. The 'nationalistic' style of these works was praised by autarchic Spanish musicology for its 'folklorism' and 'conservatism'. These works matched the ideals of post-war Spain, characterised by Sopeña, who stated that 'the 1940s demanded cheerful music'.<sup>114</sup>

Juan María Thomas's *Manuel de Falla en la isla* (1947) praised Falla's nationalist works, placing singular emphasis on the Spanishness of the music.<sup>115</sup> F. Adolfo Masciopinto's *El nacionalismo musical en Manuel de Falla* (1952) provides another clear example of a book that echoes nationalist perspectives on Falla, avoiding references to his late pieces.<sup>116</sup> These are only two examples of a common trend.

The proceedings of the Conference *Dos décadas de cultura artística en el franquismo*, published in 2001, discuss the deeply nationalistic character of the image of Falla portrayed during this phase of the dictatorship.<sup>117</sup> Falla's most 'lighthearted' works, as well as the ones that draw upon Andalusian folklore, were hailed as masterpieces, while his more experimental works were ignored. Moreover, the celebrated works became models for a new generation of post-war composers who worked in isolated Spain, cut off from international influences.

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<sup>114</sup> 'El tiempo aquel de mil novecientos cuarenta pedía una música alegre'. Sopeña, *Historia de la Música Española Contemporánea* (Madrid: Rialp, 1976; first edition, 1958), 230.

<sup>115</sup> Juan María Thomas, *Manuel de Falla en la isla* (Palma de Mallorca: Capella Classica, 1947).

<sup>116</sup> F. Adolfo Masciopinto, *El nacionalismo musical en Manuel de Falla* (Santa Fe: Extensión Universitaria, 1952).

<sup>117</sup> See *Dos décadas de cultura artística en el franquismo*, eds. Ignacio Henares Cuellar, María Isabel Cabrera García, Gemma Pérez Zalduondo and José Castillo Ruiz, 2 vols. (Granada: Universidad, 2001). See especially Germán Gan Quesada, "La vigencia del modelo falliano en la música española de los primeros años 50", vol. 2, 171-88; Beatriz Martínez del Fresno "Realidades y máscaras en la música de posguerra", vol. 2, 31-82; Ángel Medina, "Música española 1936-1956: Rupturas, continuidades, premoniciones", vol. 1, 59-74; Yvan Nommick, "La herencia de la música y el pensamiento de Manuel de Falla en la posguerra (1940-1960)", vol. 2, 9-30; and Pérez Zalduondo, "La música en el contexto del pensamiento artístico durante el franquismo (1936-1951)", vol. 2, 83-104.

But around the 1960s Falla's image shifted. As a result, his final works, especially *Concerto*, *El retablo* and *Atlántida*, were performed more often than ever before. This development can be traced both in writings and in the programming of music seasons during these years. The new prominence of these works was accompanied by a new rhetoric on Falla that starkly contrasted with the conservative figure of the autarchic years.

According to Justo Romero, between 1957 and 1977 Spanish soloists recorded *Concerto* on six occasions.<sup>118</sup> Among Falla's works, only the world-famous *El amor brujo* and *Noches en los jardines de España* were given more phonographic attention (nine and seven times, respectively). *La vida breve* and *El sombrero de tres picos* were recorded only twice each, and *Siete canciones populares españolas* four. *El retablo* was recorded three times. Similar preferences for certain pieces played out in the concert halls. *El retablo* was performed as part of the First Festival of America and Spain (1964), as well as in the Festival of the ISCM (1965).<sup>119</sup> Between 1953 and 1962 the Granada International Festival programmed *Concerto* and *El retablo* twice; between 1957 and 1967, *Concerto* was played four times and *El retablo* once at the Ateneo de Madrid, the 'temple' of the Generation of 1951.

The Aula de Música also played other late Falla works such as *Soneto a Córdoba* and *Psyche*. In November 1961 there was an 'Homage to Manuel de Falla on the eve of the premiere of *La Atlántida*', at which Cristóbal Halffter conducted the Orquesta Manuel de Falla, with Manuel Carra (piano) as soloist. They played *Fantasía Bética*, *Soneto a Córdoba*, *Psyche*, *Concerto* and *El*

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<sup>118</sup> All the data about the number of recordings of Falla's works are from Justo Romero, *Falla* (Barcelona: Península, 1999). I gathered the data on the performances of Falla's in my research at the Biblioteca Nacional de España and the archives of the Orquesta Nacional, OSRTVE and Ateneo de Madrid.

<sup>119</sup> First Festival de España y América, 28 October 1964.

*retablo*. The last two pieces mentioned were also the subjects of two lectures. On 7 April 1960 Enrique Franco read a paper on *El retablo* as part of a series of lectures on Spanish music. In the same series, pianist Manuel Carra talked about *Concerto*. The use of *Atlántida* in the Concert for Peace and its critical reception also reveal changes in the public perception of Falla. In his review of the 'Concert for Peace', Ruiz Coca mentioned Falla as the ultimate model for the new avant-garde composers. Thanks to the Generation of 1951, he wrote, 'a universality only known to Falla was regained'.<sup>120</sup>

An obvious correlation exists between this way of discussing Falla and technocratic rhetoric. One significant example of this shift is the publication in 1960 of Halffter's translation of Kurt Pahlen's *Manuel de Falla*. Music critics and composers alike hailed Pahlen's book as the most authoritative text on Falla; it provides a telling summary of the progression of Falla's career:

[*El sombrero de tres picos* was] a charming divertimento where Falla hinted at all possible techniques from the European Classic, Romantic and Nationalist eras. But he was not interested in that any longer. He looked higher... Thanks to his latest [artistic] ambition, his work reigns above the rest in the firmament of Spanish music. After the Spanish wonder of Cervantes-like *El retablo de Maese Pedro* [comes] the tight and rich structure of *Concerto*, where he rehearses the most audacious techniques of his time.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> 'Se recobra, así, en nuestros días, una universalidad que sólo Falla, en los suyos, conoció. Ruiz Coca, *El Alcázar*, 18 June 1864.

<sup>121</sup> Kurt Pahlen, *Manuel de Falla*, trans. Cristóbal Halffter, introduction Gerardo Diego (Madrid : Editorial Nacional, 1960), 16-7.

Pahlen portrays Falla's career as a search for musical modernity, praising the composer for having overcome nationalism to become 'progressive' and 'modern'. He also crucially defines Falla as a composer able to use 'the most audacious techniques of his time', and values his late compositions as the ones that 'reign above the rest in the firmament of Spanish music'.

Scholars who came after Pahlen echo this image of Falla as a modern composer who overcame nineteenth-century musical styles in order to 'aim higher'.<sup>122</sup> Suzanne Demarquez's *Manuel de Falla* (Spanish translation, 1968; first published in French, 1963) reiterates Falla's qualities as laid out by Pahlen and is, according to Hess, the 'most widely read' book on Falla.<sup>123</sup> Demarquez's book exerted a particularly strong influence over other Spanish writers: she too emphasised Falla's 'inner modernity' and praised *Retablo* and *Concerto* as the ultimate examples of his genius.

In 1968 José María Cuéllar published a bio-bibliography entitled: *Falla: otro español universal (Falla: another universal Spaniard)*.<sup>124</sup> The title seems rather ideologically charged for a book comprised of only forty-eight pages, but it aimed to present Falla as a composer of international reputation. José Carlos Costas commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of *El retablo* in 1973 by publishing *Falla: Cincuenta años después del Retablo*. He claimed that people who left aside crucial pieces like *El retablo* and *Concerto* to perform Falla's 'less important works' had undervalued and misrepresented the composer.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Alexis Roland-Manuel's *Manuel de Falla*, although published in Paris in 1930, was only purchased by the library of the Madrid Conservatory in 1961 and therefore not available before. From then on, it was quoted very often in the Spanish literature. Alexis Roland-Manuel, *Manuel de Falla* (Paris: D'aujourd'hui, 1977 ; reprint of first edition, 1930).

<sup>123</sup> Suzanne Demarquez, *Manuel de Falla*, trans. Salvator Attanasio (London: Chilton, 1968; first edition in French, 1963). See also Hess, *Sacred Passions*, 5.

<sup>124</sup> José María Cuéllar, *Falla: otro español universal* (Madrid: PPC, 1968).

<sup>125</sup> José Carlos Costas, *Falla: Cincuenta años después del Retablo* (Cádiz: Caja de Ahorros, 1973).

Ernesto Halffter Escriche, Falla's main disciple and uncle of the avant-garde composer Cristóbal Halffter, published a speech in 1973 remembering his mentor and teacher. When he wrote about the *Concerto*, he emphasised Falla's modern inclinations; he claimed that after the *Concerto's* Parisian premier, Maurice Ravel called it 'the masterpiece of the century', that Paul Dukas and Stravinsky embraced Falla, as did Francis Poulenc, and that Paul Claudel, Darius Milhaud, Albert Roussel and Florent Schmitt all congratulated him.<sup>126</sup> These references to prominent French artists were intended to establish Falla's Parisian genealogy, thereby including him in the lineage of international composers.

Enrique Franco published his first long text on Falla in 1976 under the title *Manuel de Falla y su obra*, a book that raises aesthetical and ethical views, but is scantily documented.<sup>127</sup> He dismissed Falla's first period as part of the training necessary to become a universal, non-nationalist composer. These and other books, published during the 1960s and 1970s, contributed to an image of Falla as a modern composer who led a renaissance of Spanish music, the Silver Age.

This view greatly differs from the picture of the composer held during the autarchic years, and it resembles the aims of the Generation of 1951, who sought to overcome nationalism to become 'modern' and 'internationally' respected. But remarkable similarities exist between the ideology behind the process of tailoring a new image of Falla and his reception in pre-Civil War Spain. Comparing the technocratic image of Falla discussed above with the

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<sup>126</sup> Ernesto Halffter Escriche, *El magisterio permanente de Manuel de Falla. Discurso leído en el acto de su recepción pública el día 12 de junio de 1973 y contestación del Académico de Número y Secretario de la Corporación Monseñor Federico Sopena Ibáñez* (Madrid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 1973), 8.

<sup>127</sup> Enrique Franco, *Manuel de Falla y su obra* (Madrid: Publicaciones españolas, 1976).

work of Adolfo Salazar, pre-war musicologist and music critic and indeed the keenest supporter of Falla's neoclassical pieces in the 1930s, reveals the common threads between the images of the composer embraced during these seemingly disparate time periods.

### **Back to Republican Spain?**

In pre-war Spain, contemporary music held little interest for most musicologists, who were more eager to do archival research on early Spanish music. While nascent Spanish musicology concentrated on music from the 'Golden Age'—that is, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when composers such as Guerrero, Morales and Victoria flourished—the study and promotion of modern music was left to music critics. The best-known among them was Salazar, and in his most important work, *La música contemporánea en España* (1930), he portrayed the nineteenth century as a decadent period for Spanish music.<sup>128</sup> He argued that Spanish music was enjoying a renaissance in the pre-war years, thanks to Isaac Albéniz, Enrique Granados, and especially to Falla.

Javier Suárez-Pajares has recently written about this book and others by Salazar, suggesting that Salazar's Darwinist idea of the history of music was a catalyst that pushed Falla and his contemporaries towards the most 'advanced' musical languages.<sup>129</sup> In his writings Salazar marginalised popular composers such as Sorozábal, whose zarzuelas were enormously successful. Instead of embracing this domestically popular music, Salazar enthusiastically praised a variety of avant-garde compositions from abroad.

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<sup>128</sup> Adolfo Salazar, *La música contemporánea en España* (Madrid: La Nave, 1930).

<sup>129</sup> Javier Suárez-Pajares, 'Jesús Bal y Gay en el problema de su generación', eds. Xoán M. Carreira and López-Calo, *Xornadas sobre Bal y Gay* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2003), 139-48.

Salazar's opinions on Falla carried weight in musical circles because he was considered a friend of the composer; he read drafts of his works, and the two corresponded frequently. According to Salazar, Falla was the French musical ambassador to Madrid, thereby according him the distinction of an international composer who had overcome nationalism and awarding him a crucial characteristic that placed him at the centre of the musical arena. As one might expect, Salazar preferred Falla's more 'modern' works to others that might seem 'nationalist'. As was the case for many writers of the 1960s and 1970s, his favourite pieces by Falla were *El retablo* and *Concerto*. He wrote about these neoclassical works in the following terms:

*Retablo*... constitutes the highest peak of Spanish Contemporary music... With *Retablo*—where Falla's anxiety shines, perceptible in his progressive evolutionary intensity following the order of his works, deepening in the racial feeling up to the heart, up to the intimate conscience where a free form is born, autonomous, free of schematised old-fashioned formulations—old-school picturesque Spanish-ness died in order to give way to higher concepts.<sup>130</sup>

Salazar's opinion is nearly identical to the one held during the technocratic years. As Xoán M. Carreira put it, 'the influence of [Salazar's] *La música contemporánea en España* is obvious in the content of the histories of Spanish

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<sup>130</sup> 'El retablo del Maese Pedro... constituye el punto más alto de la música española contemporánea... A partir del *Retablo*, donde resplandece la ansiedad de Falla, perceptible en su progresiva intensidad evolutiva siguiendo el orden de sus obras, por ahondar adentrándose en el sentimiento de lo racial, hasta llegar a la entraña viva, a la más íntima conciencia de donde ha de salir una forma libre, autónoma, desprendida de fórmulas esquematizadas y caducas, el españolismo pintoresco de viejo cuño ha muerto, para dejar paso a conceptos de más alto rango'. Salazar, *La música contemporánea en España*, 177-9.

music published during the Francoist dictatorship', especially Enrique Franco's.<sup>131</sup> These narratives were based on evolutionism and the search for international models for Spanish composers that could legitimise Spanish music within a changing world order.

The similarities between technocratic and republican views on Falla hint at a collective feeling of nostalgia present in technocratic Spain. In the 1960s and 1970s, a re-evaluation of history contributed to this among artists and music publicists. Many people strongly believed that autarchic Spain had only produced ultra-conservative architecture, painting and music, particularly in comparison with the cultural 'renaissance' of the Republican years.<sup>132</sup> This contrast prompted artists and music publicists to return to avant-garde ideas that were linked to the pre-war years and indeed to vindicate pre-war artists. Obviously, this aesthetic return to pre-war Spain had to be presented as an apolitical journey. In particular, praising Republican artists' allegedly wrong political beliefs or linking their cultural success in any way with the political environment, the Republic, which was still considered evil, had to be avoided at all cost.

In search of 'modern' yet 'apolitical' historical perspectives, music publicists decided to look at what they considered the 'modern' side of Falla. They tried to leave behind every possible reference to music with Andalusian influences and instead focused on works that seemed modern. Falla was no

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<sup>131</sup> Xoán M. Carreira, "Transgression as Integration: Contemporary Music in Spain during the Sixties", *Proceedings of the Conference Transgression as Integration*, Cascais: 1996 (forthcoming). I am most grateful to Xoán M. Carreira for sending me a copy of his paper, which is forthcoming in the proceedings of the conference *Transgression as Integration*, held in Cascais (Portugal) in 1996, in order to celebrate the 90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Fernando Lopes-Graça (1906-94), a communist composer who lived under the ultra-conservative regime of Antonio Oliveira Salazar.

<sup>132</sup> See Jordi Gracia, *Estado y cultura: El despertar de una conciencia crítica bajo el franquismo (1940-1962)* (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 1996), Introduction.

longer praised for being the author of *Siete canciones* or *El amor brujo*, but rather for being Stravinsky's friend and the author of *Retablo* and *Concerto*. Identifying Falla as the predecessor of the Generation of 1951 helped Spanish music publicists to 'invent' a genealogy that made the group 'child of Falla' and encouraged Spanish avant-garde composers to strive to be 'children' of the 'Silver Age'. As the Spanish historical imagination understood Victoria as the quintessential Golden Age composer, so did Falla become the main musical ambassador of the Spanish 'renaissance' and Silver Age. Both composers served as ideals of what Spanish music should achieve: a prominent position in the international musical Olympus.

In this context, the need on the part of the Generation of 1951 to establish a genealogy that linked it to its musical past takes on new meanings. The composers and critics of the Generation of 1951 first rejected the heritage of the composer of the seemingly nationalistic *Siete canciones populares españolas*. But in their search for a legitimising past, they found it easier to reshape the memory of Falla than to live without it, and they began praising anew the memory of Falla. But their Falla was very different from the Falla of the autarchic past. In this journey from nationalistic to avant-garde and internationally-respected composer Falla preceded them, knew them—as Halffter says—and illuminated their way. A bronze medal for Franco's avant-garde was in order.

### **The roots of modern Spanish musicology: An autarchic illusion?**

Historiography, to which I now turn, has awarded this medal to the Generation of 1951. While the Falla of the Generation of 1951 seems situated in the

specific historical context of late-Francoist Spain, this perspective persists today in most Spanish publications. I argue that this is the case because the shift in Falla's image during the 1960s and 1970s reflects a more general change in Spanish musicological practices that has loomed large until today.

Since Franco's death Spanish critics and musicologists have continued to explain both Falla and the Generation of 1951 as modern, avant-garde and international. In that vein, Spanish musicology still focuses on praising music as a teleologically conceived, 'ideology-free' art.

This trend is evidenced by the literature published during the democratic years. Manuel Orozco wrote *Manuel de Falla: Historia de una derrota* (1985) in order to argue that Falla 'lived and died poor like those just. And he was himself just... He was an ascetic in a time of merchants and aesthetic bacchanal'.<sup>133</sup> As for Falla's musical production, Orozco stated:

There is a part of his work, clearly mediocre, which deserved condemnation and oblivion, perhaps the fire... But Falla did not know how to destroy the nascent and mediocre of his work.<sup>134</sup>

Yet again, Falla's career is described as the search for perfection. Falla's modernity also plays a crucial element in Juan-Alfonso García's *Falla y Granada y otros escritos musicales* (1991). In the chapter devoted to the *Concerto*, the author presents a familiar story of the progress of Falla's genius,

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<sup>133</sup> 'Vivió y murió pobre como los justos. Y fue justo... Fue un asceta en tiempo de mercaderes y de bacanal'. Manuel Orozco, *Manuel de Falla: Historia de una derrota* (Barcelona: Destino, 1985), 10.

<sup>134</sup> 'Hay una gran parte de su obra manifiestamente mediocre, y que mereció de él la condena y el olvido, acaso el fuego... Pero Falla no supo destruir lo incipiente y mediocre de sus obras'. Orozco, *Manuel de Falla*, 10-1.

in which he reached his peak as a composer when he overcame nationalism and became purely 'modern'.<sup>135</sup>

Even those who had keenly highlighted Falla's aesthetically and politically conservative allegiances during the autarchic years, seem repentant. Indeed, Sopeña provides generous musical examples, stressing that Falla was, after all, an eclectic composer. This portrayal contradicts Sopeña's own autarchic views on Falla, and he explains this discrepancy in the following passage:

With respect to the constant element in his life, his religion, we may have been guilty of a degree of some exaggerated respect. I do not take back what I wrote—by no means—but it is entirely possible that I might have given the reality of the matter something of the aura of sanctity, which could lead to the dehumanisation of Falla. I wrote about this in my most fervent years as a seminarian and a new priest, the time of so-called 'triumphalism'. Falla, 'the favourite son of the Church!'<sup>136</sup>

In the late 1970s, shortly after Franco's death, even Sopeña, formerly the most relevant music historian and critic of the autarchic years, pleaded guilty to having overstated Falla's conservative side. This confession is a common revision of the view of Falla in democratic Spain that has satisfied both the left

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<sup>135</sup> Juan-Alfonso García, *Falla y Granada y otros escritos musicales* (Sevilla: Centro de Documentación Musical de Andalucía, 1991).

<sup>136</sup> 'Sobre la "constante" de su vida, la religiosidad, puede que hayamos incurrido en cierta beatería. No me arrepiento de lo escrito, no, pero sí es posible que lo real apareciera con cierto nimbo que podía conducir a la deshumanización: escribí esto en años muy calientes de seminarista y de misacantano, años también del llamado "triumfalismo"; ¡Falla "hijo predilecto de la Iglesia"! Sopeña, *Manuel de Falla y el mundo de la cultura* (Madrid, Instituto de España, 1976), 11.

and the right and has helped composers and music publicists to feel less uneasy about their illustrious predecessor.

Casares's "Manuel de Falla y la Generación del 27" (1989) follows this trend and yet again attempts to combine Falla's deep Spanish-ness with the international relevance of his work.<sup>137</sup> In a best-selling book published in 1995, the music critic José Luis García del Busto echoes this vision of Falla that would separate him from any political struggle; although the author provides a well-organised account of the facts of Falla's life, not a single word over eighty pages is devoted to historical context.<sup>138</sup>

Avant-garde composer Ramón Barce, who dismissed Falla back in the 1950s as a nationalist composer, not surprisingly eventually came to terms with him.<sup>139</sup> This change of heart appeared alongside the affirmation that Falla was a necessary precursor for what came afterwards, which is for what Barce represents as prominent member of the Generation of 1951.<sup>140</sup>

As we can see from the literature on Falla produced in the 1960s, Spanish musicology shifted towards a fixation with 'internationalism', 'objectivism' and 'modernity' that matched the political ideals of technocratic Spain. This fixation, particularly with respect to 'objectivism' and 'modernity', remains current in Spanish musicology and has also been applied to the way

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<sup>137</sup> Emilio Casares, "Manuel de Falla y la Generación del 27", *Manuel de Falla tra la Spagna e l'Europa* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1989). Casares has indeed been influenced by Salazar. A good example of this influence is *La música en la Generación del 27*, ed. Casares Rodicio (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1987). In this book Casares praises the *Silver Age* renaissance of Spanish music by referring to Falla and to a group of eight composers who were labelled by Salazar as 'the Madrid generation'. 'The Madrid generation', a concept canonised by Casares, is meant to be a group of eight composers from Republican Madrid. According to Casares, this group is the most important during the Republican years. Nevertheless, the eight were extracted arbitrarily from a photo of fourteen musicians, Salazar among them. The fact that the oeuvre of two of them is missing and the fact that there is not a single piece of evidence that suggests they formed a group suggests that this Madrid group is Casares's own construction.

<sup>138</sup> José Luis García del Busto, *Falla* (Madrid: Alianza Cien, 1995).

<sup>139</sup> Ramón Barce, 'Falla visto por un compositor de nuestros días', *Manuel de Falla y su entorno* (Madrid: Fundación Juan March, 1996), 35.

<sup>140</sup> Barce, 'El rechazo de una generación', *Scherzo*, 110 (1999), 132-33.

the avant garde has been discussed.

Spanish musicology, however, has been characterised an 'autarchic illusion'. In his seminal 1995 article "La musicologia spagnola: un'illusione autarchica?", published in the second issue of *Il Saggiatore Musicale*, Carreira insists on this point.<sup>141</sup>

Carreira argues that Spanish musicology has an essentialist agenda that focuses on collecting, editing and preserving the legacy of Spanish music, regardless of its historical interest or quality. In its approach to the history of music, Carreira argues, Spanish musicology fails to link Spanish musical composition with its international context from the Middle Ages until the twentieth century, because it fails to study non-Spanish music. Carreira insists on the rhetoric of a Spanish *sonderweg*, a search for unique and quintessentially Spanish musical characteristics. But how can the search for an autarchic Spanish *sonderweg* be assimilated with the search for modernity and international links we find in Spanish musicological literature from the 1960s onwards (as exemplified by the literature on Falla and the Generation of 1951) I discuss in this thesis?

By using the word 'autarchy' in his title, Carreira sought to contextualise both historically and politically the activities of Spanish musicology. As a result, he is one of the few Spanish musicologists for whom making music and writing about music history are ideologically charged activities that cannot be understood outside of their context. Furthermore, in order to write what remains a seminal article on Spanish music historiography, Carreira aims higher and links the musicological practices he analyses to what he considers the cultural

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<sup>141</sup> Xoán M. Carreira, "La musicologia spagnola: un'illusione autarchica?", *Il Saggiatore Musicale*, 2 (1995), 105-42.

heritage of the dictatorship, the autarchy. But he does not take into consideration the changes in the public promotion of music and musicology of the 1960s and 1970s, failing to recognise that, beyond autarchy, technocracy shaped Spanish musicological practices into what they are today.

Carreira's controversial and thought-provoking article was caught in the blinding light of his title. It is more accurate to say that Spanish musicology is a 'technocratic illusion', the result of a modernist obsession represented by 'technocratic rhetoric', than an autarchic one. Indeed, this 'technocratic illusion' has linked the Generation of 1951 to the Silver Age of Spanish culture and indirectly to the Golden Age as well. In a sense, this 'illusion' has awarded the Generation of 1951 a bronze medal in the Spanish 'Musical Olympics' (if you allow me this rhetorical excess). However poor a third place finish may seem, it has allowed the Generation of 1951 to live on in the press, the academic world and the public eye as the most important musical group of the second part of the twentieth century.

The Generation of 1951 has established itself as part of a noble lineage, linking itself to Victoria (golden) and Falla (silver) with the help of musicologists and critics like Enrique Franco and with the help of a collective historical imagination that dwells upon the "myth of decline", as explained by Kamen, quoted in the first paragraph of this chapter. This myth has therefore permeated not only the way critics and musicologists write about music but has also elicited an aesthetic response on the part of a group of composers, known as the Generation of 1951, which has always shown remarkable historical self-awareness, in line with that of their avant-garde colleagues outside Spain.

Here the word self-awareness is key, since it hints at an element of intentionality in the change of musical style adopted by these composers. Historiography, therefore, did affect the way music was composed by ‘telling’ composers that they lived in an era of decline and, as importantly, by showing them a way out in the form of Falla. But not any Falla, only one that could be portrayed as intrinsically ‘modern’ and ‘international’, just as the Generation of 1951. The Generation of 1951, therefore, is not simply a group of composers, but a successful historiographical product resulting from the combination of international fashion (the post World War II avant-garde) and national-historical tropes (the myth of decline); add a symbolic father perceived as the leader of a previous musical renaissance (the silver age) and all the ingredients for a bronze age are in the mix. The best example of the evolution of this generation from children of autarchic Spain to champions of technocratic Spain can be traced in the musical and personal career of Cristóbal Halffter, to whom I turn in the next chapter.

## Chapter 3

### **Cristóbal Halffter, or the Self-Fashioning of an Avant-Garde Composer**

Spanish musicologist Xoán M. Carreira once referred to Cristóbal Halffter as a 'political chameleon'.<sup>142</sup> Although chameleons change colour not due to a conscious strategy to blend with their surroundings, but as a result of different emotional states, Carreira uses 'chameleon' to refer to the career of Halffter with the erroneous but popularly used definition in mind. Carreira wishes to suggest that Halffter exercised some control over his changing behaviour. In this chapter I discuss the mechanisms of the composer's conscious transformations, both musical and political, as well as the consequences of these changes as part of a broader process of self-fashioning. He shared some of these mechanisms with his historically aware colleagues of the Generation of 1951, discussed in the previous chapter. Like his peers, Halffter contributed significantly to his scholarly image through strategies of self-promotion that relied on the acquiescence of his biographers, and he is not the sole instance of these devices at work in a composer's image.

From the nineteenth century onwards artists have increasingly felt the need to speak and write about their work in order to 'explain' it. These explanations usually deal with the compositional process, inspirational ideas and influences, and with the political, cultural and social meanings of the work in question. For example, the writings of twentieth-century composers such as Aaron Copland, Dmitry Shostakovich and Igor Stravinsky have played an enormous role in the interpretation of their own work. Until recently scholars

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<sup>142</sup> Personal interview with Xoán M. Carreira, December 2005.

who studied the life and music of Copland had their views greatly influenced by the composer's own. In his two-volume memoirs Copland avoids mentioning some relevant issues concerning politics, especially his hearings by the Committee of Anti-American Activities, sexual orientation and left-wing friends. Stravinsky scholars face a similarly difficult task.<sup>143</sup> The composer's writings and interviews are well known for their scarce veracity, and recent scholarship has pointed out the composer's deliberate misrepresentation of reality.<sup>144</sup> Both Copland and Stravinsky spent their professional lives in democratic countries, where their political allegiances and aesthetic choices did not pose a threat to their lives. Yet they understood the importance of public promotion and the legacy they would leave behind, and shaped their biographical accounts accordingly. The strategies of these composers provide useful foils for Halffter's techniques of self-promotion, and I will return to them over the course of this chapter.

The case of Shostakovich provides a different sort of contrast. First, he lived in Communist Russia, where numerous intellectuals were banished to Siberian gulags for their political activism and aesthetic choices. Understandably, Shostakovich always showed public respect for the authorities and expressed no criticism of their cultural policies. Second, Shostakovich

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<sup>143</sup> See Elizabeth B. Crist, *Music for the Common Man: Aaron Copland During the Depression and War* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) and Carol J. Oja and Judith Tick, eds. *Copland and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005). For recent literature on Stravinsky and Shostakovich, see notes 144 and 146, respectively.

<sup>144</sup> In the introduction to *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works through Mavra* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 2 vols., Richard Taruskin examines Stravinsky's historiography and discusses the composer's attempts at influencing the literature on him. In one of the chapters of *Defining Russia Musically*, Taruskin specifically discusses Stravinsky's involvement in the creation of the myth of modernity surrounding *The Rite of Spring*. I will return to this issue later in this chapter. See, Taruskin, "A Myth of the Twentieth Century: *The Rite of Spring*, the Tradition of the New, and "the Music Itself", *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 360-467. See also Jonathan Cross, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Stravinsky* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

himself did not write memoirs; however, we do have Solomon Volkov's *Testimony*, in which the author claims to be presenting the composer's views on his life and music.<sup>145</sup> The sources on which the book is based, Volkov claims, were secretly taken out of Russia in order to avoid prosecution. In *Testimony* Volkov presents Shostakovich's life as a struggle against Communism, portraying him as a victim of political repression. This characterisation served his cause in the West, where his music was often read as a desperate cry for freedom. However, many of the extraordinary facts and comments that Volkov attributes to Shostakovich have been reinterpreted by scholars who believe that Shostakovich was both victim and accomplice.<sup>146</sup>

Turning to Halffter's autobiographical accounts, we can identify similarities between his writings and public statements and the previous three cases. As with Copland, there is omission of facts; as with Stravinsky, there is deliberate misrepresentation of reality; as with Shostakovich, there is an anxiety to speak in a way that aligns him with the political establishment. Unlike Shostakovich's Russia, however, Halffter's Spain did not execute composers, nor did it send them to concentration camps for deviating from official aesthetic ideals. As I have argued elsewhere, Franco's regime was not totalitarian, but authoritarian. Not following the aesthetics that were favoured by the authorities

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<sup>145</sup> Solomon Volkov, *Testimony: The Memoirs of Dmitry Shostakovich*, trans. Antonina W. Bouis (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1979).

<sup>146</sup> For a recent critical account of Shostakovich's life and work, see especially *A Shostakovich Casebook*, ed. Malcolm Hamrick Brown (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004). Other authors who have contributed to discredit Volkov's account are Richard Taruskin and Laurel Fay. The latter did so in her monograph *Shostakovich: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) and as editor of *Shostakovich and his World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004). Taruskin dismisses Volkov's views in the relevant chapters of both *Defining Russia Musically* and *The Oxford History of Western Music*. A good summary of Taruskin's position can be found in "Who was Shostakovich?", *The Atlantic Monthly* (February 1995), 63-72. Volkov's *Testimony* has been backed by many friends of Shostakovich, who happily endorse the idea of Shostakovich as an oppressed composer who always tried to resist the Soviet communist rule. Their stance finds scholarly representation in *Shostakovich Reconsidered* (London: Toccata, 1998), edited by Allan B. Ho and Dmitry Feofanov.

at the time meant less official recognition and critical neglect, but did not pose a personal risk to the artist in question. A crucial difference also exists between the scholarship on Halffter and on the others composers, in that the literature on Copland, Shostakovich and Stravinsky has been revised in recent years. This is not the case with Halffter, whose own views of himself still dominate the literature and remain largely unquestioned at least, hopefully, until the completion of this chapter.

Halffter's is not the only case. The fashion of writing about one's own work is particularly prominent amongst composers whose music is seen as innovative or difficult to grasp. Some of the most important avant-garde composers of the second half of the twentieth-century, such as Pierre Boulez, John Cage and Karlheinz Stockhausen, have written extensively about themselves.<sup>147</sup> Their opinions can be found in a number of compilations of articles, interviews and lectures, which critics and musicologists have often followed without sufficient critical detachment, taking the authors' words at face value.

Spanish avant-garde composers have also followed this trend and have tried to 'explain' their music to their audiences. Spanish music critics and musicologists have also paraphrased the composers' opinions about their works, without questioning the truthfulness of their assertions or offering alternative opinions. As I explained in the first two chapters, the success of the Spanish avant-garde was the result of a close relationship between music

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<sup>147</sup> Boulez's main self-exegetic book is *Stocktakings of an Apprenticeship*, trans. Stephen Walsh (Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1991). Stockhausen's is *Stockhausen on Music: Lectures and Interviews*, compiled by Robin Maconie (London: Boyars, 1989). Cage's writings are scattered in several books. The most important ones are *A Year from Monday: New Lectures and Writings* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1967), *John Cage, Writer: Previously Uncollected Pieces*, selected and introduced by Richard Kostelanetz (New York: Limelight, 1993). Collected interviews with and lectures by these three composers have been published elsewhere.

criticism and musical composition, so that it is often difficult to discern which form came first. In the case of Halffter, the result of this convoluted relationship is a less than clear account of his life and music, lacking essential information on subjects as basic as who commissioned some of his works.

In this chapter I examine Halffter's life and work in order to shed light on some of the most obscure parts, beginning with his upbringing and family background. After an overview of the evolution of his musical style, I pose a number of questions about one work, *Misa para la Juventud* (Mass for Youth), which is rarely discussed in the extant literature. I also explore the reasons why Halffter and his biographers have avoided certain issues, occasionally incurring glaring contradictions. Indeed, depending upon the period of Halffter's life they are focusing on, writers either discuss only politics or leave politics out of their discussions altogether. I attempt to explain this apparent incongruence between the political and the musical in Halffter's biography.

Halffter's music has been favoured by the authorities during the autarchy, technocracy, transition to democracy and democracy, and by both left- and ring-wing governments. I attribute this privileged position to his ability to adapt his musical and political discourse to the changing times. In doing so, I examine the motivations and processes of this strategy of self-fashioning. While Halffter is the best example of a composer whose life and music have been presented in the literature as being above the workings of politics, as I explained in chapter one when I analysed the critical reception of the 'Concert for Peace', he is not the only one. His career epitomises the sort of biographical approach from which all members of the Generation of 1951 have benefited. And the

Generation of 1951 is, in turn, a telling case study to understand how the broader European avant-garde has portrayed itself.

My discussion of Halffter's life and music does not attempt an exhaustive survey, but rather highlights fundamental contradictions that raise a broader issue: 'What does it take to be regarded as an avant-garde composer?' The answer to this question, which does not simply lie within the music, brings to the fore the debates about the creation of an avant-garde canon and touches upon historiographical, ideological and political topics which fall outside the musical features of any composer's oeuvre. Using Halffter as a case study of this issue will help us contextualise the life and oeuvre of other avant-garde composers, such as Boulez, Cage or Stockhausen, who are still awaiting truly critical approaches.

### **A liberal background and education**

Cristóbal Halffter, born in Madrid on 24 March 1930, often talks about his ancestors. According to the composer, they were extremely cultured members of the Prussian bourgeoisie who had connections with the most prominent intellectuals. In fact, Halffter has referred at least once to the Mozart family as part of his ancestors' social network.<sup>148</sup> Along with this social and musical pedigree, Halffter often stresses the liberal political allegiances of his family that, he claims, are obvious in the liberal education he received. In an interview published in 2001 he refers specifically to the 'liberal' influence that his father

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<sup>148</sup> I distinctly remember Halffter mentioning the Mozarts as probable friends of his Prussian ancestors in a TV interview. Unfortunately, I have been unable to find a recording of this interview or any transcription of it.

and two uncles exerted on him.<sup>149</sup> Furthermore, Halffter attributes this liberal environment to his father being ‘man of peace’ who opposed any sort of violence. The composer relates how his father sent him and his siblings to study in Germany in 1936 so that they avoid suffering the horrors of the Spanish Civil War. He then gives further evidence of his father’s commitment to a liberal education: in 1939, once the Civil War was over and Franco was a self-appointed pro-Axis dictator, the Halffters returned to Spain but continued to pursue a European education at the German School in Madrid. That Halffter’s background should be ‘liberal’ has become a trope that his biographers and critics repeat uncritically.

It seems perfectly natural to Halffter and his biographers that his ‘liberal’ father should have sent him and his siblings to Nazi Germany to be educated – he could have equally afforded the UK or the USA. He finds it equally natural that, after Franco took over the government, the same ‘liberal’ father should have brought them back to Spain to continue their education in a pro-Nazi environment, the German School of Madrid. As Halffter himself relates, this school taught the core values of national-socialism and had purged non-Aryan teachers from its staff. Moreover, even though the Civil War had just ended, Spain was hardly a stable country, nor was it peaceful. The Halffter children returned to Spain while 200,000 Spaniards were executed in Franco’s post-war purges.<sup>150</sup> Yet somehow Halffter’s ‘liberal’ father deemed this environment an appropriate one in which to raise his children.

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<sup>149</sup> Ramón Fernández Escobar, “El Metódico Utópico: Entrevista con Cristóbal Halffter”, *Paisajes Desde el Tren*, 125 (2001), 24-9.

<sup>150</sup> For an estimation of the number of people killed by Francoist purges in post-war Spain, see *Víctimas de la Guerra Civil*, coord. Santos Juliá (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 1999), introduction.

Halffter's bizarre portrayal of his father as a liberal is echoed by his biographers, Emilio Casares and Tomás Marco.<sup>151</sup> This is only one example of the way in which the composer has convinced scholars into supporting his version of his life's events. A similar situation exists surrounding Halffter's relationships with his uncles Rodolfo and Ernesto, and with Manuel de Falla. I discussed the latter in chapter two, where I attributed Halffter's perspective to an anxious relationship between the Generation of 1951 and the memory of Falla. I now turn to Halffter's relationship with his uncles, beginning with their lives, works and their position in the Spanish historical imagination.

Rodolfo Halffter Escriche was born in Madrid in 1900. He lived in Spain until 1939, working as a composer, teacher, critic and writer. He subsequently moved to Mexico, where he played a significant role in the musical life of the country. Musically, he was self-taught, and his work shows the influence of Claude Debussy, Arnold Schoenberg and Falla's late works, especially *Retablo* and *Concerto*. His musical aesthetics evolved from a mainly neoclassical perspective in the 1930s towards a Latin-American streak of modernism, which highlighted the importance of folk idioms and followed a style known as *indigenismo*. His closest friend was the critic Adolfo Salazar, whose writings in support of Spanish musical modernism were previously discussed. In the Spanish music-historical imagination, Rodolfo is regarded as one of the most prominent members of the Generation of 1927 and as the one that reached one of the highest peaks of the musical Silver Age.

Halffter speaks very fondly of his uncle Rodolfo, but he credits Ernesto with providing his musical education. Ernesto was born in Madrid in 1905. Self-

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<sup>151</sup> Emilio Casares, *Cristóbal Halffter* (Oviedo: Universidad, 1980), 15-8 and Tomás Marco, *Cristóbal Halffter* (Madrid: Dirección General de Bellas Artes, 1972), 22.

taught like his brother, he lived in Spain until he died in 1989. Alongside Falla's, his oeuvre is regarded as the most modern amongst pre-war Spanish composers. According to musicologist Yolanda Acker, the *Sinfonietta* (dedicated to Falla) 'reflects the ideals of the eighteenth-century classical and neo-Scarlattian values of works such as *Retablo* and *Concerto*'.<sup>152</sup> Ernesto has been traditionally considered Falla's disciple, the one chosen by the old composer to finish his epic cantata *Atlántida*. Carol A. Hess, in her biography of Falla, discusses the relationship and relates that it was strained.<sup>153</sup> Acker questions the common understanding that Falla naturally should have chosen Ernesto for the task of finishing *Atlántida*, given their increasingly divergent opinions about composition and their deteriorating friendship.<sup>154</sup> Ernesto himself, however, always claimed to be Falla's heir.<sup>155</sup>

Unlike his brother Rodolfo, Ernesto did not go into exile. According to José María de Mena, 'at the beginning of the Civil War [Ernesto] Halffter disappeared from Seville, later admitting that his "friendship with many of the leftist-intellectuals, like García Lorca, made him fear for his life"'.<sup>156</sup> Shortly after, however, he ingratiated himself with the winning army by writing his 1938 *Amanecer en los Jardines de España* (Dawn in the Gardens of Spain). The title of this piece refers to Falla's *Noches en los Jardines de España* (Nights in the Gardens of Spain), but its structure differs almost completely from the master's

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<sup>152</sup> Yolanda Acker, "Ernesto Halffter: A Study of the Years 1905-46", *Revista de Musicología*, 17 (1994), 111.

<sup>153</sup> Carol A. Hess, *Sacred Passions: The Life and Music of Manuel de Falla* (New York and Oxford: University Press, 2005), 277-8.

<sup>154</sup> Acker, "Manuel de Falla and Ernesto Halffter: A View from their Correspondence", *Context*, 4 (1993), 35-41.

<sup>155</sup> He does so with particular emphasis in his speech to the Academy of Fine Arts in 1973, centred upon his relationship with Falla. Ernesto Halffter Escriche, *El Magisterio Permanente de Manuel de Falla. Discurso Leído en el Acto de su Recepción Pública el día 12 de Junio de 1973 y Contestación del Académico de Número y Secretario de la Corporación Monseñor Federico Sopena Ibáñez* (Madrid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 1973).

<sup>156</sup> Quoted by Acker, "Ernesto Halffter", 143.

work. Ernesto's composition follows the model of Piotr Ilich Tchaikovsky's *1812 Overture*, starting with chaos and ending with the bright, triumphant melody of the most emblematic Spanish fascist anthem, *Cara al Sol* (discussed in chapter one; see also Appendix 1). This journey from chaos to order works as a transparent metaphor of the transition from the anarchy reigning in Spain to Franco's restoration of law and order that provided a new Spanish dawn.<sup>157</sup>

Halffter's two main biographers, Casares and Marco, conclude that the composer's liberal and musical family background, particularly his connection through his two uncles to Falla and the Silver Age of Spanish music, inevitably ensured that he would become a composer. For Marco, a stern avant-garde advocate, this foundation also carried some risks:

From his background, his education and his opportunities, Cristóbal Halffter was meant to become a composer. It has often been mentioned how his family environment favoured this career path, but it has not been taken into consideration that it could also be a burden. He could easily become a composer, but he could have easily become a member of the establishment his generation was eager to fight.<sup>158</sup>

Halffter's excellent opportunities, Marco claims, could also become a burden that could have prevented him from rebelling against the musical establishment.

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<sup>157</sup> Together with his father and uncles, Halffter's most crucial influence seems to have been his mother. She taught him music between 1934 and 1939, but died in 1941 when the composer was only eleven. After she died, Halffter's entered in the Madrid Conservatory.

<sup>158</sup> 'Por su situación familiar, sus estudios y sus oportunidades, Cristóbal Halffter era la persona ideal para convertirse en compositor. Más de una vez se han enumerado las cartas favorables con las que el autor partía inicialmente sin pensar en que a la vez podían ser desfavorables, pues si tenía todos los pronunciamientos para convertirse en compositor, también los tenía para llegar a ser rápidamente y de manera insensible un miembro de un estado de cosas que su generación estaba dispuesta a combatir'. Marco, *Cristóbal Halffter*, 13.

Since the Generation of 1951 was regarded as a 'guerrilla' generation, as I explained in chapter two, as a member of that generation, Halffter had to fight his own relatives. Due to his familial ties, Halffter was the first Spanish composer who felt the 'agony' of being torn between following tradition or rebelling against it. Navigating that situation, Marco claims, took him longer and was more difficult than he himself would have liked.<sup>159</sup> Perhaps it took him until the portrayal of Falla as the main figure of the Silver Age was presented as a precursor to the efforts of the Generation of 1951 to overcome musical nationalism and venture into the avant-garde path.

That 'anguish' (in Salas Viu's words, quoted in Chapter Two), or 'anxiety', to use Harold Bloom's term, can be found in Halffter's evolution from his technically conservative style of the 1940s to his 'progressive' works of the 1960s as well as in his public statements about music. During the 1940s and 1950s, Halffter's career was less than audacious. He studied at the Madrid Conservatory with Conrado del Campo, a composer of tonal works with no ties with or sympathy for any avant-garde movement. The music that Halffter wrote during these autarchic years is squarely tonal and is coloured by nationalistic tones – naturally, it would please the cultural authorities of autarchic Spain. In fact, in 1953 Halffter was awarded the Premio Nacional de Música, the highest prize for musical composition in Spain, for his *Piano Concerto*. This piece draws upon Castilian folklore and shyly plays with tonal ambiguity, without ever transgressing conventional tonality.<sup>160</sup> Reminiscent of Falla's *Harpsichord Concerto*, Halffter's *Piano Concerto*, was performed by the National Symphony

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<sup>159</sup> 'La situación agónica se manifestó en Cristóbal Halffter antes que en otros y tuvo una resolución más laboriosa que, sin ser más tardía, fue de más difícil gestación'. Marco, *Cristóbal Halffter*, 13.

<sup>160</sup> For a discussion of Halffter's *Piano Concerto*, see Casares, *Cristóbal Halffter*, pp. 54-8

Orchestra, and made him a popular musical figure, opening doors to the National Radio and other important public institutions.

In addition to the *Piano Concerto*, Halffter enjoyed widespread success with his *Misa Ducal*, premiered in 1956, which he dedicated to the Alba family, the foremost aristocratic Spanish household. Scholars often identify the influence of Stravinsky's *Mass* on this piece for choir.<sup>161</sup> Halffter's relationship with the Albas became much closer when he married a member of the family, the pianist María Manuela Caro. This marriage provided Halffter with financial stability and a network of political contacts that would prove invaluable for his career.<sup>162</sup> Carreira and composers Juan Hidalgo and Jesús Villa-Rojo insist that Cristóbal Halffter's wife played a crucial role during these years. They credit her with having used her political and social network to advance her husband's career; however, this claim has not been sufficiently explored in the literature.<sup>163</sup>

Halffter's use of traditional compositional techniques in the 1940s and 1950s was consistent with his public statements about musical composition. For example, after attending the 1955 Festival of the International Society for Musical Documentation in Paris, he wrote:

If traditional music did not leave room for creation; if everything had already been said, I would definitely take sides for experimental music. But there are still ways for traditional music. It may be more difficult to say new things writing a tonal piece than writing an experimental one. To

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<sup>161</sup> Enrique Franco, "La Misa Ducal de Halffter, 30 Años Después", *El País* (9 February 1985).

<sup>162</sup> Halffter and his wife live in a palace in Villafranca del Bierzo, where they have raised their three children. This stately house is the composer's favourite place to work.

<sup>163</sup> Personal interviews with Carreira, Juan Hidalgo and Jesús Villa-Rojo.

achieve the former, one needs to be a 'musician'; the latter can happen by chance.<sup>164</sup>

What Halffter suggests is that the work of experimental composers may be the result of chance; on the other hand, he says, tonal composers need to be real 'musicians' (Halffter's emphasis) – therefore, he seems to imply that avant-garde ones might not be. His 1957 trip to Italy, under the auspices of the Conde de Cartagena scholarship and again in the company of Ernesto, seems a particularly significant experience in Halffter's life.<sup>165</sup> In Rome and Milan he met Luciano Berio, Luigi Dallapiccola, Bruno Maderna and Hidalgo. Hidalgo would be the first Spanish composer to write a serial piece, *Ukanga*, premiered at the Darmstadt Ferienkurse in 1957, and in the 1950s he was living in Italy with his partner Walter Marchetti. In my personal interview with Hidalgo conducted in May 2005, the composer related that then he had 'neither hope nor desire to come back to Spain', a country in which musical experimentation was still not favoured by the cultural authorities. Even in the 1960s, when the dictatorship began to support the avant garde, Hidalgo's unambiguously leftist political credentials coupled with his homosexuality made him an unlikely candidate to be protected by Spanish authorities. But Hidalgo's music, as well as his group Nueva Música that began in 1958, was a symbol of modernity and progress for the Generation of 1951. Halffter was the first member of the Generation to capitalise on this reputation.

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<sup>164</sup> 'Si la música tradicional no nos ofreciese más campo, si ya estuviese todo dicho, yo me inclinaría, sin duda alguna, al lado de la música concreta. Pero creo que la música tiene todavía caminos por donde continuar, aunque sea mucho más difícil decir algo nuevo en una obra tonal que en un experimento "concreto". Para lo primero hace falta ser "músico", mientras que lo segundo lo realiza muchas veces la casualidad'. Francisco Calés Otero and Halffter, "Dos Compositores Jóvenes en París", *Música*, 10 (1954), 127. I translate 'música concreta' as 'experimental music', since Halffter is not talking about 'musique concrète'.

<sup>165</sup> Cristóbal's uncle Ernesto had awarded the same scholarship in the late 1930s.

Italy seems to have been an epiphany for Halffter who travelled there being skeptical of the avant garde and returned a convert, ready to embark upon a publicly-funded avant garde journey. As I explained in chapters one and two, in the late 1950s there were fundamental changes in musical promotion in Spain which favoured the composition of avant-garde music. Halffter and many others of his Generation took advantage of those changes, adapting their compositional techniques to fit the new context. Halffter famously established himself as an avant-garde composer with his work *Microformas*, which paved the way for his becoming the leading figure of the Generation of 1951. But factors beyond the musical elements of his compositions also contributed to his journey from believing that the avant-garde was perhaps *not* the work of real musicians to becoming Spain's foremost avant-garde composer. This was not Halffter's last overnight transformation.

### **A Spanish *Rite of Spring***

In 1961 the National Symphony Orchestra gave the first performance in Madrid of Halffter's *Microformas*, a set of five variations on a twelve-tone series that is stated in the first four measures. According to the composer, each variation represents a 'completely closed form whose self-contained structure makes it independent from the others'.<sup>166</sup> The first, in which 'intensities play a fundamental role', is only twenty-eight measures long and employs a texture that might be described as group pointillism, where the points are generally groups of chords rather than solo fragments. The second variation, which is

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<sup>166</sup> This reading of *Microformas* is indebted to Arthur Custer, "Contemporary Music in Spain", *The Musical Quarterly, Special Fiftieth Anniversary Issue: Contemporary Music in Europe: A Comprehensive Survey*, 51 (1965), 44-60. (This is a revised version of an article first published in *MQ*, 48 [1962], 1-18)

based upon the retrograde form of the series, is marked 'Two Counterpoints', and is constructed on two free contrapuntal lines, each of which is fragmented and distributed among a particular instrumental group. For this purpose the orchestra is divided in two groups: one comprised of piccolo, oboes, bass clarinet, contrabassoon, horns, trumpets and harp, the other of clarinets, English horn, trombones, tuba and strings. At the mid-point, each line is subjected to retrograde treatment, which is strict in the intervals only, while at the same time the instrumental groups are interchanged.

The third variation, 'Vertical and Horizontal Structures', begins with a series of chords followed by a succession of short melodic lines over sustained tones that are prolongations of the initial chords. It leads to a union of both textural elements in which each series proceeds in retrograde form. The fourth variation, 'Rhythms Without Definite Pitch', is written for percussion only and is constructed upon four rhythmic elements based on conjunction, juxtaposition and combination. Even though the pitch series is quoted from time to time, the pitched instruments of the percussion section are used primarily in such a manner that the pitches they produce have no value as tones; in the scheme of the movement, their importance lies exclusively in their timbre. Rhythm is also the dominant element in the final fifth variation, although there is a greater richness of rhythmic components. Two sections of five measures each function as the basic structure of the movement, and the last three measures state the theme of the work in its retrograde form.

*Microformas* was booed at its Madrid premiere, an event that laid the groundwork for this piece to become a symbol of the resistance of the Spanish avant-garde in its fight against a conservative musical establishment. This

fiasco of *Microformas* is often mentioned in the literature on the Spanish avant garde, and some of Halffter's colleagues consider the piece's first performance as a turning point in the recent history of Spanish music.<sup>167</sup> On the whole, this literature has been extremely generous to *Microformas*, calling it, in the words of Casares, Halffter's 'first masterpiece'. But Casares does not go much further in his praise, instead choosing to quote the composer:

This work means a lot to me, as it is the beginning of a new way of composing as well as the summary of everything I have hitherto done... it was very hard work to write and is still nowadays the work I am most proud of.<sup>168</sup>

*Microformas* has such special meaning for Halffter since, by his own account, it embodies his ideas of composition. In the best technocratic rhetoric, he summarised these ideas in 1966 when he said that he aimed for 'pure creation, subjected only to strictly musical needs'.<sup>169</sup>

Casares also quotes some of the reviews published after the premiere of *Microformas*. All of them are extremely positive; only Antonio Fernández-Cid's takes a more neutral tone.<sup>170</sup> Particularly positive is the review that Fernando Ruiz Coca published in *El Alcázar*, which gushes, '*Microformas*... is written by a flexible, ingenious and confident composer, whose inventiveness is

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<sup>167</sup> Interview with De Pablo.

<sup>168</sup> 'Esta obra representa para mí mucho, porque es el principio de una nueva forma de creación y también un poco el resumen de todo lo anterior. Las *Microformas* significan mucho para mí porque supuso un gran esfuerzo de trabajo y de creación, siendo hoy quizás la obra de la que más satisfecho me encuentro de todo lo que he escrito'. Quoted by Casares, *Cristóbal Halffter*, 81.

<sup>169</sup> 'La creación pura, sometida únicamente a las necesidades estrictamente musicales'. Quoted by Casares, *Cristóbal Halffter*, 82.

<sup>170</sup> See Casares, *Cristóbal Halffter*, 85.

extraordinary'.<sup>171</sup> Enrique Franco provides the most enthusiastic review in his assessment of what he considers the most important musical events of the year:

Cristóbal Halffter, the number one (I dare say, as there is no good criticism unless the reviewer takes some risks), triumphed on all fronts... *Microformas* is his best achievement. Neither the praise of critics here [in Spain], nor the praise of the better French critics would be enough to measure this progress.<sup>172</sup>

Enrique Franco's hyperbolic praise of the 'advance' *Microformas* signified was coupled with an attack on the audience for being too conservative. The director of the National Radio, Enrique Franco referred to the booing as 'terrorism of thoughtless protesters, an act of artistic subversion' ('el terrorismo de la protesta irreflexible, acto de subversión artística'). Interestingly, it seems that the reaction of the audience, and not the performance of a serial piece, was for Enrique Franco 'artistic subversion' and indeed 'terrorism'. Voicing criticism against *Microformas* was thus reprimanded by one of the highest musical authorities in Spain: such was the status of the avant-garde as the preferred musical movement by the Spanish musical establishment, something this thesis brings to the fore for the first time ever.

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<sup>171</sup> 'Estas *Microformas*, constituidas por un tema y variaciones, están tratadas con mano flexible, segura e ingeniosa, con una invención extraordinariamente viva y una muy rica y centelleante imaginación sonora'. Quoted in Marco, *Cristóbal Halffter*, 47. Casares attributes this review to Claude Rostand.

<sup>172</sup> 'Cristóbal Halffter, el número uno (no hay crítica válida sin arriesgarse en la afirmación rotunda), atacó y venció desde muchos frentes. Si París y Londres ovacionaron su ballet *Jugando al Toro*, las *Microformas* nos mostraron la mejor consecución del autor. Ni la crítica de aquí, ni siquiera la mejor crítica francesa, será suficiente para medir el avance'. Quoted in Casares, *Cristóbal Halffter*, 85-7.

With hindsight, modern scholars and colleagues of Halffter have granted *Microformas* the status of foundational work of the Spanish avant-garde. De Pablo says that Halffter's work was 'the beginning of everything'.<sup>173</sup> Agustí Charles refers to *Microformas* as a symbol of the rebellion onset by the Spanish avant-garde.<sup>174</sup> More importantly, in his *Spanish Music in the Twentieth Century* Marco deems the work as the first battle won by the Generation of 1951:

In the late 1950s and early 1960s a vigorous upheaval roused most critics as well as most of the public, still largely uninformed about what had been going on in music elsewhere. The awakening did not come about without trauma and some notorious scandals, such as the premiere of *Microformas* by Cristóbal Halffter, the most sensational battle of the whole process. But the battle was soon won, and little by little a whole generation found itself at the center of a richer and more varied musical life. Once again it was possible for quite a number of Spanish composers and works to be known beyond Spain's borders.<sup>175</sup>

Because this 'most sensational battle' was won, Halffter led the Spanish avant-garde to its ultimate triumph.

However, two facts contradict the bellicose character that most musicologists, critics and composers attribute to *Microformas*. First, as we have seen Spanish reviewers at the time welcomed *Microformas* with generous praise. These reviewers, as I explained in chapters one and two, held prominent

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<sup>173</sup> Personal interview with De Pablo.

<sup>174</sup> Agustí Charles Soler, *Análisis de la Música Española del Siglo XX: En Torno a la Generación del 51* (Valencia: Ed. Rivera, 2002), 43-5.

<sup>175</sup> Marco, *Spanish Music in the Twentieth Century*, trans. Cola Franzen (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1993; first in Spanish, 1983), 155.

positions in the public musical establishment. Second, the work was played by the National Symphony Orchestra not only in Madrid, but in Paris as well, where *Microformas* had its world premiere at the Salle Pleyel in 1960. This visit, which enjoyed generous media coverage, was interpreted as a triumph of Spanish diplomacy, since France had been one of Franco's sternest critics and was reluctant to re-open its borders with Spain.

The critical reception of *Microformas* gave the piece a reputation akin to the myth surrounding the premiere of Stravinsky's *The Rite of Spring*. According to most literature on Stravinsky, the ballet premiere in 1913 in Paris was a complete fiasco. Both Stravinsky's biographers and the composer himself seemed to take pride in the fact that the performance was booed almost from the beginning. However, Richard Taruskin has recently suggested that Stravinsky's music played little part in the original fiasco.<sup>176</sup> In fact, as Taruskin relates, the booing was so loud from the beginning that the music could not possibly be heard. Moreover, reviewers of the premiere did not even mention Stravinsky's music, instead mercilessly attacking Nijinsky's choreography. In contrast, Stravinsky's score has enjoyed constant success in the press since its concert premiere at the Salle Pleyel in 1914. Taruskin's reading of Stravinsky's faux fiasco brings to the fore the non-musical elements that help to construct a 'modern' composer in the twentieth century. This persona relies upon a certain pride in public rejection, and it seems that Stravinsky exploited the booing of *The Rite of Spring* so that it could serve as the ultimate proof of the modernity of his piece.

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<sup>176</sup> Richard Taruskin, "A Myth of the Twentieth Century: *The Rite of Spring*, the Tradition of the New, and "the Music Itself", *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 360-467.

Similarly, the alleged failure of *Microformas* has permitted Halffter and his generation to create an aura of rebellion. Unlike *The Rite of Spring*, *Microformas* did fail in Madrid. But the Spanish musical establishment did not turn against him as a result of this failure; on the contrary, his supporters grew in number and became more powerful. In fact, *Microformas*'s 'unsuccessful' premiere brought Halffter the success he sought, consecrating him as his generation's beacon, whom only the 'terrorism of thoughtless protestors' would question in their acts of 'artistic subversion'. In the year following the premiere, he was appointed Professor of Composition at the Madrid Conservatory, and in 1964 he became director of that institution, which was the most important music school in Spain.<sup>177</sup> On the whole, the year 1964 was particularly good for Halffter because, as previously discussed, he was also at the centre of the cultural celebrations of Franco's twenty-fifth anniversary in power.

Within the context of this national spotlight, the ubiquitous mention of *Microformas* in books and articles distracted from Halffter's other works, which might have betrayed the composer as less committed to the cause of the avant-garde. But as we explore the pieces that were overshadowed by the myth of *Microformas*, we can construct a fuller picture of Halffter, one that he himself has sought to obscure from public view.

### **Unhistorical, apolitical, or both?**

A historical period often derives its stylistic characterization from the label given to one or a few of the musical works written at that time. For example, as Lorenzo Bianconi explains in the introduction to his book *Music in the*

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<sup>177</sup> Federico Sopena, *Historia crítica del Conservatorio de Madrid* (Madrid: Dirección General de Bellas Artes, 1967), 176.

*Seventeenth Century*, not all the music of the seventeenth century was Baroque.<sup>178</sup> The Baroque, therefore, should be considered a style, not a period. A similar process can occur when writing about composers. By labelling a piece as 'Beethovenian', we learn more about the agenda of the writer than about the music, as the writer attempts to convey his interpretation of the piece through a reductive label. The problem that lies beneath these examples stems from a stylistic approach to the history of music that might be labelled 'realist', following Leo Treitler.<sup>179</sup> By questioning 'realist' approaches to music history, I do not claim to be 'inventing the wheel', but I am seeking to foreground the currently accepted approaches that have been often ignored in modern histories of twentieth-century music.

Some histories of twentieth-century music leave aside the music that their authors do not consider 'modern', produced by composers who do not meet their criteria for 'modernity'. In Robert P. Morgan's *Twentieth-Century Music*, for example, Richard Strauss receives a rather disparaging one-page discussion:

Yet with respect to the evolution of twentieth-century musical language, all of Strauss's music after *Elektra* seems curiously 'unhistorical', giving the impression of having been composed in a time warp.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, tr. David Bryant (Cambridge: University Press, 1987, first published in Italian, 1982), preface.

<sup>179</sup> Leo Treitler, *Music and the Historical Imagination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 88-89.

<sup>180</sup> Robert P. Morgan, *Twentieth-Century Music* (New York and London: Norton, 1991), 35.

By casting some of the most famous Strauss works as 'unhistorical', Morgan can avoid discussing them altogether. He uses the same ploy with Giacomo Puccini, whose celebrated twentieth-century operas *Tosca* (1900), *Madama Butterfly* (1904), *La Fanciulla del West* (1910), *Il Trittico* (1918) and *Turandot* (1926) merit only one paragraph in Morgan's book. The end result of Morgan's views, which represent a powerful trend in twentieth-century music scholarship, is a portrayal of the last century as the era of experimentation and progress. The composers who can claim to have written 'modern' music that contributed to the 'development of subsequent music', as Morgan describes, will find a secure place in the musical establishment; the composers whose work cannot be made to fit this narrative tend to fall by the wayside.

In this vein, most biographies of Halffter, and most books about the Generation of 1951, avoid discussing music that does not conform to this model of twentieth-century modernity and progress. If a composer writes one of these pieces in an early stage of his career, then it can be explained away as part of the the 'necessary' process towards the composition of avant-garde works that frees him from the technical constraints of conservatory education. Some musicologists go as far as to say that composers should have destroyed these pieces that betray the 'mediocrity' of their early years. The prevalence of this critical rhetoric led De Pablo to destroy his early works himself. As the composer said to me in our interview, in the 1950s 'I used to write tonal music in nationalist style of which I could not possibly feel proud'. However, in response to this self-condemning attitude, one question remains unanswered: How does progress-obsessed musicology discuss tonal works that were written after a given composer 'closed' his tonal phase?

Writing in 1972, Marco divided Halffter's career into four phases: Preliminary, Consolidation, Rings and Expressive. The musically conservative Preliminary phase includes the music Halffter wrote through to 1958, such as the *Piano Concerto* and the *Misa Ducal*. The Consolidation phase and the Rings phase (as it has been called rather obscurely) comprise purely avant-garde experimentation. The title of the last phase refers to a return to the composition of so-called 'expressive' music in the late 1960s and early 1970s. *Microformas* as well as *Secuencias* belongs to the Consolidation phase, a categorisation that Marco uses to prove Halffter's 'capacity to produce autonomous and coherent musical works'.<sup>181</sup>

The transition between the first two phases helps explain how *Microformas* functions in Marco's narrative. 'Before closing this presentation of the first phase', Marco notes that he 'should mention two works whose features' make them part of the Preliminary phase, although they were written later.<sup>182</sup> The two works in question, both from the 1960s, are *Misa para la Juventud* and the *In Memoriam Anaïck*, dedicated to the deceased daughter of his friend Miguel Fissac. By grouping these pieces anachronistically, Marco seems to imply that Halffter somehow wrote them in a time warp that transported him back to an earlier style. Thus, just as Morgan does with Puccini and Strauss, Marco does not feel he has to discuss these pieces. And conveniently so, since I suggest that there are political reasons that explain why *Misa para la Juventud* musical work has been brushed under the carpet.

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<sup>181</sup> Marco, *Cristóbal Halffter*, 1972, 31.

<sup>182</sup> 'Antes de cerrar esta breve exposición de su primera etapa, mencionemos dos obras que por fecha de composición se encuentran situadas en su actual ejecutoria, pero que por su carácter deben figurar junto a las de la primera etapa'. Marco, *Cristóbal Halffter*, 1972, 36.

In 1964 Halffter composed *Misa para la Juventud*, a setting of the Catholic mass dedicated to the youth of the only party, the Falange Española. The name Falange (or Phalanx in English) was inherited from a series of political movements and parties dating from the 1930s – Spain’s own fascist party. During the Civil War, Falange became a leading force on Franco’s side; under the sole command of Franco it formed the core of the only official political organization in Spain. This organization, officially renamed as the National Movement (Movimiento Nacional) in 1945, continued until Franco's death in 1975. Under Franco, Falange was always in power. Among its many activities, Falange had a youth organisation, for which Halffter wrote his mass.<sup>183</sup>

Composed for an orchestra rich in brass and a male choir, *Misa para la Juventud* is not an avant-garde piece, but a heroic work of tonal music. It was written for the male children and adolescents who attended the *Campamentos de Falange*, a Spanish version of the retreats organised by the Hitler Youth. These retreats were remnants of Spanish fascism, providing a setting in which to indoctrinate young Spaniards in the greatness of Spain and the Catholic Church. They provided frequent religious services officiated by the same priest who ran the retreat. The attendees would also go for long walks together in order to get to know Spain better, and these *Campamentos* provided some children with the opportunity to see a town or the sea for the first time in their lives. Participants also sang marches and hymns, and some of the most popular songs were written or orchestrated by the fiercest supporters of the avant garde. For them Enrique Franco composed *Montañas Nevadas*. The Nazi song by Johann Ludwig Uhland *Ich hatt' einen Kameraden* was sung in its Spanish

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<sup>183</sup> A good introduction to the history of Falange can be found in Sheelag Ellwood, *Prietas las filas: Historia de la Falange Española* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1984), especially Introduction.

translation, *Yo Tenía un Camarada*. Halffter's *Misa para la Juventud*, with its traditional musical language and its loud finale in brilliant C major, became a staple of these camps' repertory.

The prominence of *Misa para la Juventud* in the camps repertoire in the 1960s and 1970s contrasts with its present-day neglect. In fact, it never appears in the literature on Halffter, neither in books and articles nor in *The New Grove* or the *Diccionario de la Música Española e Iberoamericana*. There are two obvious reasons for this neglect. First, as mentioned earlier, its musical style does not conform to the aesthetics for which Halffter is known. Marco is the only author who mentions *Misa para la Juventud*, but by saying it belongs to a different phase, he avoids any discussion of the difficulties it presents to his narrative of Halffter's career. Marco treats *Misa para la Juventud* as Morgan treats Strauss's post-*Elektra* music; that is, both writers dismiss these troublesome pieces as anachronistic and 'unhistorical'. Additionally, Halffter's mass is too overtly political for Marco's argument, which denies that a composer who has earned a reputation for leading a guerrilla war against the establishment, musical or otherwise, could produce such musical work.

Halffter's biographies conveniently ignore the *Mass* for its political implications and for it being, perhaps, a 'step-back' in Halffter's oeuvre – a step back if we understand music history in the teleological terms of Morgan. The political implications of *Secuencias*, the work premiered at the 'Concert for Peace', and *Microformas* have been either distorted by portraying the pieces as rebellious or, mostly, ignored. However, when looking at a later phase of Halffter's career, biographers and critics seem to be interested only in politics, the very same subject they neglect when discussing the 1960s. Why?

## Humanitarian composer

In the Spanish musical Olympus, Cristóbal Halffter towers above the rest for being credited as the most committed to the cause of the underprivileged or marginalised. The foreword to Casares's book on Halffter by Francoist intellectual Pedro Laín Entralgo describes the composer as follows:

I do not know if there is a composer who more consciously has decided to put his works... at the service of the triple fight for the best of what humankind is keen on: fight for true freedom, fight against the non-deserved pain, and fight for an existence that is clearly and authentically rooted on what is the ultimate foundation of the reality of each and every one of us.<sup>184</sup>

In this obscure prose (which has been difficult to translate), Laín evaluates Halffter's music in reference to its moral virtues and its alleged search for freedom. Similarly, Hermann Danuser praises the composer's 'essentially humanist commitment' in his 1987 article "Cristóbal Halffter: Un Ejemplo de la Nueva Música Comprometida" (An Example of the Commitment of the New Political Music).<sup>185</sup> This commitment, vaguely described by Danuser,

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<sup>184</sup> 'No sé si hoy existe un compositor que de modo más consciente y resuelto haya querido poner sus obras... al servicio de la triple lucha... en que lo mejor del género humano anda hoy empeñado: lucha por la libertad real de los hombres, lucha contra el azote del dolor no merecido, lucha hacia una limpia y auténtica implantación de la existencia en aquello que para cada cual sea último fundamento de su propia realidad.' Pedro Laín Entralgo, "Prólogo", Casares, *Cristóbal Halffter*.

<sup>185</sup> Hermann Danuser, "Cristóbal Halffter: Un Ejemplo de la Nueva Música Comprometida", trans. Bernardo Martínez, *Actas del Congreso Internacional "España en la Música de Occidente"*, eds. Emilio Casares, Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta and José López-Calo (Madrid: INAEM, 1987), 475.

‘encompasses all aspects of the human cause’;<sup>186</sup> furthermore, “‘commitment’ and “New Music”... are not opposites for Cristóbal Halffter... but complementing elements of his work with no room for contradiction’.<sup>187</sup>

German music critic Hubert Daschner elaborates on this description of Halffter in his speech entitled “Punto de Partida (Elogio de Cristóbal Halffter)” (Point of Departure [In praise of Cristóbal Halffter]), and also highlights the composer’s commitment to victims of political or economic oppression. He first paraphrases the usual information about Halffter: ‘It is natural that the young composer... when he graduates... follows the path suggested by his surname’.<sup>188</sup> Then ‘he soon realises the danger of following past ways’ and tries to innovate in order to make Spanish music ‘universal’.<sup>189</sup> Daschner goes on to discuss Halffter’s ‘música comprometida’ (committed music) and provides the list of works that make him an intrinsically committed composer. These are the cantata *Yes, Speak Out, Yes*, premiered in 1968 at the United Nations in New York, *Cry for the victims of violence, Requiem for an imagined freedom, Variation on the echoes of a scream* and *Elegies to the death of three Spanish poets*, the latter dedicated to Antonio Machado, who died in exile, Miguel Hernández, who died in prison, and Federico García Lorca, who was executed in the early days of the Civil War. These works, Daschner claims, are ‘the

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<sup>186</sup> Danuser, “Cristóbal Halffter: Un Ejemplo de la Nueva Música Comprometida”, 476.

<sup>187</sup> ‘Por encima de todo... defiende la independencia de lo estético y se niega a degradar la música a mera función de efecto político. “Compromiso” y “Nueva Música”, por tanto, no son para Cristóbal Halffter antónimos... sino condiciones que se complementan en su trabajo, en cuyo doble fundamento no se observa ninguna contradicción’. Danuser, “Cristóbal Halffter: Un Ejemplo de la Nueva Música Comprometida”, 477.

<sup>188</sup> ‘Es natural que el nuevo compositor... al terminar sus estudios... tome primero el camino que marca su apellido’. Hubert Daschner, “Punto de partida (Elogio de Cristóbal Halffter)”, *Acto de entrega del Premio Montaigne 1994 a Cristóbal Halffter y de la Beca Montaigne 1994 a Enric Riu* (Madrid: Fundación Juan March, 1994), 11.

<sup>189</sup> ‘Pronto se da cuenta del peligro que lleva moverse por caminos trillados’. Daschner, “Punto de Partida”, 15.

testimony of an artist who is always socially responsible and attentive, an artist who does not want to be silenced'.<sup>190</sup>

Both Danuser and Daschner give special praise to what they consider Halffter's humanitarian work par excellence, his cantata *Yes, Speak Out, Yes*. This piece was commissioned by the United Nations to commemorate the twentieth anniversary in 1968 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, part of which appears in the text of the work. The cantata requires a large orchestra and chorus under the direction of two separate conductors, as well as soprano and bass soloists. It was part of what Marco calls the Expressive phase. In a mixed review in *The Musical Times* of its 1979 London premiere, David Roberts wrote that the work made a 'disappointingly impersonal use of the European avant-garde music *lingua franca*' and that it '[fell] short of providing a credible vision of peace and liberation'. However, Roberts also acknowledged that Halffter, 'successfully exploit[ed] the sheer mass of performers in complex webs of sounds to portray the suffocating and brutal nature of repressive regimes'.<sup>191</sup> In the end the politics of the cantata seemed to seduce Roberts, and he concluded that the work 'has been heard, and has presumably struck a small blow in countries where democratic rights are not yet a reality'.

In 1979, when Roberts wrote his review, Spain was already a democracy, if a tentative one. Although the democratic constitution had been approved a year earlier, it still faced strong opposition from conservative corners, most brutally manifested in a coup d'état staged by General

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<sup>190</sup> 'Testimonio de un artista, que vive su tiempo con un espíritu despierto y responsable, y que no quiere callar'. Daschner, "Punto de Partida", 15.

<sup>191</sup> David Roberts, "Music in London: New Music", *The Musical Times*, 1635 (1979), 420. The London premiere was played by the Philharmonia Orchestra and Chorus, conducted by Cristóbal Halffter and Anthony Ridley, with Jane Manning and Michael Rippon as soloists.

Fernando Tejero in 1981. But *Yes, Speak Out, Yes*, premiered in Spain in 1973, two years before Franco's death, did not strike the blow within Spain that Roberts anticipated. Instead the work was welcomed in Spain as yet another sign of the country's international recognition, and its political message served as proof that Spain would support the fight for human rights, in line with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that the country signed upon joining the United Nations in 1955.

In other words, the cantata's commitment to the cause of the oppressed was too generic to make Franco's cultural authorities uneasy, and its humanitarian concern made perfect sense within Spain's Catholic culture. The Catholic Church made a point to endorse and defend human rights, and Franco, ever the devoted dictator, could not counter this position. Most importantly, in the case of Halffter the composer's interest in human rights successfully ingratiated him with both the democratic left and the Christian right, as De Pablo indicated in our personal interview. This broad appeal would prove crucial for Halffter's survival in a moment of cultural and political uncertainty that came about as a result of changes in the political meaning of the international avant garde as well as in the Spanish regime. As Stockhausen scholar Richard Toop suggests, 'partly because of a prevailing left-wing orientation in West German art, and partly because of an emerging postmodern reaction', the avant-garde began to be seen in the 1970s as a philo-Marxist artistic aesthetic.<sup>192</sup> As I will explain in chapter four, this shift led Franco's cultural authorities to grow suspicious of the musical avant-garde in the 1970s, especially its Cagean branch, as opposed to its Boulezian, more formal approach to composition. Halffter could

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<sup>192</sup> Richard Toop, "Stockhausen, Karlheinz", *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 4 July 2008), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>

not afford to be seen as a left-wing artist because that label could jeopardise his prominent position in Spanish musical life, so he toned down his avant-garde language. French scholar Celestin Deliège explains:

The end of Spanish fascism seems to have triggered a return to his [Halffter's] national roots. *Elegía a la Muerte de Tres Poetas Españoles...*, *Officium Defunctorum...* as well as the concertos for violin and violoncello are works which show a continuation of the romantic symphonic tradition... without the slightest interest in the contemporary investigation of timbres.<sup>193</sup>

The fact that the avant-garde fell out of grace in Spain in the early 1970s, the certainty of Franco's imminent death and the general belief that it would give way to a democracy required that Halffter and other Francoist intellectuals `devise a strategy that would reposition them on the political spectrum – in the new political scenario, whatever this may be, they had to avoid being seen as too close to the fading regime. In the last years of Franco's dictatorship a more conservative musical language would keep Halffter close to the dictatorship. At the same time, a commitment (however vague) to the cause of Human Rights could be interpreted, if explained appropriately, as a pro-democratic stance. Fortunately for Halffter, his position was sufficiently vague to allow for some maneuvering and helped him make the transition from Franco's Spain to

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<sup>193</sup> 'La fin du fascisme espagnol semble avoir provoqué, de la part du compositeur, un retour aux traditions nationales: *Elégies à la mémoire de trois poètes espagnols* pour orchestre (1975), *Officium defunctorum* pour soli, chœur et orchestre (1978), ainsi que les *Concertos* pour violon (1979) et pour violoncelle (1975), sont autant d'œuvres qui prolongent le symphonisme romantique habilement maîtrisé, travail du compositeur-chef d'orchestre, mais sans la moindre participation aux recherches sur le timbre en cours à l'époque'. Celestin Deliège, *Cinquante ans de modernité musicale de Darmstadt à l'IRCAM: Contribution historiographique à une musicologie critique* (Sprimont, Belgium: Mardaga, 2003), 316.

democratic Spain as the most important living composers seamlessly. Some facts of Halffter's life around the time of Franco's death that challenge the commonly held view that he was committed to the cause of democracy remain largely ignored.

A story told by the composer Llorenç Barber, which is reported here for the first time, indicates the extent to which Halffter would shift shapes in order to preserve his standing. In the mid-1970s, Barcelona witnessed an unprecedented and peculiar cultural uprising against the dictatorship. Some composers, many of whom were Catalan nationalists, and many more musicians led by Josep Soler signed a pro-democratic manifesto. They criticised Franco's cultural policies and specifically targeted Antonio Iglesias, the Comisario General de Música (the highest public musical authority at the time). Barber thought they should procure the support of some prominent composers from Madrid and rang Halffter, who responded: 'I sign anything as long as it is pro-democratic'.<sup>194</sup> Most people present at that meeting rejoiced at the idea of having the support of such an influential composer. In the end, Halffter did not sign. What is more, two days later Madrid hosted a public dinner to pay homage to Iglesias and to offer him support in the face of the Catalan offence. None other than Halffter presided over the dinner, which was also attended by avant-garde composers Carmelo Bernaola, De Pablo and Marco.

This example illustrates the extent to which Halffter has been able to change hats in order to stay on the list of composers favoured by the Spanish government, regardless of its criteria. This flexibility has benefitted Halffter's career in democratic Spain: he has been awarded some of the most important

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<sup>194</sup> See Llorenç Barber, "Música contemporánea y franquismo", *Ozono*, 12 (Sept. 1976), 34-5 and the same author's "40 años de creación musical en España", *Tiempo de Historia*, 62 (1980), 198-213. Barber confirmed this anecdote in our correspondence.

prizes, including the Premio Nacional de Música, and has been given honours such as membership of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes (the Royal Academy of Fine Arts). He has also received public commissions for most of his musical works, including music for the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona and *Endechas para una reina de España*, dedicated to Queen Sofia in 1994. His 1999 opera *El Quijote*, premiered at the Teatro Real shortly after its reopening, was one of the most expensive operas ever staged in Madrid.<sup>195</sup> Directed by Herbert Wernicke and broadcast live on public television, the production was so lavish that the audience witnessed the apparition of a small plane on stage.<sup>196</sup> With the exception of *Mundoclásico.com*, an online classical music magazine that I discuss in chapter five, all of the important papers greeted Halffter's opera enthusiastically. The piece, however, has never been played outside Madrid, despite failed public efforts to sponsor a performance at the Berlin State Opera.

Even though the eclectic language of Halffter's musical works has shifted over the decades, his public image sits squarely in the avant-garde camp. No one in Spain questions his major contribution to Spanish music, and most Spanish reviewers, as well as his biographers, refer to him as an internationally acclaimed Spanish composer. The rare occasions in which his music is performed abroad, his absence from literally all non-Spanish influential books on twentieth-century music and the lukewarm, if not outright negative, reviews his works received outside Spain all contradict Halffter's domestic reputation, but this is protected by two arguments that stand guard over his legacy.

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<sup>195</sup> Teresa Núñez Marcos, "...Pero ¿Es una ópera?", *Mundoclasico.com* (8 March 2000; accessed 20 March 2008), <<http://mundoclasico.com/critica/vercritica.aspx?id=a000200>>

<sup>196</sup> Ángel-Fernando Mayo, "El tábano Cristóbal", *Mundoclasico.com* (9 May 2000; accessed 20 March 2008), <<http://mundoclasico.com/articulos/verarticulo.aspx?id=8df4ed49-8151-4221-903e-238b7a999a53>>

Halffter has been portrayed as a musical revolutionary, a reputation that relies on musical references to describe his avant-garde works, but turns to political tactics when discussing his seemingly humanitarian works. Halffter has benefited from the technocratic rhetoric of Spanish musicology discussed in chapter two that has helped Spanish musicologists avoid examining part of his oeuvre from a political point of view (*Secuencias*, the piece from the 'Concert for Peace') and from discussing works that could be presented as 'unhistorical' (the *Mass*). To further insure against challenges to Halffter's legacy, the composer and his supporters have exploited his humanitarian works and 'liberal' family background as a proof of his democratic allegiances. Alongside Halffter's musical inclinations, these liberal tendencies have been explained as innate, historical inevitabilities through arguments that discourage dissent.

In order to be seen as Spain's foremost avant-garde composer of the second half of the twentieth century, therefore, writing avant-garde music is one of the requisites but certainly not the only one. Almost as important is being perceived as such by an intricate musical world in which the position of musicologist, journalist, composer and civil servant is interchangeable, since it is ultimately this community that filters the message through to the music audiences through books, concert brochures, newspaper and magazine articles and TV interviews.

Halffter's chameleon-like abilities coupled with the workings of Spanish musicology have ensured that his image as a composer committed to democracy and to modern culture is rarely questioned in Spain. But when we view Halffter's own words and what has been written about him with critical detachment, the carefully constructed and often misleading nature of the avant-

garde composer's biography becomes apparent. Boulez, Cage and Stockhausen, amongst others, are still waiting for the biographer who would disentangle the twists and turns of their unclear biographical accounts. As with recent approaches to the lives of Copland, Shostakovich, Stravinsky, examining Halffter provides a more critical understanding of the forces at work in the formation of the twentieth-century musical canon and, specifically, the creation of the avant garde.

## Chapter 4

### Religion at Work

Since Cristóbal Halffter stood as a symbol of the Spanish avant garde, a good deal of literature and discussion existed on which I could base my research. We now turn to a little-discussed, almost taboo subject which has never been alluded to before: the involvement of the Catholic Church in the promotion of avant-garde music in Franco's Spain. My research on this subject was inspired by conference questions. During my years as a graduate student I was lucky to give papers at some international conferences where I repeatedly asked about the involvement of the Catholic Church in the promotion of music under Franco. At first, I could not think of any link between my subject and religión. Given the official status of the Catholic Church in Franco's Spain, more research on the subject seemed necessary, but since I did not really know where to start, I simply kept it in the back of my mind. Doing research for other chapters of this thesis I was eventually confronted with a number of facts that begged further research to establish links between them and indeed between the avant garde and the Church. Despite this research, the present chapter remains the most speculative of all. If the others have emphasised a critical approach to primary sources and secondary literature, what follows is a spider web of connections, presumptions and suggestions that attempt to clarify this relationship while asking some relevant questions that may be answered more thoroughly in the future.

The lack of literature on the relationship between the avant garde and the Church has posed a major challenge to my research. Most historians of Franco's Spain mention the Church, but few have undertaken the task of writing

a comprehensive study, or of exploring the history of the Catholic Church in Franco's Spain. Furthermore, there are no histories of Opus Dei, a branch of the Catholic Church whose relationship with the avant garde I discuss in some detail. Authors of books on this fall into two categories: fawning enthusiasts or scornful critics, but nearly no one exhibits enough critical detachment in their work to be useful here. The rare exceptions that have helped me to understand Opus Dei better do not discuss the cultural enterprises that I investigate.

I met with a similar lack of information when I contacted individuals involved in both Opus Dei and in musical promotion in Spain. No member of Opus Dei has been willing to answer my questions. They flatly deny any implication of their group in politics or culture and state that they are solely a religious institution. Spanish scholar Daniel Artigues faced the same challenge in the 1960s when he was working on his seminal book on Opus Dei. He explains in the introduction:

It is especially difficult to study an organization which started off as a religious group but has evolved into a parapolitical one, thus becoming an influential lobby. It is particularly difficult since its members deny such transformation. That certainly is the attitude of all Opus Dei members. Asking them about the goals and *modus operandi* of Opus Dei... means being greeted with silence.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> 'Estudiar una organización ciertamente religiosa en sus principios, pero que ha llegado a ser parapolítica, y que parcialmente se ha transformado en un grupo de presión influyente, es tarea singularmente difícil cuando los responsables de dicha organización se niegan a reconocer dicho carácter. Esa es, desde luego, la actitud de todos los miembros del Opus Dei. Interrogarlos sobre los fines que el Opus Dei persigue y sobre las modalidades de su acción... significa recibir en el acto un *mentis absoluto*'. Daniel Artigues, *El Opus Dei en España, 1928-1962: Su Evolución Ideológica y Política de los Orígenes al Intento de Dominio* (Paris: Ruedo Ibérico, 1971), 6. Forbidden in Spain, this book was published by Ruedo Ibérico, a Spanish publisher located in Paris. See Xavier Moret, *Tiempo de Editores: Historia de la Edición en España, 1939-1975* (Barcelona: Destino, 2002), 283.

With regards to its secrecy, Opus Dei has changed little since the 1960s, remaining a rather hermetic organization. This lack of transparency makes it difficult to assess whether this refusal to share information is the result of genuine lack of knowledge or an attempt to hide the activities of this powerful branch of the Catholic Church. But from what I have managed to learn, we can establish some connections between the Spanish avant garde and the religious culture of Franco's Spain.

Before plunging in, an introduction to the history of the Catholic Church in Franco's Spain seems necessary.

### **The Catholic Church and Franco**

It is difficult to overstate the close ties between Franco's regime and the Catholic Church. From the beginning of the Civil War, the several factions which supported Franco's coup were primarily united by their commitment to the cause of the Catholic Church, and these groups presented the Civil War as a crusade against laicism. Whether the victors should appoint a dictator or a king, or support a democracy was secondary to the idea that Spain was an intrinsically Catholic nation, the essence of which had to be protected.

Laicism had been one of the defining elements of the Second Republic (1931-36). The Catholic Church suffered a good deal in those years, as religious institutions lost their monopoly on education and Spain ceased to be an officially Catholic state. This attitude towards the Church on the part of the government enabled the right wing to claim that the Second Republic was in itself opposed to Spanish identity, quitesentially represented by Catholicism.

Communist groups, on the other hand, thought that the democratic regime was not secular enough, and they attacked convents and churches, including cases of arson in 1931. Many common citizens resented the government for not taking enough steps to protect the Church.

During the war, the close ties between the Catholic Church and the political right manifested themselves in the open support the latter received from the former. Franco's uprising had more support in rural areas than in the traditionally less religious cities. In fact, the only important urban group for Franco from the beginning of the Civil War was the extremely Catholic population of Seville. In areas that were still not dominated by Franco, communists and anarchists committed numerous atrocities, brutally killing priests, monks and nuns, burning churches and convents and prosecuting the faithful. The Civil War became a struggle between religion and laicism, as explained by Opus Dei member Antonio Fontán in 1961:

More than the beginning of a conflict, 1936 was its climax. The three-year long hot war had been preceded by a long... cold war. This cold war had been mainly political and dialectical, however harsh. It also... manifested itself in civil disorder, revolution, burnings and blood... In Spain there was a confrontation between irreconcilable ideologies and ways of life... The Catholic tradition resisted against secularising attempts... The revolutionaries... clashed... with a religious conscience which stayed alert.<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> 'En realidad 1936, más que el principio del conflicto fue su clímax. Y la *hot war* armada de tres años... había sido precedida de una larga... guerra fría. La guerra fría había sido principalmente dialéctica y política, pero tampoco careció de dureza, y... saltaba a la plaza pública en forma de desórdenes, algaradas, revolución, incendios, sangre... En España se oponían concepciones ideológicas y proyectos de vida irreconcilables... La resistencia de la

Catholic Spain, Fontán suggests, could be banished from the lay government, but not defeated. After Franco's army won the 'hot war', or crusade, the Catholic Church enjoyed years of privilege. The Church fundamentally contributed to the indoctrination of the youth by resuming its monopoly on education. Franco was appointed 'príncipe de la Iglesia' (prince of the Church), was always accompanied by members of the church and was granted the right to access temples 'bajo palio' (walking under a canopy), an old privilege of Spanish monarchs.

The Catholic Church also gained a powerful position in the musicological establishment. As explained by Juan José Carreras, Felipe Pedrell (1841-1922), the 'father' of Spanish musicology, was succeeded by a generation of priests who held most of the prominent musical positions, such as the priest Federico Sopeña.<sup>199</sup> In his article "Hijos de Pedrell", Carreras offers a theatrical description of Pedrell's death that concentrates on the way in which his disciple, the priest Higinio Anglés (1888-1969), comforted him: 'Felipe Pedrell died in Barcelona at noon on 19 August 1922 attended by Higinio Anglés, then a young priest and music historian, who confessed and then comforted him until the last moment'.<sup>200</sup> Carreras, probably ironically, highlights the mystical aura of the scene, which serves as a metaphor for the long-standing link between Spanish musicology and the Church. Anglés was also in charge of the Instituto Español de Musicología, a branch of the Centro Superior de Investigaciones Científicas

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tradición católica... había sido muy tenaz; las corrientes secularizadoras penetraban... el vendaval revolucionario... chocaba... con una conciencia religiosa alerta'. Antonio Fontán, *Los Católicos en la Universidad Española* (Madrid: Rialp, 1961), 15 and 16.

<sup>199</sup> Juan José Carreras, "Hijos de Pedrell: La Historiografía Musical Española y sus Orígenes Nacionalistas (1780-1980)", *Il Saggiatore Musicale*, 8 (2001), 122.

<sup>200</sup> 'A mediodía del 19 de agosto de 1922 fallecía en Barcelona... Felipe Pedrell... acompañado por Higinio Anglés, entonces un joven sacerdote e historiador de la música, que lo había confesado y reconfortado hasta los últimos instantes'. Carreras, "Hijos de Pedrell", 121.

when it was founded in 1943. Furthermore, Anglés founded a Catholic musicological genealogy that has lasted to this day and has held great power in academic musicology.<sup>201</sup>

The close relationship between Franco and the Church that engendered this musicological influence suffered a setback during the II Vatican Council, the twenty-first ecumenical council of the Roman Catholic Church (1962–65), announced by Pope John XXIII in 1959 as a means of spiritual renewal for the Church.<sup>202</sup> By describing the Church as the people of God and a pilgrim people, the council fathers provided the theological justification for their changes to the defensive and inflexible stances that had characterised much of Catholic thought and practice since the Protestant Reformation. In a significant break with past practice, the Council decreed that services would be carried out in vernacular languages instead of Latin, and it also produced declarations on religious freedom, on changes in the Church's attitude towards non-Christian religions, and on Christian education.

The Spanish Church played a minor role in the discussions. As historian Javier Tusell explains:

The role played by the Spanish Church in the Council was less than brilliant: it was represented by less than 5% of the members of the Council, who aligned themselves with the most reactionary of all. A Spanish bishop was denied the right to talk after he stated that religious

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<sup>201</sup> Disciples of Anglés include the priests José-María Álvarez Pérez, José Barbarrós, Arcángel Barrado, Benjamín Calle, José Climent, Juan-Bautista Guzmán, Leocadio Hernández Ascunce, José-María Lloréns, José-María Muneta, Restituto Navarro, Felipe Rubio Piqueras, Samuel Rubio and the most prolific and internationally recognised, José López-Calo (b.1922).

<sup>202</sup> This brief outline of the history of the II Vatican Council, as well as the history of Opus Dei and the biography of its founder which appear in the following pages, are indebted to the online edition of *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

freedom was unacceptable... The Council's position with regards to individual rights contrasted with the Spanish political reality.<sup>203</sup>

Although Spanish bishops generally resisted the reforms advocated in Rome, a younger generation of priests was more willing to take on new ideas and to begin to alter the Church in Spain. According to Tusell, in the end the Council 'significantly contributed to changing Spanish Catholicism', and eventually the Spanish Church found itself ahead of Franco's regime and better prepared for the transition to democracy.<sup>204</sup> However, this preparedness came at the price of a worsening relationship between Franco and the papacy.

According to Laura Desfor Edles, Franco was upset by Pope John XXIII's Encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, published in 1963, in which he advocated 'peaceful co-existence, freedom of speech, freedom of communication, freedom of association, and basic civil rights, including the right of a people to choose those who govern them'.<sup>205</sup> Franco feared that, as a result of this document, he would lose support from the younger members of the Church, and in the last years of his dictatorship, he acted to subvert this threat. He jailed many young priests, known as 'curas rojillos' (red priests), often Jesuits, for supporting left-wing political movements or for openly speaking about democracy. The disagreement between the Catholic hierarchy and Franco reached its climax in 1973, when the Vatican voiced its opposition to the execution of several

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<sup>203</sup> 'El papel de la Iglesia española en el desarrollo de las sesiones conciliares no puede ser calificado de brillante: apenas proporcionó el cinco por 100 de los padres conciliares, alineados casi siempre entre los más retardatarios. A un obispo español se le retiró el uso de la palabra cuando afirmaba que la libertad religiosa era inadmisibile... La visión de los derechos de la persona que se desprendía de los textos conciliares aprobados en relación con las instituciones políticas contrastaba con la realidad española'. Javier Tusell, *Dictadura Franquista y Democracia, 1939-2004* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2005), 213.

<sup>204</sup> The Council 'contribuyó en gran medida a cambiar el catolicismo español'. Tusell, *Dictadura Franquista y Democracia*, 214.

<sup>205</sup> Laura Desfor Edles, *Symbol and Ritual in the New Spain: The Transition to Democracy after Franco* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 50.

Spanish terrorists, and eventually the relationship between the Spanish government and the Church of Rome deteriorated. Franco never understood the necessity of changes in the Church, and died in 1975 without having fully grasped the content of the Council.<sup>206</sup> One religious group, slow at coming to terms with the II Vatican Council, remained a staunch supporter of Franco until the end: Opus Dei.

The Prelature of the Holy Cross and Opus Dei, to mention its full name, was founded in 1928 in Spain by José-María Escrivá de Balaguer (1902-1975), a priest trained in journalism and law. It is both a lay and clerical organization guided by the goals of seeking individual Christian perfection and implementing Christian ideals and values within personal occupations and in society as a whole. Opus Dei was formally approved by the Holy See in 1950 as a secular institute, defined as a new form of religious association whose members 'profess the evangelical counsels in secular life'. The group has separate branches for men and women, and several levels of involvement. Some members of Opus Dei, called numeraries, devote much of their time to the organization. Like priests, they are required to move into an Opus Dei house or flat with other numeraries where they live under the supervision of a priest. They must remain unmarried and take vows of celibacy, obedience and chastity, yet they are laymen and pursue secular occupations. They commonly practice self-sacrifice and self-mortification, which can include fasting, abstinence from certain pleasures and the wearing of a cilice (which often takes the form of a spiked chain worn around the upper thigh). But the majority of members are supernumeraries, who contribute financially to Opus Dei, are free

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<sup>206</sup> Tusell, *Dictadura Franquista y Democracia*, 15.

to marry and are meant to demonstrate Christian virtue in their daily activities. Supernumeraries serve a period of probation and attend monthly meetings and religious retreats. The group is also assisted by cooperators, who are not official members and, with permission of the Holy See, need not even be Christians.

Known as San Josemaría following his canonisation by John Paul II in 2002, the founder of Opus Dei was the son of an Aragonese businessman. Escrivá studied law at the University of Saragossa; he attended the archdiocesan seminary there and was ordained in 1925. Except for a period during the Civil War when he was first in hiding and then a refugee from the anticlerical Republicans, he did pastoral work in Madrid until 1946, when he permanently relocated to Rome. Escrivá is said to have received a vision from God, which provided the inspiration for the foundation of his order. From that moment, Escrivá claimed, he dedicated himself to the creation of an order that would spread holiness and sanctify daily work. The year after he moved to Rome, he was promoted to the rank of monsignor, and between 1947 and 1950 he secured Vatican approval of Opus Dei.

In order to keep Opus Dei's official status within the Catholic Church, Escrivá and other leaders eventually publically accepted the ideas of the II Vatican Council, claiming that Opus Dei members inherently welcomed progress and change. In an interview with *Time* in 1967, Escrivá reinforced this point:

To be up to date, to understand the modern World is instinctive [for Opus Dei members], since they live amongst the people and, being themselves

the people, make the world and contribute to its modernity.<sup>207</sup>

At the time, Escrivá seemed eager to assert that the Church ‘neither rejects the world nor its progress and development; on the contrary, it understands and loves the world’. Opus Dei, in particular, ‘will never find it difficult to adapt to the world: it will never need to catch up... will never lag behind human progress, since all members of Opus Dei... contribute to progress’.<sup>208</sup>

When he reinforced the idea that Opus Dei ‘creates progress’, Escrivá was most likely referring to the members of the group who played a fundamental role in the technocratic governments of Spain and in the social life of the nation in the 1960s and 1970s. All historians agree that Opus Dei (many ministers’ contribution to the improvement of the economy cannot be overstated, and some even refer to the technocratic years as ‘the Opus Dei age’.<sup>209</sup> However, it is less clear whether their liberal economic projects were the result of an orchestrated effort on the part of Opus Dei or of the workings of individuals. Escrivá, quoted here by French historian Guy Hermet, often claimed that Opus Dei ‘has no political and economical orientation’.<sup>210</sup> The official party line, says John L. Allen, is that Opus Dei ‘is not a lobby or an interest group, has no collective financial or political interests, and has no agenda... Opus Dei is responsible for formation, and its members do the rest. “Opus Dei does not act,

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<sup>207</sup> ‘Ponerse al gusto del día, comprender el mundo moderno es una cosa natural e instintiva [para los miembros del Opus Dei], ya que viven junto a otros ciudadanos y que con esos ciudadanos y con el mismo título que ellos, crean el mundo y contribuyen a su modernidad’. Artigues, *El Opus Dei en España*, 139.

<sup>208</sup> Opus Dei ‘no rechaza ni el mundo en que vive, ni su progreso, ni su desarrollo, si no que lo comprende y que lo ama... no habrá nunca para él ningún problema de adaptación al mundo: jamás se hallará en necesidad de ponerse al día... no irá nunca a remolque de progresos humanos, puesto que todos los miembros de la obra... crean ellos mismos el progreso’. Artigues, *El Opus Dei en España*, 140.

<sup>209</sup> Guy Hermet, *Les Catholiques dans l’Espagne Franquiste* (Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Siences Politiques, 1981), vol. 1, 285.

<sup>210</sup> “L’Opus Dei n’a aucune orientation économique en politique”. Hermet, *Les Catholiques dans l’Espagne Franquiste*, vol. 1, 241.

its members do” is a frequent mantra’.<sup>211</sup>

However, Hermet believes that ‘Opus Dei’s financial influence cannot be ignored’. Indeed, the ‘cohabitation in the same [Opus Dei] house of prominent people such as [Minister] Laureano López Rodó and [bankers] Jorge Brosa and Luis Valls Taverner is not politically irrelevant’.<sup>212</sup> These three men were amongst the most prominent protagonists of economic reform in the 1960s and 1970s. As Hermet suggests, the fact that they all lived in the same house under the spiritual direction of the same priest must have impacted their ideas and agendas. Minister Manuel Fraga, quoted by Jesús Ynfante, agrees with Hermet and says that social and political impact of Opus Dei was ‘the result of a thorough plan in which several people played their pre-conceived roles in the political and financial arena’.<sup>213</sup> Following Fraga’s line of thought, Artigues refers to Opus Dei as a ‘parapolitical organization’ that extends well beyond religion: ‘Opus Dei has become more than a religious institution. By stating this, I am saying something obvious’.<sup>214</sup>

As a reaction against those who overstate the importance of Opus Dei, some authors have aligned themselves with Escrivá’s purported views. Rafael

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<sup>211</sup> John L. Allen, jr, *Opus Dei: Secrets and Power inside the Catholic Church* (London: Penguin, 2005), 19. Hermet says that ‘L’Opus Dei, pas plus que les mouvements d’Action catholique n’interviennent ouvertement dans les affaires gouvernementales. Les ministres, les directeurs généraux d’administration, comme aussi les présidents-directeurs généraux de sociétés ou les professeurs d’université membres de l’association, ne se présentent évidemment pas comme les mandataires de celle-ci’. Hermet, *Les Catholiques dans l’Espagne Franquiste*, vol. 1, 241.

<sup>212</sup> ‘L’Opus Dei possède... une influence économique et financière qu’on ne peut négliger... la cohabitation dans une même résidence de personnalités comme Laureano López Rodó, ministre du Plan, Jorge Brosa, directeur du Banco Español de Crédito, et Luis Valls Taverner, président du Banco Popular, n’est pas indifférente politiquement’ Hermet, *Les Catholiques dans l’Espagne Franquiste*, vol. 1, 242 and 244.

<sup>213</sup> ‘La diversidad de opiniones y de conducta que se observaba en miembros del Opus Dei obedecía a un plan coordinado y que, en cada momento, se jugaban diversas personas en los lugares del tablero político y económico’. Jesús Ynfante, *Opus Dei: Así en la Tierra como en el Cielo* (Barcelona: Grijalbo, 1996), 233.

<sup>214</sup> ‘El Opus Dei... ha adquirido el aspecto, volens nolens, de un organismo que ya no es exclusivamente religioso. Al constatarlo no hacemos otra cosa que señalar una evidencia. Negar esta evidencia es... absurdo’. Artigues, *El Opus Dei en España*, 5.

Gómez Pérez downplayed the political influence of Opus Dei in his 1976 *Política y Religión en el Régimen de Franco* (Politics and religion in Franco's regime) as well as his 1986 *El Franquismo y la Iglesia* (Francoism and the Church) and his 1992 *El Opus Dei: Una Explicación* (Opus Dei, an explanation).<sup>215</sup> Interestingly enough, the Opus Dei publisher Rialp released two of these books.

One independent book, however, supports Escriva's views. In *Opus Dei: Secrets and Power inside the Catholic Church*, Allen claims that

Opus Dei doesn't wish to act as an interest group with its own agenda, but to form motivated laity who will draw their own conclusions in the realms of politics, law, finance, the arts, and so on. There is no Opus Dei 'line' on tax policy, or the war on terrorism, or on how health care ought to be delivered, and in fact one will find that the Opus Dei membership holds a wide variety of views on this question.<sup>216</sup>

Allen's belief that Opus Dei lacks any political inclinations is somewhat marred by his decision to exclude ideology from his discussion. In his words, his book is

an attempt to tell the truth on a subject where ideology and fantasy have the upper hand. Ideology, in my view, is the corruption of reason and is morally akin to lying. Rather than taking an ideological approach here, I try to come at the subject from an experiential and firsthand point of

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<sup>215</sup> Rafael Gómez Pérez, *Política y Religión en el Régimen de Franco* (Madrid: Dopesa, 1976), *El Franquismo y la Iglesia* (Madrid: Rialp, 1986), especially 167-189 and *El Opus Dei: Una Explicación* (Madrid: Rialp, 1992), especially introduction. Another book which supports Gómez Pérez's view is María Angustias Moreno, *El Opus Dei: Anexo a una Historia* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1976), especially 98-134.

<sup>216</sup> Allen, *Opus Dei*, 7 and 19

view.<sup>217</sup>

Allen's disregard for ideology combined with his desire to allay any suspicion of Opus Dei being anything but a purely religious organisation is a scholarly mishap. Such contempt for ideology curiously resembles technocratic rhetoric and carries strains of the line of thought advocated by some prominent Opus Dei members who held political positions in technocratic Spain.

In his 1965 book *El Crepúsculo de las Ideologías* (The Twilight of Ideology), an unofficial technocratic manifesto also published by Rialp, Franco's Opus Dei minister Gonzalo Fernández de la Mora provided a rationale for this position:

Ideology is a popularised, simplified, generalised, dramatised and sacred version of a political philosophy. In sum, it is a mental sub-product, a pseudo-idea, a caricature of reason, corrupted by an intense process of populism. Ideologies, together with interest, contribute to social tensions. Fundamentalist, rigid and totalitarian, they are always behind the most violent social movements. Ideologies are born; then they develop and finally decay and die. The symptoms of their twilight are obvious in the most advanced Western countries.<sup>218</sup>

Fernández de la Mora's contempt for ideology is both technocratic and follows

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<sup>217</sup> Allen, *Opus Dei*, 11

<sup>218</sup> 'Una ideología es una filosofía política popularizada, simplificada, generalizada, dramatizada, sacralizada y desrealizada; en suma: un subproducto mental, una pseudoidea, una razón caricaturizada y corrompida por un intenso y sostenido tratamiento de masificación. Las ideologías, en unión de los intereses, son los máximos tensores de la vida social, y por su carácter rígido, integralista y totalitario son el fulminante y la carga de los movimientos sociales más violentos. Las ideologías, como los usos, nacen, se desarrollan, decaen y mueren. Los síntomas de su crepúsculo son patentes en los países occidentales de más alto nivel'. Gonzalo Fernández de la Mora, *El Crepúsculo de las Ideologías* (Madrid: Rialp, 1965), 154-5. Words like 'desrealizada', 'pseudoidea' and 'integralista' are neologisms typically created in technocratic Spain. The language used by technocratic politicians has been satirised by the late president of the Spanish Academy Fernando Lázaro Carreter in numerous journalistic articles. These have been compiled in *El Dardo en la Palabra* (Barcelona: Galaxia, 1997).

the line of Opus Dei. What is more, it reveals an anxiety on the part of this minister to present his own work as untainted and objective.

In this debate, I am inclined to agree with Artigues, Fraga and Hermet, and to be suspicious of Allen's reluctance to discuss ideology.<sup>219</sup> But in my opinion, the most succinct yet accurate summary of the relationship between Opus Dei and Spanish politics was published by a non-academic journal. In a 1967 article entitled "Octopus Dei", the *The Economist's* Spanish correspondent wrote that, towards the end of the 1960s, for

politically conscious Spaniards [there was a] further dilution of the already watery falangist doctrine to which the regime pays lip-service, and a strengthening of the influence of Opus Dei. A measure of Opus Dei's ascendancy was the letter addressed by its founder, Monseñor Escrivá de Balaguer, recently to Sr Solís Ruiz, 'minister-secretary-general of the [falangist] Movement', instructing him to exclude items unfavourable to Opus Dei from newspapers.<sup>220</sup>

The correspondent goes on to list the number of Opus Dei members who held positions of power in all facets of society, from banks and universities to hospitals and political factions and adds:

Because most of its members are laymen, Opus Dei can intervene in economic and political affairs more directly than its rivals. As Don Vicente Marrero, a publicist of the order has said, 'Opus members have at their

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<sup>219</sup> Other views on this debate can be found in Jean-Jacques Thierry, *Opus Dei: A Close Up* (New Cork: Cortland, 1975; first edition in French, 1973), especially introduction, José María González Ruiz, "Religión", *La Cultura bajo el Franquismo*, ed. José María Castellet et alii (Barcelona: Bolsillo, 1977), 157-85, José Chao Rego, *La Iglesia en el Franquismo* (Madrid: 1976), a general introduction to the Church and Franco; and Emilio J. Corbière, *El Totalitarismo Católico* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2002), especially introduction.

<sup>220</sup> "Octopus Dei", *The Economist* (January 1967), 31.

disposal means of placing themselves in society, in academic, economic and political spheres, in a singular way.<sup>221</sup>

The article also noted that the ‘poverty of its religious content may explain Opus Dei’s preoccupation with technique, tactics and “neo-masonic” mutual aid,’ which had earned them hatred from all corners, including other religious orders.<sup>222</sup>

In response to the question of whether Opus Dei acts as a group or whether its individuals act of their own volition, the evidence presented here indicates the former. Only Opus Dei supporters and Allen profess belief in the latter. Any individual actions must be understood, therefore, as the result of the group’s common goals and shared agendas. Building on this conclusion, I will now explore links between Opus Dei and the promotion of avant-garde music in Franco’s Spain, links more sophisticated than mere connections between the musical movement and individuals who happened to be members of Opus Dei. I do not want to imply that the resources allocated by Opus Dei members to avant-garde music activities were the result of a carefully carried out plan devised by Opus Dei as a whole. Rather, I argue that the rhetoric surrounding the promotion of avant-garde music in Franco’s Spain sat well with the ethos of Opus Dei, which contrasted with the support the ‘red priests’ gave to songwriters and other popular forms of culture. In the following pages I examine these connections in light of the ideological traits and goals that the Spanish musical avant garde and Opus Dei shared.

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<sup>221</sup> “Octopus Dei”, *The Economist* (January 1967), 31

<sup>222</sup> “Octopus Dei”, *The Economist* (January 1967), 34

## The Cuenca Renaissance

The Ministry of Information and Tourism established the Semana de Música Religiosa de Cuenca, a religious music festival that coincided with Easter, in 1962. The festival aimed to foster the performance of Spanish religious music of the past and to contribute to its 'renaissance'.<sup>223</sup> This alleged 'renaissance' came after more than two centuries of supposed silence which followed the Golden Age of Spanish culture, when Francisco Guerrero, Cristóbal de Morales and Tomás Luis de Victoria lived and composed.

In his detailed study of the Cuenca Festival, Jesús María Muneta, a priest, echoed the views of music critics and musicologists who lamented the decadent period that Spanish religious music had experienced after the Golden Age. Muneta quoted Sopeña, who claimed that he tried to indoctrinate the new generations of composers with the 'necessity, the urge, to re-discover religious writings'.<sup>224</sup> These new generations, following the example of Cristóbal Halffter (whose *Misa Ducal* and *Antífona Pascual* were composed in the 1950s), were expected to receive prizes and commissions that would enable the success of this 'renaissance'. Despite these efforts, Muneta observed some differences between the new composers and the ones from the 'etapa aurea' (Golden Age):

With few exceptions, before the creation of the Semanas, the masters of religious music were clergy. Now, for the first time in the history of

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<sup>223</sup> For a detailed discussion of the aims of the festival, programmes, music and history between 1962 and 1977, see the two volumes by Jesús María Muneta: *Cuenca 1962: Rehabilitación del Pasado (Tesis para el Magisterio en Musicología; Pontificio Istituto di Musica Sacra, Roma, 1974)* and *Cuenca 1962: Renacimiento de la Música Religiosa Española (Tesis para el Magisterio en Musicología; Pontificio Istituto di Musica Sacra, Roma, 1974)* (Cuenca: Instituto de Música Religiosa, 1978).

<sup>224</sup> La 'necesidad, la urgencia mejor dicho, de un encuentro con los textos religiosos'. Muneta, *Cuenca 1962: Renacimiento de la Música Religiosa Española*, 31.

Spanish music, they are symphonic masters, mainly lay men. Thus, we can talk about the 'conversion' of a group of symphonic masters... which has flourished under the protection and sponsorship of the Semanas.<sup>225</sup>

The 'sponsorship' of the Cuenca Festival, Muneta wrote, was enough for a number of symphonic composers to start writing religious music.

Writing in 1962, Fernando Ruiz Coca agreed with Muneta, acknowledging the public support enjoyed by this festival:

It has created a rich and very valuable repertory; that is, the commissions and prizes have directed the attention of composers to the hitherto obliterated genre of religious music.<sup>226</sup>

Ruiz Coca also echoed the common view that Spanish religious music had experienced little success in the early twentieth century. Not even Falla, in spite of his profound Christian beliefs, was interested in writing religious music, as Muneta mentioned several times in his book.

The production of this 'rich and very valuable repertory' primarily resulted from the policy of performing at least one new Spanish religious piece every year at the Cuenca Festival. The eclectic list of composers who benefited from these commissions includes some who fall under the umbrella of the 'moderate mainstream' as well as some decidedly avant-garde authors.

As Muneta explained in his detailed readings of all these commissions, the

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<sup>225</sup> 'Si hasta el presente los maestros de la música religiosa eran clérigos, con contadas excepciones, desde la creación de las Semanas y por primera vez en la historia de la música española, lo serán los maestros sinfónicos, en su mayoría laicos. Se puede hablar de 'conversión' del grupo de maestros sinfónicos en cuanto tal... que ha crecido al amparo y mecenazgo de las Semanas'. Muneta, *Cuenca 1962: Renacimiento de la Música Religiosa Española*, 37-8.

<sup>226</sup> 'Ha creado ya un rico y valiosísimo repertorio, los encargos de obras y los premios que han llamado la atención de los compositores hacia esta parcela tan abandonada en nuestro siglo'. Ruiz Coca quoted in Muneta, *Cuenca 1962: Renacimiento de la Música Religiosa Española*, 38.

Cuenca Festival highlighted the importance of avant-garde music. At the same time, the presence of some more traditional composers like Rodrigo or the older generation of the Halffters helped with the construction of a new historical imagination as discussed in chapter two – the performance of pieces by the generations which preceded the Generation of 1951 was intended to present a path of progress that led to the composition of avant-garde music in Spain in the 1960s and 1970s. Enrique Franco, Marco and Ruiz Coca validated this teleological narrative by including its rationale in their reviews. All three writers welcomed diversity of style while enthusiastically praising the most modern works, such as those composed by Halffter or De Pablo. This rhetoric surrounding the promotion of avant-garde religious music at the Cuenca Festival resembles other situations previously discussed in this thesis where avant-garde music's modern and international credentials were used as a tool to demonstrate the modernity and international prestige of Spain.

But in this particular context, it is important to note the emphasis that critics placed on the lay status of most composers involved in the religious music renaissance, a point often stressed by Muneta. He noted that most reviewers and other people in the music establishment at the time welcomed this laicism. Given the fact that Muneta was a priest, as was Sopeña, who claimed to have urged the new generation of composers to write religious music, it may be surprising that they do not mourn the decadence of religious life in convents and churches. On the contrary, they rejoice at the idea that it should be lay men who are at the centre of this musical-religious renaissance. The reasons behind Muneta's and Sopeña's viewpoints lie, I argue, in Opus Dei's attitude towards the sanctification of everyday life. According to Opus Dei

doctrine, the action of lay men is the best way to sanctify everyday life, and indeed the best way to praise the Lord. In the 1960s and 1970s some prominent Opus Dei members thought it best to praise the Lord by designing and implementing successful technocratic policies that advocated efficiency over ideology, as González de la Mora observed. And composers praised the Lord by writing religious music.

Even though it was not directly managed by Opus Dei, the Cuenca Festival provides a foundation on which to reinterpret Catholicism and religious music in Spain as influenced by Opus Dei. But other musical events demonstrate the direct influence of Opus Dei more clearly, and these events tend to focus on the avant garde. In particular, the Aula de Música, the editorial projects of Rialp, De Pablo's musical laboratory Alea and the Pamplona Festival for the Arts, which took place in 1972, all shared a degree of connection with Opus Dei whilst promoting avant-garde music.

### **The Aula de Música at the Ateneo de Madrid**

Ateneos, cultural and social clubs that began in Spain in the nineteenth century, served as good training grounds for social promotion. Presiding over an Ateneo often was the first step to become a member of parliament or holding a relevant military position. The Ateneo de Madrid was the most prominent of the clubs: some of its presidents became prime ministers, and King Alfonso XIII himself applied for membership.<sup>227</sup> In the late 1950s and 1960s, the Ateneo de Madrid was also closely linked to Opus Dei, and individuals such as its president,

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<sup>227</sup> For an account of the history of the Ateneo de Madrid see Ramón Solís, "Pasado y presente del Ateneo de Madrid", *Ateneo de Madrid: Memoria, 1962-1967* (Madrid: Ministerio de Información y Turismo, 1968), 15-29.

Florentino Pérez Embid, and some heads of its different sections enjoyed membership in both groups. During the technocratic years the Ateneo was known for supporting abstract art, experimental films and avant-garde music. The Music Section, or Aula de Música, in particular was the most important avant-garde institution in Franco's Spain.

The main goal of the Aula de Música was to 'reincorporate music into Spanish culture, thus fixing the problem of having left this art out of our universities', and it was directed by Ruiz Coca, avant-garde music enthusiast and himself a member of Opus Dei.<sup>228</sup> Born in Madrid in 1915, Ruiz Coca had a degree in Philosophy and Letters and a conservatory degree. He taught music until 1946, when he started working exclusively as a music critic. In 1957 he became the chief critic for *El Alcázar* and one year later was appointed director of the Aula de Música and editor of the book series 'Libros de Música' by Opus Dei publisher Rialp. Under Ruiz Coca the Ateneo worked like a 'cátedra abierta' (open forum), inviting music specialists to give talks devoted to 'the music of our time'.

The Aula de Música made a point to give premieres of international avant-garde works in Spain, in addition to commissioning avant-garde pieces by Spanish composers.<sup>229</sup> Cited by Ángel Medina, Ruiz Coca says:

[Our goal is] to study and promote... non-commercial music [as well as to pay] constant attention to the evolution of our century... and to Spanish music, a good deal of which has been premiered at the Aula.<sup>230</sup>

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<sup>228</sup> 'Reinsertar la música en la cultura española, salvando el fallo creado en ella por la ausencia del arte sonoro de la Universidad'. *Ateneo de Madrid*, 159.

<sup>229</sup> *Ateneo de Madrid*, 159.

<sup>230</sup> 'Estudiar y cultivar temas y músicas con interés, en sí, aunque frecuentemente, *no comerciales*. Especial atención, dentro de esto, a la evolución de *nuestro siglo*, hasta hoy

Ruiz Coca's use of the phrases 'non-commercial' and 'our century' highlights the subtle contradictions within the goals of the Aula. It embraced an obviously patriotic conception of musical activity while promoting non-commercial modern music that might transcend nationalism. This institution sponsored works by composers of the Generation of 1951 and brought the music of Alban Berg, Luciano Berio, Pierre Boulez, Bruno Maderna, Olivier Messiaen and Karlheinz Stockhausen to Madrid.

The Aula de Música's central location next to the Parliament and less than a mile away from the Puerta del Sol (the symbolic centre of Spain) made it an ideal venue to host events that were a part of larger series, such as the Festivales de Música de América y España, the Bienal de Música Contemporánea and the Festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music (all discussed in chapter one). Furthermore, it provided a platform for the strong ties between musical scholarship and musical performances that Arthur Custer identified as crucial to the workings of the Spanish avant garde.<sup>231</sup> Lectures often followed or preceded concerts organised by the Aula, and the Ateneo witnessed the first meetings of the Grupo Nueva Música. The Ateneo's official publication, *La Estafeta Literaria*, published the conclusions of the Aula's study days and other courses, which included seminars on 'Dodecaphonic Music', 'Post-serial Techniques and Aesthetics', 'Spanish Serial Composers', 'Time and Music', 'Introduction to Electronic Music', 'Music and University', 'The

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mismo, sin acepción de signos o personas. *Constante atención a lo español*, buena parte de cuyas obras se han estrenado en el Aula'. Ángel Medina, "Primeras oleadas vanguardistas en el área de Madrid", Emilio Casares, Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta and José López-Caló, eds. *Actas del Congreso Internacional "España en la Música de Occidente"* (Madrid: INAEM, 1987), 371. [Italics by Medina]

<sup>231</sup> Arthur Custer, "Contemporary Music in Spain", *The Musical Quarterly, Special Fiftieth Anniversary Issue: Contemporary Music in Europe: A Comprehensive Survey*, 51 (1965), 44-60. (This is a revised version of an article first published in *MQ*, 48 [1962], 1-18), 45

Musical Generation of 1898', 'Falla's *Atlántida*', 'Open Forms', 'The Sonic Object', 'Stravinsky and Serialism', 'Music and Electronic Brains', 'Iannis Xenakis', 'Sonic Elements in Electronic Music' and 'Opera Today'. György Ligeti, Danielou and Stockhausen were among the guests of the Aula.<sup>232</sup>

The President of the Ateneo and Opus Dei member Pérez-Embid had founded Juventudes Musicales in the 1950s, which was an important institution supporting avant-garde music composition and performance. Furthermore, Juventudes Musicales was linked to UNESCO and significantly contributed to breaking the musical isolation of Spain, according to Ruiz Coca.<sup>233</sup> But most importantly, Pérez Embid was also the president of Rialp. I have already discussed some books on Opus Dei published by Rialp and their bias, due to the publishing company's strong links with the religious group. Cultural historian José Carlos Mainer highlights this connection in his 2003 *La Filología en el Purgatorio* (Philology in purgatory), going on to claim that most editors and publishers who were keen on the 'intellectual modernisation of Spain' and the abandonment of autarchic culture were members of Opus Dei. Mainer notes that the effect of their involvement in intellectual activities 'has not been researched yet', but he points to Ismael Sánchez Bella, founder of the Estudio General de Navarra, as an important case and suggests that Opus Dei was in charge of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas and its gazette, *Arbor*, edited by Rafael Calvo Serer. Marrero, mentioned by *The Economist* as a very important member of Opus Dei, founded the magazine *Punta Europa* (1955), and his fellow member Pérez Embid began *Atlántida* (1962); both

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<sup>232</sup> Fernando Ruiz Coca, "La Música", *Florentino Pérez-Embid: Homenaje a la Amistad* (Madrid: Planeta, 1977), 185-90.

<sup>233</sup> Ruiz Coca, "La Música", 185.

publications adopted ‘a very modern approach’ to aesthetic issues.<sup>234</sup> The number of periodicals that Opus Dei controlled in technocratic Spain combined to foster ‘significant intellectual activism’.<sup>235</sup>

But the most important enterprise of all was Editorial Rialp. According to Mainer, Rialp ‘never hid its links with Opus Dei: its name and its logo—a wooden rose—referred to a pious legend Escrivá shared with his close friends’.<sup>236</sup> The catalogue of Rialp includes some unofficial technocratic manifestos, such as Fernández de la Mora’s work, as well as books that openly supported Opus Dei. ‘Inspired by Opus Dei... for years it was run by a prominent member of this [religious] organization’. Early in the life of the company, it published a collection of books called ‘Library of Modern Thought’, edited by another famous Opus Dei member, and ‘political lobbyist’, Calvo Serer. This collection included books of theology, philosophy, history, law, politics, economics, sociology and arts, and was ‘to a great extent Opus Dei’s ideological showcase’.<sup>237</sup>

The books on the arts published by Rialp hint at a strong relationship between Opus Dei and modernist aesthetics. Ruiz Coca directed the series

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<sup>234</sup> ‘Casi todos, por no decir todos, pertenecían al Opus Dei y en los años que siguieron patrocinaron una significativa actuación intelectual que no ha tenido todavía su historiador. Recordemos que en 1946 Escrivá de Balaguer se había instalado en Roma, que en 1950 sus canonistas lograron la proclamación del Opus como Instituto Secular de derecho pontificio y que en 1952 Ismael Sánchez Bella organizó en poco tiempo el Estudio General de Navarra. Dominaban en la práctica el Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas y, sobre todo, su revista general, *Arbor*, dirigida por Rafael Calvo Serer. Uno de sus más activos hombres, Florentino Pérez Embid, fundaría la revista *Atlántida* (1962) y otro de sus mejores polemistas, Vicente Marrero, organizó *Punta Europa* (1955), que flanquearon, en un tono más moderno pero no más abierto, la oscura y aburrida publicación de *Nuestro Tiempo*’. José Carlos Mainer, *La Filología en el Purgatorio: Los Estudios Literarios en torno a 1950* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2003), 173-5.

<sup>235</sup> ‘Significativa actuación intelectual’. Mainer, *La Filología en el Purgatorio*, 175.

<sup>236</sup> ‘Nunca disimuló su vinculación orgánica con el Opus Dei: el nombre de la casa y su emblema—una rosa de madera—honraban una leyenda piadosa que había contado a sus íntimos el propio Escrivá’. Mainer, *La Filología en el Purgatorio*, 175.

<sup>237</sup> ‘La citada “Biblioteca del Pensamiento Actual”, de Rialp, fue, en buena medida, el escaparate ideológico del Opus Dei’. Mainer, *La Filología en el Purgatorio*, 175, n13.

'Libros de Música', a collection of twenty music books that clearly favoured avant-garde topics. These were Hans-Heinz Stuckenschmidt's *Arnold Schoenberg* (with an introduction by De Pablo), Sopeña's *El Requiem en la Música Romántica*, Rudolph Reti's *Tonalidad, Atonalidad, Pantonalidad*, Heinrich Strobel's *Claude Debussy* (with an introduction by Barce), Arthur Jacob's *La Música de Orquesta*, Buchet's *Beethoven: Leyenda y Realidad*, Monique Deschaussées's *El Intérprete y la Música*, Joaquín García Lavernia's *El Libro del Cante Flamenco*, Guy Maneveau's *Música y Educación*, Maurice Martenot's *Principios Fundamentales de Formación Musical y su Aplicación*, Pierre Petit's *Mozart o la Música Instantánea*, Michael Stimpson's *La Guitarra: Una Guía para Estudiantes y Profesores*, Ernst Krenek's *Autobiografía y Estudios*, Jacobs's *El libro de la Ópera*, Abraham Moles's *Las Música Experimentales*, Antoine Golea's *Messiaen* and Theodor Adorno's *Disonancias*. Authors such as Stuckenschmidt and Reti were translated into Spanish for the first time. De Pablo's introduction to *Arnold Schoenberg* and Barce's preface to *Claude Debussy* are in themselves technocratic manifestos: both texts reveal a fixation on the myth of progress and on 'the music itself' that sits squarely within the Spanish writers' avant-garde agendas. It was previously unheard of in Spain for a publisher to print books on the avant garde. Indeed, no other institution, public or private, showed as much interest in the translation into Spanish and publication of books devoted to such music as did Opus Dei. Together with the activities of the Aula de Música, Rialp stands as a significant example of Opus Dei's interest in the avant garde. At the time of my writing in 2008, no other company has matched this editorial effort.

## De Pablo's Laboratory of Electronic Music Alea

In addition to Rialp and the Aula de Música, Opus Dei also had a hand in De Pablo's experimental musical laboratory Alea. Funded by the Navarran family Huarte, it began in 1965. The Huartes had a fabulous fortune from which to support this project, thanks to a property boom during the technocratic years that provided their building company with contracts to build many of the thousands of new developments all over the country. The name Huarte became inseparable from the explosion in the construction of skyscrapers, many of which were designed by Opus Dei architects and sported names such as 'Torre Europa' in Madrid. The philanthropic work of the Huartes extended as far as fully funding a whole Catholic diocese in India—on the condition that the Bishops were from Navarra, a traditional Opus Dei stronghold.<sup>238</sup>

In our interview, De Pablo praised the generosity of the Huartes, and when asked whether they were members of Opus Dei, he responded that 'some members of the family were probably linked to Opus Dei'. Regardless, they were surrounded by Opus Dei, lived in Opus Dei's capital, Pamplona, and were strongly committed to the cause of the Catholic Church and to right-wing politics. De Pablo may have sidestepped the question of the family's involvement in Opus Dei because their generous support allowed him to organise a number of musical activities. He hosted many figures of the international avant garde in Madrid, including Ligeti.<sup>239</sup> The Huartes' funding was so essential to Alea that when they ended their sponsorship in 1972, Alea could only continue its activities for one year.

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<sup>238</sup> Personal interview with De Pablo, December 2005.

<sup>239</sup> A summary of the activities of Alea can be found in José Luis García del Busto, *Luis de Pablo* (Madrid: Espasa, 1979), 126-29.

The sponsorship of the Huartes also allowed De Pablo to organise the Festival of the Arts, which took place in Pamplona in 1972 and the tragic ending of which many consider the 'end of the Spanish avant garde'. According to De Pablo, this Festival was an ambitious gathering of artists of different disciplines. It took place in a magnificent marquee that sheltered an unprecedentedly diverse mixture of artistic styles, from experimental films by Godard, Ionesco, Leger, Ray, Arakawa, Buñuel and Fassbinder, to sculptures by Chillida and Ibarrola, to sessions of improvisation, which in terms of music supported rather unorthodox performances of John Cage, Steve Reich and their Spanish colleague Hidalgo.<sup>240</sup> The Pamplona Festival bore no resemblance to the Concert for Peace, Festivals of América and Spain, Bienal or Festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music. The marquee, reminiscent of the circus, and not the concert hall was the temple, and an enormous latex globe into which people could walk was its symbol. Cage's spirit took over Pamplona and happenings, not concerts, took place. Eclecticism, De Pablo says, was key, as was the modernity of everything presented.

But the usual group of enthusiastic music reviewers did not support this avant-garde initiative and the authorities opposed the Festival. It also received an uninvited guest, ETA, in the form of a bomb threat. Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (Basque for 'Basque Country and Freedom') is a terrorist group that advocates the foundation of a separate socialist Basque state. This new entity would agglomerate some French territories, the Basque Country and Navarre. ETA was particularly active in the last years of Franco's dictatorship, as well as during the first 15 years of democracy, and has killed over 1,000 people,

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<sup>240</sup> For more information about the activities of the Pamplona Festival, see García del Busto, *Luis de Pablo*, 130-1.

including civilians and children. The joint efforts of French and Spanish police, together with the increasing isolation of ETA's political party and the lack of support from abroad, have led this terrorist group to the verge of extinction.

In the 1970s, however, ETA was likely to blackmail any political or cultural enterprise in the Basque Country and Navarre; in letters to De Pablo, it threatened to blow up the Festival marquee.<sup>241</sup> The same year, ETA kidnapped Juan Huarte, the head of the family, which had to pay a ransom for his freedom. This event was the catalyst for the Huartes' decision to keep a low key role in society and to stop funding Alea, among other institutions that counted on their generous support.

Two relevant questions surround the interest of the ETA in the Pamplona Festival: why would a Marxist terrorist group such as ETA target a festival that, according to De Pablo, was so obviously leftist?<sup>242</sup> And why would De Pablo lose the confidence of the Huartes and fall out of favour with the authorities? In his biography of De Pablo, Luis García del Busto attempts an explanation:

Whereas for people on the right the festival was unacceptable in itself, for the militant left it was unacceptable for its links with the business world.<sup>243</sup>

I see the point of García del Busto's simple answer to why both the left and the right turned their backs on the Festival, but a more complex and stimulating response also exists.

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<sup>241</sup> De Pablo showed me these letters in the course of our interview.

<sup>242</sup> For a discussion of ETA's political ideology see Cyrus Ernesto Zirakzadeh, *A Rebellious People: Basques, Protests, and Politics* (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1991), 145-79.

<sup>243</sup> 'Mientras que para elementos de lo que damos en llamar derecha, el festival fue algo rechazable en sí mismo, para la izquierda militante...los Encuentros eran rechazables por su vinculación al gran capital'. García del Busto, *Luis de Pablo*, 93.

I start from the left. ETA probably did not believe that the Festival, and the promotion of avant-garde culture in Navarre in general, had anything to do with left-wing politics. In spite of what García del Busto suggests, one could hardly perceive as left-wing a music festival in 1970s Pamplona that counted on the blessings of a very prominent Francoist and Opus Dei family and that had been permitted by the local Francoist authorities. Of further importance to this scenario, although more difficult to prove, are ETA's known links with the Catholic left, which had been quarrelling with Opus Dei since the latter began to acquire power and to threaten the Jesuits' privileged position in the education system. On this point Opus Dei received more substantial public support than the Jesuits. In 1968 Opus Dei Navarra University received a subsidy of 100,000,000 pesetas, whereas Deusto University and Salamanca University received 2,000,000 pesetas each. Opus Dei exercised an overwhelming influence over education in general, and Fontán mentioned a remarkable list of Opus Dei-related institutions in his history of Spanish universities.<sup>244</sup> Navarra University, founded and partially endowed by Opus Dei, is regarded by many as Spain's finest university.

However elitist the Jesuits' schools and their Deusto University were, the Jesuits taught a liberal doctrine in the late 1960s and early 1970s.<sup>245</sup> The Catholic Church in the Basque Country had supported the Republican army in the Civil War; an exception to the rule, Franco's army executed many of these rogue priests. Cardinal Enrique y Tarancón, Franco's fiercest critic from inside

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<sup>244</sup> Antonio Fontán, *Los Católicos en la Universidad Española Actual* (Madrid: Rialp, 1961), 55-65. For an account of how the Estudio General de Navarra became the Universidad Católica de Navarra, see pages 143-8.

<sup>245</sup> I am grateful to Alfredo López-Vivié, a student at the Colegio de los Jesuitas de Barcelona in the 1970s, for anecdotal evidence about how it was normal practice to ask the students to read Marx.

the Catholic Church, was himself a Jesuit. His role in the transition to democracy was crucial, since he adopted a rather liberal attitude and helped to silence the most reactionary voices within the Spanish Catholic Church. He was often greeted at public events by Francoists with threatening insults and chants like '¡Tarancón al paredón!' (execute Tarancón).

ETA's initial links with some left-wing Catholic groups, especially the Jesuits, have been vox populi in Spain for decades.<sup>246</sup> In contrast, Opus Dei has always been very right wing, a fact acknowledged by all historians, even writers like Allen who refuse to discuss ideology. Allen says that 'the political and theological tilt inside Opus Dei is clearly to the right'.<sup>247</sup> The rivalry between Opus Dei and the Jesuits has persisted to this day: it was taken into consideration by religious commentators all over the world when Pope John Paul II died in 2005. The media widely suggested that this quarrel would play a fundamental role in the deliberations that would appoint a new Pope, causing the struggle between these two religious groups to surface on an international stage. If we reconsider the 1972 Pamplona Festival in light of these tensions, Opus Dei, then Franco's staunchest supporter in the Spanish Church, and its related activities, become an obvious target for a terrorist group with links with the Catholic left such as ETA.

Why then did De Pablo lose support from the right? According to the composer, local authorities, the Ministry of Information and Tourism and some critics did not like the programme presented. But this idea, voiced in García del

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<sup>246</sup> See Zirakzadeh, *Rebellious People*, 157, 175 and 183-4. The most open discussion of the relationship between the Jesuits and ETA can be found in the sensationalist book Álvaro Baeza L. *E.T.A. Nació en un Seminario: El Gran Secreto: Historia de E.T.A. (1952-1995)* (Madrid: ABL Press, 1995). Baeza's book is a piece of exaggerated journalistic history, yet it shows enough evidence of the links between the Jesuits and ETA

<sup>247</sup> Allen, *Opus Dei*, 7.

Busto's claim that the Pamplona Festival was 'unacceptable in itself', is too simplistic. The Pamplona Festival requires a more imaginative reading that moves beyond superficial political explanations to consider more fully the complexities of the time.

### **Cage vs. Boulez: The Aesthetics of Opus Dei**

When I began this research, I thought that the points of intersection I presented between prominent members of Opus Dei and the promotion of avant-garde music in Spain were purely coincidental. However, after further consideration I believe a pattern exists that can be explained by taking into consideration Opus Dei's ethics and aesthetics.

From its foundation, Opus Dei has contributed to right-wing politics in Spain. However, Opus Dei's right-wing ideology does not embrace Catholic traditionalism and other reactionary movements, but includes a commitment to progress that its founder Escrivá often highlighted. As *The Economist* pointed out, Opus Dei has poor religious content while showing great interest in 'technique, tactics and "neo-masonic" mutual aid'.<sup>248</sup> Rather than a new theology, or even simply a theological position, Opus Dei offers professional support and an excellent social network.

Fredrik Rike has implicitly likened Opus Dei's penchant for the professional development of its members and the fruits this bears, in the form of success, to Protestant ethics:

Except in the Opus Dei approach... Catholicism in the Iberian world has

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<sup>248</sup> "Octopus Dei", 34.

generally used religion as a justification for poverty rather than a spur for economic advance. Its rich iconography has been bereft of elements that could be used to extol and sanctify the businessman. There is an attempt on the part of Opus Dei to replace the Christian knight role model with that of the godly businessman. Opus Dei turns its attention towards the upper social strata.<sup>249</sup>

Opus Dei's elitism, the 'godly businessman', at the core of the institution since it initially recruited members of the Catalan bourgeoisie, exists alongside a taste for modernity.<sup>153</sup> As Hermet suggests, 'Opus Dei's elitism is ultimately characterised by its modernist, rather than traditional, content'.<sup>250</sup> Opus Dei reveals its 'modernist' taste for setting itself apart when 'Opus Dei members restrain themselves from participating in certain collective religious activities, such as processions', which are quintessentially Spanish public displays of religiosity.<sup>251</sup> As Allen puts it, 'Opus Dei is not traditional at all':

Its vision of laity and priests, women and men, sharing the same vocation and being part of the same body, all free to pursue that vocation within their professional sphere as they see fit, was so innovative that Escrivá was accused of heresy in the 1940s.<sup>252</sup>

Like the avant garde, Opus Dei had to wait until the end of the autarchy to blossom and to achieve full official recognition. It eventually gained this

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<sup>249</sup> Fredrik Pike, "Christianity since 1800: Latin America", *The Oxford History of Christianity*, 471.

<sup>250</sup> 'Matérialisé par sa structure et nuancé par ce paternalisme distant, l'élitisme de l'Opus Dei se caractérise aussi, en dernière instance, par son contenu plus moderniste que traditionnel. Dans le domaine religieux, l'Opus Dei présente un visage relativement moderne au cours des années 1940, au moins dans le contexte espagnol, de par sa distanciation vis-à-vis de la mentalité de la Croisade alors dominante dans le catholicisme national'. Hermet, *Les Catholiques dans l'Espagne Franquiste*, vol. 1, 240.

<sup>251</sup> 'Ses membres s'abstiennent de participer collectivement à certaines manifestations du culte, telles que les processions'. Hermet, *Les Catholiques dans l'Espagne Franquiste*, vol. 1, 233.

<sup>252</sup> Allen, *Opus Dei*, 3.

approval thanks to a reputation of modernity, best exemplified by the idea that ‘the redemption of the world would come in large part through laywomen and men sanctifying their daily work, transforming secularity from within’.<sup>253</sup>

The world of the arts played a significant part in the overall Opus Dei strategy of ‘transforming secularity from within’. Highly cultivated Opus Dei ideologues such as Calvo Serer or Pérez Embid embraced the arts as a way of contributing to an improvement of society and humankind when coupled with banking or medicine. In its effort to use the arts in its pursuit of progress, Opus Dei engaged with the avant garde in architecture, painting and music. The musical avant garde in Spain cannot be understood without the activities of the Ateneo and Alea, supported by Opus Dei. The religious music renaissance cannot be understood without the Cuenca Festival, which celebrated the fact that its composers were laymen as a fundamental part of its identity, a musical version of Opus Dei’s ‘godly businessmen’. The general support of Opus Dei for avant-garde music in technocratic Spain notwithstanding, how specific was its aesthetic agenda?

Under the auspices of Opus Dei, the Ateneo, Alea and the Cuenca Festival supported ‘formal’ avant-garde music. As experimental music composer Llorenç Barber mentioned in our interview, ‘aleatoric music did not enjoy public support in Spain’.<sup>254</sup> Barber also noted that ‘De Pablo was Spain’s Boulez whilst Hidalgo was Spain’s Cage’: no wonder they enjoyed very different fates. While De Pablo counted on enormous public support, Hidalgo was marginalised. As the outcast composer said in our personal interview, even his

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<sup>253</sup> Allen, *Opus Dei*, 5.

<sup>254</sup> ‘La música aleatoria no recibió ningún apoyo en España hasta los años noventa’. Personal interview.

good friend Ramón Barce severed ties with him in the 1960s for fear of repercussions for his career.

In more basic terms, De Pablo's and Hidalgo's biographies and social behaviour could not be more different. The former has always been a serious man whose musical compositions, he claims, stem from complex intellectual processes, which he discussed in his 1968 book *Aproximación a una Estética de la Música Contemporánea*, a book indeed reminiscent of the style of Boulez's writing.<sup>255</sup> De Pablo received me in the living room of his apartment in central Madrid, surrounded by books; he often referred to his art in rational terms and to his political ideas as left-wing. Hidalgo has always made a point to avoid serious behaviour and likes to dress in bright colours; his paintings and compositions departed from the serial and post-serial avant garde to follow Cage's path. Hidalgo met me at a café in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. Meeting at his place was out of the question, since he lives surrounded by animals on a very isolated hill. Hidalgo described himself as an anarchist, and our three-hour-long conversation ranged from beauty products to sex, from drugs to Mexican brothels, and indeed a great deal of musical gossip.

Both Hidalgo and his student Barber used harsh words to refer to the political allegiances of what I call here the Boulezian branch of the Spanish avant garde, which they identified with Barce, De Pablo and Halffter. These composers compromised their artistic credentials, Barber and Hidalgo implied, by constantly collaborating with Franco's cultural authorities. Their musical styles and even their lifestyles suited an authoritarian right-wing dictatorship better than the anarchic style represented by Barber and Hidalgo.

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<sup>255</sup> Luis de Pablo, *Aproximación a una Estética de la Música Contemporánea* (Madrid: Editorial Ciencia Nueva, 1968).

Opus Dei's also extremely regulated behaviour as well as the sobriety that characterises its members conflicted with the Cagayan influences advocated by some young Spanish avant gardists and veterans such as Hidalgo. Opus Dei preferred to encourage and support structured musical forms whose modernity aligned itself with the idea of law and order that was essential to the group's principles and to the nature of technocratic Spain. Opus Dei politicians may have inspired and promoted liberal economic policies, but they were still members of a right-wing authoritarian government, and this political 'octopus' (as *The Economist* called it) that guided the last 15 years of Franco's regime with its influential tentacles may have also subtly driven the musical choices of Spain's technocratic authorities.

So, by being open-minded and organising an eclectic festival that was attended by Hidalgo and took place in a marquee instead of a concert hall, De Pablo may have overstepped the mark. Neither the dictatorship nor Opus Dei were willing to support any artistic form which could cause scandal or social unrest. The Pamplona events in 1972, too informal for the taste of both Opus Dei and the political authorities in late Franco's Spain, signalled the end of the public support of the avant garde. According to Javier Maderuelo:

Encuentros de Pamplona 1972 was a farewell festival; it was a luminous showcase which gathered many cultural manifestations of an era which was about to end... The avant-garde was dead, both the real and the official one. The once revolutionary ideas were being questioned. Their authors, fêted and decorated. Their works, both fiercely attacked and praised in the past, were now in museums and libraries. Their strength was decaffeinated. In Pamplona the order of 'break ranks!' was

issued.<sup>256</sup>

Indeed, the years of political unrest around the death of Franco in 1975 caused the promotion of music to grind to a halt. Authorities did not know whether to support one style or another, and amidst this unproductive climate, some composers left Spain. Halffter stayed, since his financial situation did not depend upon his music, whilst others like Bernaola devoted more time to writing film music. De Pablo relied on the help of Nicolas Nabokov, former president of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, to find a job teaching composition in Buffalo.<sup>257</sup>

Politicians and composers knew that a new political and cultural phase was about to start. Perhaps it would be a socialist regime, perhaps a democracy or perhaps another dictatorship. As Juan Luis Cebrián put it in 1980, the word that best described the situation was 'fear'.<sup>258</sup> Composers had to plan carefully their careers; musicologists had to decide how to write about the recent musical past, to which they had in turn contributed. Their strategies affected the very way in which the transition to democracy was accomplished, involving a complex process of revisionism. This is the subject of my final chapter.

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<sup>256</sup> 'Es cierto que *Encuentros de Pamplona* 1972 fue un festival de despedida, un escaparate luminoso donde se reunieron todas las muestras de una época que irremisiblemente acababa... La vanguardia había muerto, la vanguardia real y la oficial. Las primitivas tesis revolucionarias, cuestionadas. Sus autores, homenajeados y condecorados. Sus obras, encarnizadamente atacadas y defendidas antes, hoy, en museos y fonotecas. Su empuje, descafeinado. En Pamplona se dio el toque de "rompan las filas y desbandada general". Javier Maderuelo, *Una Música para los 80* (Madrid: Garsi, 1981), 20.

<sup>257</sup> I have had access to the correspondence between De Pablo and Nabokov, now at the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas at Austin. Nabokov and De Pablo discuss the Buffalo option and Nabokov offers his help.

<sup>258</sup> Juan Luis Cebrián, *La España que Bosteza. Apuntes para una Historia Crítica de la Transición* (Madrid: Taurus, 1980), 9.

## Chapter 5

### Beyond Amnesia

'Until every Spaniard who lived under Franco dies, history will be very difficult to write'.<sup>259</sup>

Manuel Gutiérrez Mellado

Borrowing from Wagner's narrative strategies in act one of *Götterdämmerung*, I start by re-stating what I have said so far. Firstly, that Franco supported the composition and performance of avant-garde music in technocratic Spain because the rhetoric surrounding this music sat wells with his regimen's ideology in its last fifteen to twenty years. Second, that Franco's authorities counted on the support of the media, which highlighted the flourishing of the avant garde as a bronze age (my term) of Spanish culture. Third, that some composers (Halffter in particular) adapted their hitherto nationalistic music style and became strong avant garde advocates. Fourth, as explained by my chapter on Opus Dei, the kind of avant-garde music supported by Franco's cultural authorities was, in very simplistic terms, more Boulezian than Cageian.

If I made my previous four points clear in the previous four chapters and presented evidence of the links between the promotion of avant-garde music and Franco's cultural policies, why am I the first scholar who does not see the Spanish avant-garde as apolitical or left-wing? Indeed, the political implications of the promotion and performance of avant-garde music in technocratic Spain

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<sup>259</sup> This quote has been generally attributed to General Manuel Gutiérrez Mellado (1912-1995). He fought the Civil War on Franco's side. Later, however, he took a pro-democratic stance and stood amongst the reformist members of the military in the 1970s. The King appointed him Chief of the Army in 1976, a position in which he carried out a thorough democratization of this institution. He was then Vice-President, working together with President Adolfo Suárez to consolidate democracy in Spain.

have been ignored or explained away as rebellious. In this chapter, I specifically highlight the way in which the participation of Luis de Pablo and Cristóbal Halffter in the 'Concert for Peace' has been discussed in the literature. This chapter is a history of recent history; that is, in itself a historiographical exercise which discusses the different ways in which Spain's recent past has been discussed since the death of Franco until today.

Of course, I cannot claim that this thesis fully resolves the issue, nor can I pretend that it is impervious to current historiographical trends or, to use Falla's expression, 'far above the working of politics'.<sup>260</sup> By discussing recent changes in Spanish historiography, I discuss how my work too has been shaped by the memory of the Civil War, that is, by how the Civil War is discussed nowadays. And of course my political opinions have evolved from 2004, when I wrote my Master's dissertation *Music as Propaganda in Spain during the 1960s and its Historiographical Perspectives*, to the time of writing these final lines in 2009. After analysing the context for this thesis, I conclude that my assessment of the workings of the Spanish avant garde under Franco also inevitably stems from my own musicological, historiographical and political agendas.

The best response to this unavoidable bias is to state it openly and explicitly so that my readers may have a context for my conclusions. This sort of 'coming out' technique, borrowed from gay and lesbian scholars dealing with queer issues, helps to overcome the technocratic rhetoric discussed in chapter two that has rendered the history of music a detached, unworldly pursuit. Avoiding the fallacy of objectivism will hopefully shed new light on the complex

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<sup>260</sup> Carol Hess, *Sacred Passions: The Life and Music of Manuel de Falla* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 185-212.

historical and cultural trends discussed in this thesis, allowing it to move beyond amnesia.

### **New perspectives on the international avant garde**

Since the publication of Susan McClary's "Terminal Prestige: The Case of Avant-Garde Music Composition", several musicologists have questioned the moral supremacy claimed by this movement.<sup>261</sup> Once regarded as an intrinsically superior aesthetic that drew its value from ideas of progress and rebellion, the avant garde has become increasingly criticised. American orchestras, once keen to premiere avant-garde music, now shy away from playing works from the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. Radio stations that hardly survive by playing Beethoven find it too risky to broadcast music that a large portion of their listeners do not like.<sup>262</sup>

In short, these listeners have had enough of what Italian novelist and music critic Alessandro Baricco has called 'intellectual deafness'.<sup>263</sup> In his 1996 book *The Soul of Hegel and the Cows of Wisconsin: Reflections on Art Music and Modernity*, Baricco presents a comprehensive critique of the dogmas of the avant garde. He blames the alienation of the audiences on the rhetoric of this musical movement, which offers, in his opinion, nothing but boredom wrapped in an aura of historical legitimacy. According to Baricco, the myth of progress coupled with a falsification of the musical past that claims that the most prominent composers of the canon were originally ignored because their musical aesthetics were too advanced has made audiences wary of expressing

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<sup>261</sup> Susan McClary, "Terminal Prestige: The Case of Avant-Garde Music Composition", *Cultural Critique*, 12 (1989), 57-82.

<sup>262</sup> Richard Taruskin, "The Musical Mystique", *The New Republic*, 22 October 2007.

<sup>263</sup> Alessandro Baricco, *L'anima di Hegel e le mucche del Wisconsin: Una riflessione su musica colta e modernità* (Milano: Garzanti, 1996), 14.

their dislike of so-called 'progressive' musical works. Hence the concept of 'intellectual deafness' that affects most concert goers and prevents them from flatly stating, 'I don't like this music' in case they are missing the new Beethoven.

Baricco's book was not the only one published in continental Europe that questioned the avant garde so thoroughly. IRCAM scholar Giancarlo Vinay's sarcastic response to Baricco, entitled 'Il latticello delle mucche del Wisconsin ovvero l'invenzione del modernismo musicale postmoderno' (The calf of the Wisconsin cows or the the invention of a postmodern musical modernism), seems tame when compared to the reactions to Benoît Duteurtre's *Requiem pour une Avant-Garde*, first published in 1995, in which the French music critic presents similar arguments to those later used by Baricco.<sup>264</sup> Some of the responses from French journalists and composers, including Pierre Boulez, started a debate that presented, often in the pages of *Le Monde*, his historical revisionism as tantamount to an implicit approval of concentration camps and pro-Nazi collaborationism. Duteurtre successfully sued *Le Monde* for slander, and the debate sprawled beyond musical circles to include French intellectuals such as Jean-François Revel, who supported Duteurtre.<sup>265</sup>

In the Anglo-American world, critiques of the avant garde have accompanied a growing scepticism of the very idea of modernism, which has been in crisis since the end of the Cold War. Here I retain this historiographical concept, the Cold War, because, according to Martin Brody, Leon Botstein, Amy Beal and others, its existence has allowed the avant garde to enjoy academic

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<sup>264</sup> Gianfranco Vinay, "Il latticello delle mucche del Wisconsin ovvero l'invenzione del modernismo musicale postmoderno", *Il saggiaiore musicale*, 8 (2001), 113-20. Benoît Duteurtre, *Requiem pour une Avant-Garde* (Paris: Pocket, 2000; first edition, Paris, 1995).

<sup>265</sup> The edition of the book I have includes an appendix with many articles published about Duteurtre's *Requiem*. See 2000 edition (referenced in footnote 263), pages 259-317.

prestige and public support. These scholars incorporate Cold War politics in their discussions of Western music written and performed between the end of World War II and the fall of Communism in an attempt to understand this music as part of a complex web of ideological and specifically political connections. In doing so, they avoid approaching the study of avant-garde music as though it were written in a vacuum, indifferent to its socio-political context.

Brody's 1993 "Music for the Masses': Milton Babbitt's Cold War Music Theory" equates the political rhetoric of the Cold War to Milton Babbitt's advocacy for an increasingly technical musical vocabulary. American calls for freedom and independence, Brody argues, resonate in Babbitt's (and others') claim that progress and total freedom from the market should be the *sine qua non* for a composer to work.<sup>266</sup> Brody addresses the attitude of the avant garde as a movement, while Leon Botstein gives further reasons behind the avant garde's intrinsically Cold War ideology:

The shifts in architectural taste since the end of World War II offer a striking parallel example to the issue of the relationship between musical aesthetics and politics during the same period. Owing to the Nazi embrace of a neoromantic and neoclassic aesthetic that was explicitly cast in opposition to modernism, an unexpected link was forged between serialism and progressive politics. Radical modernism became the morally superior language, the voice of rebellion against fascism. The polemic of René Leibowitz in the years immediately after the war was at once aesthetic and a political rallying point for young French composers,

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<sup>266</sup> Martin Brody, "Music for the Masses': Milton Babbitt's Cold War Music Theory", *The Musical Quarterly*, 77 (1993), 161-6.

including Pierre Boulez, who were determined as artists to distance themselves from right-wing and fascist politics.<sup>267</sup>

As Botstein suggests, the avant garde drew part of its prestige from its alleged commitment to anti-fascism. This allegiance allowed it implicitly to claim a left-wing ideology, particularly in Europe, or at least a detachment from mundane matters as expressed in the famous dictum (attributed to Babbit, but actually written by his editor) 'who cares if you listen'.

But scholars have questioned the left-wing connection, and the pretence to keep avant-garde music in a vacuum isolated from its political context. As early as 1970, cultural historian Christopher Lasch claimed:

Historians, like other scholars, need to become more conscious of the social conditions under which they work—the general influences shaping intellectual life in a bureaucratized industrial society organized for war, and more particularly, the conditions created by the Cold War of the 1950s... Especially in the fifties, American intellectuals, on a scale that is only beginning to be understood, lent themselves to purposes having nothing to do with the values they professed—purposes, indeed, that were diametrically opposed to them.<sup>268</sup>

In the book that follows, Lasch lays bare the privilege enjoyed by some who claimed to be detached from any political pressure.

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<sup>267</sup> Leon Botstein, "After Fifty Years: Thoughts on Music and the End of World War II", *The Musical Quarterly*, 79 (1995), 229.

<sup>268</sup> Christopher Lasch, "The Cultural Cold War: A Short History of The Congress for Cultural Freedom", *Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History*, ed. Barton J. Bernstein (London: Chatto & Windus, 1970), 322-3.

Lasch addresses avant-garde culture as a whole; Beal addressed the specific case of music when she published her ground-breaking “Negotiating Cultural Allies: American Music in Darmstadt, 1946-1956” in 2000.<sup>269</sup> In this study, which she expanded and published as a book in 2006, Beal establishes links between the cultural programme of the American Occupation Army in West Germany and the avant garde. This musical idiom, the article argues, was instrumental for post-war developments in Germany, from denazification to the implementation of new cultural policies in the name of freedom.<sup>270</sup>

The word ‘freedom’ plays a fundamental role in this discussion by working to offset the sense that cooperating with the American propaganda machine in Western Europe threatened the independence of any artistic style. Lasch explains:

In 1955 a *New York Times* editorial praised the ACCF [American Committee for Cultural Freedom] for playing a vital role in ‘the struggle for the loyalty of the world’s intellectuals’—in itself a curious way of describing the defense of cultural freedom. The *Times* went on to make the same claim that was so frequently made by the Committee itself: ‘The group’s authority to speak for freedom against Communist slavery has been enhanced by its courageous fight against those threatening our own civil liberties from the Right’.<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>269</sup> Amy C. Beal, “Negotiating Cultural Allies: American Music in Darmstadt, 1946-1956”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 53 (2000), 105-39.

<sup>270</sup> Beal, *New Music, New Allies: American Experimental Music in West Germany from the Zero Hour to Reunification* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 2006). In his recently published *Music after Hitler*, Toby Thacker presents a detailed discussion of the process of cultural occupation between 1945 and 1955. See Thacker, *Music after Hitler, 1945-1955* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

<sup>271</sup> Lasch, “The Cultural Cold War”, 342-3.

Some authors such as Frances Stonor Saunders go further than simply questioning the freedom enjoyed by artists linked to the Committee. In *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War*, she explicitly connects the Congress for Cultural Freedom and the CIA.<sup>272</sup> Ian Wellens also identifies this partnership, writing in his 2002 *Music on the Frontline: Nicolas Nabokov's Struggle against Communism and Middlebrow Culture* that, 'through [Nicholas] Nabokov, the CIA was indeed promoting musical modernism'.<sup>273</sup>

After establishing the connection between politics and avant-garde music, some authors have attacked this musical idiom on moral grounds, not for its musical features but as a result of its being politically compromised. McClary accuses the avant garde of chauvinism since it was a manifestation of High Modernism taken to its last consequences:

Thus far I have presented my argument as though the only 'enemies' against which the avant-garde has pitted itself were popular culture, postmodernism, and—in general—socially grounded signification. But a position has begun to emerge recently among cultural critics and historians that recognizes High Modernism as having been also strongly motivated as a repudiation of femininity... This repudiation can, of

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<sup>272</sup> Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (London: Granta, 2000). In yet another study of the cultural activities of the Ford Foundation, whose links with the CIA have been known to all, Kathleen D. McCarthy says that 'Even at the height of their popularity, all such cultural projects received only a small part of Ford's overseas expenditures. Approximately \$10 million were spent between 1950 and 1980, in comparison to the \$300 million allocated for international studies, or the \$200 million for foreign agricultural projects. Given the traditional technical biases of American foundations, the significance of these grants lies not in their size, but in the fact that they were made, that the Foundation chose to venture into such uncharted waters'. Kathleen D. McCarthy, "From Cold War to Cultural Development: The International Cultural Activities of the Ford Foundation, 1950-1980", *Daedalus*, 116 (1987), 94.

<sup>273</sup> Ian Wellens, *Music on the Frontline: Nicolas Nabokov's Struggle against Communism and Middlebrow Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), viii.

course, be understood as targeting not actually women, but rather what is feared to be the 'feminine' dimension of the male artist—or even the practice of art itself, which is often classified as an 'effeminate' activity: it is perhaps more obviously a product of homophobia and anxiety over masculine identity than of misogyny per se.<sup>274</sup>

In her critical account of the activities of the IRCAM, *Rationalizing Culture*, anthropologist Georgina Born agrees with McClary, presenting a case for the exclusion of women from avant-garde music circles.<sup>275</sup>

On the other hand, a small group of authors find the use of culture as political propaganda during the Cold War legitimate. One of these dissenting voices is Peter Coleman, former member of the Congress for Cultural Freedom. In his 1989 *The Liberal Conspiracy: The Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Struggle for the Mind of Postwar Europe*, he claims:

Today everyone agrees with the Congress's once lonely assessment of Soviet totalitarianism, and in particular of the Soviet failure to accept human rights (in other words, cultural freedom). In contributing in so brilliantly and timely a way to this public awareness throughout the world in a period of great danger, the Congress for Cultural Freedom was a historic success.<sup>276</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> McClary, "Terminal Prestige", 71-2.

<sup>275</sup> Georgina Born, *Rationalizing Culture* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1995).

<sup>276</sup> Peter Coleman, *The Liberal Conspiracy: The Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Struggle for the Mind of Postwar Europe* (New York and London: Free Press / Macmillan, 1989), 247.

He argues that cultural propaganda greatly helped Western societies to present democracies as a valid alternative to Communist dictatorships. This perspective is by no means the canonical historical interpretation of the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Generally, historians and musicologists seem more eager to highlight its lack of independence and the limited freedom enjoyed by its grantees than to assess the role it played in countering communist propaganda efforts, a task not often mentioned in the literature. But Coleman provides both the Congress for Cultural Freedom and the avant garde with a noble place in history.

Perhaps the best example of the 'terminal prestige' of avant-garde music lies in Taruskin's *The Oxford History of Western Music*. In its fifth volume, Taruskin provides a summary of the second half of the twentieth century that presents music as anything but isolated. He first reviews the opinions of the ideologues of the avant garde, focusing particularly on Rene Leibowitz and Theodor Adorno. Their fixation with the idea of progress, Taruskin argues, partly stems from the idea that progressive art is a reflection of a progressive society. They seemed to imply that the Nazi period provided sound proof of this correlation, since its political anomalies were reflected in conservative, meaning unhistorical, music. The fact that technology enjoyed unprecedented prestige in the twentieth century, as proved by the atomic bomb that won the war in the Pacific, contributed to the idea of progress. Additionally, Taruskin seems to imply that these extreme aesthetics, based on what he deems as neo-Hegelian philosophy, stemmed from the common volition to start anew as implied in the idea of the Zero Hour. The world had to reinvent itself, and a less subjective approach as expressed by a more technological perspective seemed to be the

safest way. Taruskin then discusses the music of the period, which he deems the result of these foundational elements coupled with Cold War anxieties.<sup>277</sup>

*The Oxford History of Western Music* marks the first time that a general history of twentieth-century music has addressed politics in depth. Taruskin echoes some of the views of scholars such as Beal and Brody, helping to popularise and canonise their ideas through subtitles such as ‘Cold War Music’, a reference that explicitly accepts this recently coined historical category. Furthermore, Taruskin’s volume 5 is actually the first general music history to display condescension towards the avant garde. For example, in the first chapter of his fifth volume, Taruskin discusses the pro-avant garde rhetoric of Adorno, Leibowitz and others with subtitles such as ‘Disquieting Questions’ and ‘Disquieting Answers’, the language of which suggests Taruskin’s critical approach to this movement.

In his review of Taruskin’s *History*, Charles Rosen accuses Taruskin outright of bias against the avant garde, which Rosen finds obvious in the choice of musical works by Boulez that Taruskin discusses. Instead of *Pli selon Pli*, which could show a more sensitive side of Boulez, Taruskin chooses *Structures* in order to portray his work as dehumanised. Rosen explains:

With some major composers of the second half of the century, he is at a loss. Of Pierre Boulez, the master of iridescent sonorities, he deals largely with the driest and most dogmatic work of all, the opening section of *Structures* for two pianos... the gorgeous sounds of *Pli selon Pli* and *Répons* are ignored. With Karl-Heinz Stockhausen, he discusses a short

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<sup>277</sup> Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), vol. 5, 1-10.

piano piece, but says nothing about his most famous work, *Gruppen*, for three orchestras. Taruskin's claim neither to advocate nor to denigrate the music he discusses is a hollow one: you cannot make sense of music without advocacy, and not to make sense of it is to condemn.<sup>278</sup>

Rosen has rightly hinted at Taruskin's bias, if for the wrong reason. Rosen uses his review as yet another example of the bias and lack of subtlety in Taruskin's work. For me, Taruskin's alleged 'lack of subtlety' is simply the tip of the iceberg, hinting at how our ideas and perspectives on the avant garde have changed since the end of the Cold War – it has fallen out of grace. Revealing the fallacy that avant-garde music existed in a vacuum, impervious to social and political influences, has led to a vilification of the avant garde. This is the academic environment in which this thesis has been written.

The Spanish case participates in this process. Indeed, the contribution of avant-garde music to the propaganda machine of a right-wing dictator such as Franco provides a striking counter-example to the fallacy of the vacuum, further questioning the avant garde's moral superiority as criticised by Botstein. Furthermore, the Spanish case has a specific characteristic that makes it particularly relevant to a better understanding of the relationship between music and politics during the Cold War: it has remained unexplored.

### **Spanish Amnesia**

The political undertones of Spanish music criticism as well as of the promotion of avant-garde music under Franco have been ignored even when they carried

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<sup>278</sup> Charles Rosen, "From the Troubadours to Sinatra: Part II", *The New York Review of Books*, 53 (March 2006).

out duties that were decidedly at odds with democratic practices. For example, history seems to have forgotten that in 1956, the photo of the successful Spanish composer of *zarzuelas* Pablo Sorozábal (1897-1988) appeared crossed out on the front page of *El Alcázar* because he dared to say that Spanish theatre reviewers took bribes.

At that time, Enrique Franco, previously mentioned in this thesis as one of the most important musical publicists under the dictatorship, headed the cultural section of *El Alcázar*.<sup>279</sup> Until his death in 2009, he had been the chief music critic of the centre-left and presently best-selling Spanish newspaper *El País*, the ideology of which is social-democratic, secular and pro-European. Founded in May 1976, this newspaper has been considered one of the engines behind the transition to democracy and the only media voice that has consistently supported the social-democratic party since its foundation. A distant relative of the owners of the paper (the Ortega family, descendants of Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset), Enrique Franco authored Francoist anthems such as *Montañas Nevadas* and orchestrated *Cara al Sol*. From the pages of *El País*, he has continued to promote the same musical styles since the technocratic years in a similar manner, whilst his significant contribution to Franco's musical policies remains unexplored. The continuity seen in Enrique Franco's critical career is emblematic of democratic Spain as a whole. That he should work for *El País*, of all papers, is a particularly interesting fact. The authorities have continued to rely on the same musical advisers such as

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<sup>279</sup> According to Javier Suárez-Pajares, as a consequence of his writing tonal zarzuelas (Spanish operettas), Pablo Sorozábal's life and work has been ignored by Spanish musicologists. Federico Sopeña, for example, neglects Sorozábal in his book *Historia de la Música Española Contemporánea* (Madrid: Rialp, 1958). Suárez-Pajares has recently demonstrated that Sorozábal was the Spanish composer most frequently performed during the dictatorship. Suárez-Pajares, "Jesús Bal y Gay en el Problema de su Generación", *Xornadas sobre Bal y Gay* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2003), 139-48.

Enrique Franco and Tomás Marco, thereby preserving an unbroken pattern of promoting composers self-labelled as avant-garde and progressive which in contrast was official aesthetic in late Franco's Spain.

The amnesia that plagues Spanish musical memory can also be seen at work in discussions of De Pablo's and Halffter's participation in the 'Concert for Peace'. The composers themselves have seldom tried to explain their participation in that celebratory event. More often than not, they and their biographers fail to mention it, as my survey of the literature now shows.

In José Luis García del Busto's biography of De Pablo, published in 1979, the author includes a catalogue of works in which neither *Testimonio* nor *Tombeau* (the original name of the work played in the Concert for Peace) appear. Despite this startling omission, this book offers the most direct justification of the participation of any composer in the Concert for Peace:

There is a full short story surrounding *Tombeau*, annoying for its author... For Luis de Pablo the commission was a real problem since his political ideology, clearly anti-Francoist, compelled him to say no to an offer which was not only musical, since the concert... was supported by a large propaganda campaign... On the other hand,... Luis de Pablo had grown up during those twenty-five years and wanted to be recognised by the official cultural institutions.<sup>280</sup>

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<sup>280</sup> 'Alrededor de *Tombeau* hay toda una pequeña historia, enojosa para su autor... Para Luis de Pablo el encargo constituyó un auténtico problema consigo mismo: por un lado, su personal postura política, decididamente contraria al régimen franquista, le obligaba a rechazar una oferta que, desde luego, no era solamente musical, ya que el concierto... iba acompañado de todo un aparato publicitario... por otro lado... Luis de Pablo era un compositor forjado durante esos veinticinco años y lógicamente empeñado en ser reconocido como tal músico significativo en los estamentos culturales y oficiales'. José Luis García del Busto, *Luis de Pablo* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1979), 51-3.

According to García del Busto, De Pablo took a long time to accept the commission, but the biographer finds little importance in this acceptance, concluding that ‘the music remains and the rest is not relevant’.<sup>281</sup> In my personal interview with De Pablo, he avoided discussing political topics, simply stressing that he has always been very left-leaning.

I have not found any contrasting assessment of De Pablo’s participation in the ‘Concert for Peace’ in the literature. Indeed, one of the most interesting characteristics of De Pablo’s biography is its lack of factual information. Even following the publication of several books and articles about De Pablo, it still seems difficult to write a well-informed text about this composer. For instance, when García del Busto writes about De Pablo’s life in the introductory chapter of Piet de Volder’s *Encuentros con Luis de Pablo* (1998), he carefully relates every trip the composer took during the 1950s, but never says which institutions were paying for his visits to musical centres such as Darmstadt.<sup>282</sup> García del Busto simply states that De Pablo began work as a lawyer for the Spanish airline Iberia in 1953, but left this job soon thereafter, and provides no further details.<sup>283</sup> De Pablo’s travels immediately after this incident occupy an important place in his biography, but nobody has ever mentioned ‘who paid the piper’.

Despite De Pablo’s role as director of the Bienal in 1964, García del Busto’s account also lacks references to the political context of this composer’s career and avoids the use of words such as ‘Franco’ or ‘politics’. In fact, the word ‘Franco’ does not appear in most of the books and articles about music during the Franco years, and politics are only mentioned in the literature in

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<sup>281</sup> ‘La música queda y el resto no es sustancial’. García del Busto, *Luis de Pablo*, 53.

<sup>282</sup> García del Busto, “Introducción: Crónica de vida y obra”, in Piet De Volder, *Encuentros con Luis de Pablo: Ensayos y Entrevistas*, trad. Rafael Eguílaz (Madrid: Fundación Autor, 1998), 9-47.

<sup>283</sup> García del Busto, “Introducción: Crónica”, 14.

terms of anti-Francoist rebellion. In clear opposition to my argument here, De Volder claims that ‘the expressive vehemence of the first years of Spanish avant-garde has a lot to do... with the desire to break with the musical “establishment” of that time’. De Volder asks De Pablo about this issue, and the composer responds with the claim that writing avant-garde music ‘was a statement against the establishment’.<sup>284</sup> De Volder and De Pablo also complain about the neglect of the avant garde under Franco, a sob story questioned by my research, which shows that almost every performance was paid with public money.

De Volder and García del Busto have essentially monopolised the literature on De Pablo. García del Busto authored the entry “Luis de Pablo” in the *Diccionario de la Música Española y Latinoamericana* in addition to producing another biography of the composer in 1994.<sup>285</sup> Christiane Heine wrote the entry “Luis de Pablo” in the latest edition of *The New Grove* – except for a short interview, all of her biographical references are by De Volder and García del Busto.<sup>286</sup> Even in the wider context of international musicology, these two authors have almost a monopoly on De Pablo.

Halffter’s treatment in musicological literature resembles De Pablo’s. Halffter is considered the leading light of the Generation of 1951, and composers and musicologists alike have paid homage to him. Every account of his career neglects the existence of politics. This amnesia surfaces in Sopena’s

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<sup>284</sup> De Volder says: ‘La vehemencia expresiva de los primeros tiempos de la vanguardia española tiene mucho que ver, en mi opinión, con la voluntad de romper totalmente con el “establishment” musical de aquella época’. De Pablo says: ‘Fue una toma de postura respecto al “establishment”: un cierto público aficionado que era en muchos casos nuestro enemigo y que en parte continúa siéndolo’. De Volder, *Encuentros*, 153.

<sup>285</sup> García del Busto, “De Pablo, Luis”, *Diccionario de la Música Española y Latinoamericana*, eds. Emilio Casares, José López Calo and Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta (Madrid: SGAE, 2000). Id. *Luis de Pablo* (Madrid: SGAE, 1994).

<sup>286</sup> Christiane Heine: “De Pablo, Luis”, *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 4 July 2004), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>

1967 *Historia Crítica del Conservatorio de Madrid* (Critical history of the Madrid Conservatory), a book that mentions little about the short stay of Halffter as director of that institution from 1964 to 1966, even though it was a position from which, 'it was possible to plan musical policies' for the nation.<sup>287</sup> Instead, Sopeña's 'critical history' merely praises the purchase of a great amount of contemporary music scores for the conservatory library during the two years in which Halffter headed the institution.<sup>288</sup>

In 1980 Emilio Casares published the book considered as the primary reference source on Halffter. As I discussed in chapter three, Casares tends to avoid mentioning politics and generally parrots Halffter's own views on his life and oeuvre. Other authors, such as Hermann Danuser, chose to follow this approach, which prevented them from adopting a critical stance towards the composer.<sup>289</sup> This discourse appeared in the literature as recently as 2002 in Agustí Charles's text on Halffter. Charles describes Halffter's early years (1951-58) by referring to 'nationalistic aesthetics linked to the familiar musical tradition'. He also writes that Halffter's visits to Darmstadt prompted significant changes in the composer's compositional idioms, and he asserts that the work *Secuencias* 'closes a phase'.<sup>290</sup> However, Charles not only avoids any discussion of the phase 'closed' by this work, but also neglects to give the reader any information about the political implications of the piece or even the date of its premiere. Musicology has once again conveniently forgotten the 'Concert for Peace'.

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<sup>287</sup> Sopeña, *Historia crítica del Conservatorio de Madrid* (Madrid: Dirección General de Bellas Artes, 1967), 176.

<sup>288</sup> Sopeña, *Historia crítica*, 193.

<sup>289</sup> Hermann Danuser, "Cristóbal Halffter: Un Ejemplo de la Nueva Música Comprometida", *Actas del Congreso Internacional "España en la Música de Occidente"*, eds. Casares, Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta and José López-Calo (Madrid: INAEM, 1987), 475-8.

<sup>290</sup> Agustí Charles Soler, *Análisis de la Música Española del Siglo XX. En torno a la generación del 51* (Valencia: Rivera, 2002), 73.

Tomás Marco has managed to hold political positions during the dictatorship and all subsequent governments, and is the most prolific author on the Spanish musical avant garde. In the late 1980s, musicians commonly referred to 'Marcotráfico' (a pun on *narcotráfico*, the Spanish word for 'drug trafficking') when discussing the way in which the Ministry of Culture carried out commissions. At the time, Marco was the director of the Instituto Nacional de Artes Escénicas y Musicales, which made him the foremost political authority in musical promotion; the slang begrudgingly acknowledged his influence and power. His political position allowed Marco, the politician, to commission works by Marco, the composer, which then Marco, the historian, praised in his *Historia de la Música Española: Siglo XX* (Spanish music in the twentieth century), always in the third person, using a rhetorical trick made famous by Julius Caesar in his *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* and *Commentarii de Bello Civili*.<sup>291</sup> Marco's Ministry provided the funding to translate *Historia* into English under the title *Spanish Music in the Twentieth Century*. By virtue of an agreement with the Spanish Ministry of Culture, in 1993 Harvard University Press published this volume, which devotes more space to Marco than to Manuel de Falla.<sup>292</sup>

Marco advocated a 'progressive' historiography, especially in his *Música española de vanguardia* (Spanish avant-garde music, 1970), an excellent example of technocratic rhetoric. To that end, he always sought to form links between his own works and those of Falla.<sup>293</sup> Referring to 1960s avant-garde music as the middle step between Falla and himself, Marco has claimed that

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<sup>291</sup> Tomás Marco: "Historia de la Música Española, 6: Siglo XX", *Historia de la música española*, ed. Pablo López de Osaba (Madrid: Alianza, 1983).

<sup>292</sup> Marco, *Spanish Music in the Twentieth Century*, trans. Cola Franzen (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1993).

<sup>293</sup> Marco, *Música Española de Vanguardia* (Madrid: Guadarrama, 1970), see chapter on Marco.

'much of the music of the period [1960s] was polarised around De Pablo and Halffter and they were at the forefront of ideas proposed and works produced'.<sup>294</sup> 'The serial techniques [in Halffter]', he continued, 'became more prominent in his career; the orchestral work *Secuencias* (1964) was a magnificent summing-up of this particular phase'.<sup>295</sup> Furthermore, De Pablo 'with *Cesuras* (1963) for six instruments... achieved a flexible and fluid material that he then used for orchestra in *Tombeau* (1963), a magnificent work in its treatment of material and in its formal and expressive aspects'.<sup>296</sup> Marco's account echoes the vague and evasive language of García del Busto, Charles, and other writers, failing to acknowledge *Tombeau's* 'second premiere' and failing to address the question of its two different names. Needless to say, on a broader scale this book does not mention the 'Concert for Peace', nor does it contain the word 'Franco'.

Despite the lack of engagement with this question in print, at every public appearance De Pablo and Halffter continue to refer to their avant-garde years in terms of rebellion. Some major figures of the European musical avant-garde have embraced strong political views, quite often on the left, but Spanish avant-garde composers have always tried to present themselves as either rebellious or impartial. In any case, they have always maintained that the study of art, in this case music, should be completely separate from politics. This high modernist attitude works to explain away their past and to absolve them from any responsibility for past actions. In the case of avant-garde music, composers have counted on the acquiescence of musicologists and critics in perpetuating this amnesia.

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<sup>294</sup> Marco, *Spanish Music*, 159.

<sup>295</sup> Marco, *Spanish Music*, 160.

<sup>296</sup> Marco, *Spanish Music*, 164.

While doing archival research for this thesis I encountered numerous problems when I tried to access sources, to interview musicians or to see important documents. For example, I have been unable to read the programme note of the 'Concert for Peace' written by Sopeña. Two musicologists, Marta Cureses and Ángel Medina, quote this programme note in several articles and books, but they both told me that they had lost their copies. I contacted the archive of the Orquesta Nacional de España asking for seventy programme notes; the archivist found sixty-nine of them. Only the note for the 'Concert for Peace' is missing. None of the composers or reviewers of the time who are still alive has allowed me to see their copies, and the National Library does not have one, despite the assurances of the music librarian that they have the whole collection of programme notes of the Orquesta Nacional de España. There is no copy at the massive *Archivo de Música Contemporánea* at the Juan March Foundation. This strange absence raises the question: is the programme of the 'Concert for Peace' lost?

I am not the only researcher who has faced difficulties in discussing Spanish avant-garde music and politics. In the spring of 2005, Carlos Villar Taboada presented his thesis on the analysis Galician contemporary compositions at Valladolid University. Even though he did not focus on politics, he referred to De Pablo and Halffter as heads of the 'official avant-garde' of the 1960s and 1970s. Cureses, who was one of the examiners, interrupted the PhD candidate at that point to say that she 'would not tolerate the use of the word "official" to refer to a group of avant-garde composers who risked their careers to foster "modern" music'.<sup>297</sup>

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<sup>297</sup> This story was referred to me by two doctoral students at Valladolid University present at the viva who want to remain anonymous.

A collective historical amnesia continues to permit these composers and their biographers to construct the prevailing image of the avant garde as a rebellious musical force. This practice can be explained by linking contemporary musicological practices to the amnesic way in which Spain accomplished the transition to democracy. Why amnesia?

In the years after its chronological end, the Spanish Civil War played an essential role in Spanish culture and politics as a fundamental tool used to design and justify political systems and policies. Aguilar has demonstrated that from 1939 until the transition to democracy (1975-1978), the Civil War was used as a foundational myth for Spain. Published under the title *Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy*, her research is 'an analysis of the political discourse relating to that war, of the transmission of this memory through multiple sources and of the significant effect which this memory had on the incipient democratic political process, a memory which still exists today'.<sup>298</sup> Two different political discourses related to the war have coincided with what historians have identified as the two phases of Franco's dictatorship, autarchic and technocratic.<sup>299</sup>

In the autarchic phase, amidst executions and starvation, the dictatorship tried to explain the war as a crusade against communism, separatism, laicism and masonry that had saved the supposedly most profound elements of 'Spanish-ness' from destruction. These elements included Catholicism and national unity, both based on the idea of Spain as a country 'blessed by God',

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<sup>298</sup> Paloma Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy*, trans. Mark Oakley (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2002; first edition in Spanish, 1996), xix.

<sup>299</sup> The two phases as established by Manuel Tuñón de Lara and José Antonio Biescas in *España bajo la dictadura franquista* (Barcelona: Labor, 1980).

as the 'Reserva Espiritual de Occidente' (Spiritual Reserve of the West).<sup>300</sup> This discourse mainly attempted to encourage people to accept the war as a painful but worthwhile step towards building a better country: a fascist one. Justifying the war as a national sacrifice and a divine commandment helped the government to make people feel better about starvation and purges—a small price, they seemed to imply, for having lived through their very own 'finest hour'. Culture played an important role in this process.<sup>301</sup>

In the technocratic phase, with a sounder economy and better living standards, Franco's authorities explained the war (their foundational moment) differently. The dictatorship ceased using the word 'crusade', instead legitimising its own existence by the benchmarks of financial stability, peace and progress. The war then became an inevitable and tragic evil that had driven Spaniards to fight each other. Francoists now stressed that God gave victory to those who guaranteed peace and financial growth, and these goals were impossible under a communist regime. According to this discourse, the war had not been a crusade, but a painful tax Spaniards had paid for the good of the country. What officially came to be known as the 25 Years of Peace, discussed in detail in chapter one, began as a commemoration in 1964 to promote this new ideal. This phase lasted until Franco died a natural death on 20 November 1975, one month after his last public appearance where the physically frail dictator waved to a crowd of one million people from the balcony of the Royal

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<sup>300</sup> Spain was called 'Reserva Espiritual de Occidente' in books used in the primary and secondary schools and also in every public speech or discourse.

<sup>301</sup> An early example of the use of patriotic literary references was provided by Víctor Ruiz Albéniz, 'cronista oficial' at Franco's headquarters, when he claimed towards the end of the war that 'Franco fought the war with The Cid's sword... and Don Quixote's lance'. 'Franco ha hecho la guerra con la espada del Cid... y la lanza de Don Quijote'. Rafael Abella, "Así Estalló la Paz", *El Mundo Online* (Accessed 9 May 2004), <<http://www.el-mundo.es/larevista/num180/textos/paz1.html>>

Palace in Madrid. The transition to democracy was about to begin, and with it, a third way to remember the Civil War would emerge.

It is generally accepted that the transition to democracy started with Franco's death and culminated three years later with the approval of the democratic constitution in 1978. However, some historians date its beginnings back to the assassination of Admiral Carrero Blanco in 1973. Carrero Blanco was president of Franco's government and regarded by many as the dictator's most likely successor when his car was blown up by ETA in the centre of Madrid. His death was a blow to the self-perpetuating aspirations of the regime. Some historians extend the transition to democracy until the victory of the Socialist Party (PSOE) in the general elections of 1982. This party, which had renounced Marxist ideas in 1973 and was only nominally socialist, and its leader Felipe González, occupied the centre of the extraordinary process of change which took place in Spain in the 1980s.<sup>302</sup> Historians and political commentators who refer to the arrival of González as the end of the transition argue that the peaceful victory of a social-democratic party in the elections marked the end of the right-wing dictatorship. This victory happened only one year after an attempted coup d'état, in which general Tejero seized the Parliament and kept all MPs hostage until the King appeared on TV and commanded the army not to join the uprising.

During the transition the Civil War was re-visited. American historian

Laura Desfor Edles claims:

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<sup>302</sup> In 1974 at its 26th Congress of the PSOE in Suresnes, Felipe González was elected Secretary General, replacing Rodolfo Llopis Ferrándiz. González was from the 'reform' wing of the party, and his victory signaled a defeat of the historic and veteran Marxists. The direction of the party shifted from the exiles to the young people in Spain. As Secretary General, González moved the party away from its Marxist and socialist background, turning the PSOE into a social-democratic party, similar to those of the rest of Western Europe. See "Historia del PSOE: El Partido se Fundó en 1879", *PSOE.es*, (Accessed 26 January 26, 2008), <<http://www.psoe.es/ambito/historiapsoe/docs/index.do?action=View&id=992>>

[A] cultural rethinking and reinterpretation of the Civil War has been part and parcel of Spain's recent successful transition from authoritarianism to democracy. Scholars, laypeople, and political leaders alike all point to the Spanish Civil War as the cultural and moral backdrop to the Spanish transition.<sup>303</sup>

If during the autarchic years the war was presented as a crusade, and during the technocratic ones it was an inevitable evil, during the transition to democracy it became the 'war of the insane'.<sup>304</sup> In the late 1970s the war vanished into the myth of a tragedy perpetrated by crazy people. No one was guilty or responsible: it was simply madness.

This discourse reached its peak in an implicit 'Pacto del Olvido', or the pact of 'forgetting' the violent acts committed during the Civil War and subsequent dictatorship, and lies at the heart of Spain's successful transformation from dictatorship to democracy in the late 1970s. Agreed upon by most democratic political forces, from the recently legalised Communist Party to the Christian Democrats, the 'Pact to forget' was meant to facilitate a peaceful transition to democracy, without trials, truth committees or purges. This process has enabled the same politicians who worked for the Francoist regime to assume central roles in the transition: King Juan Carlos I was appointed by Franco, and the first Prime Minister who led the process, Adolfo Suárez, had been a member of the only party before the death of Franco. Politicians such as Manuel Fraga, seen as 'aperturista' during the Franco years and currently

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<sup>303</sup> Laura Desfor Edles, *Symbol and Ritual in the New Spain: The Transition to Democracy after Franco* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 4.

<sup>304</sup> Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia*, 209.

honorary president of the Spanish Conservative Party, became conservatives in the democratic context.

With the Socialist Party in power and universities having been granted complete freedom, most political historians did not subscribe to the 'Pact to forget'. In fact, during the 1980s most histories of the dictatorship framed the Civil War as a struggle on the part of democracy to resist a fascist attack, placing the entirety of the blame for the war on Franco's side. As Paul Preston puts it, 'the rebirth of Spanish contemporary historiography in the 1980s was a victory of Spanish historians over a fortress built by Franco's regime. This fortress was built upon a clear falsification of the past which was helped by censorship and propaganda'.<sup>305</sup> But these 'Spanish historians' used their victory to erect another fortress where Franco's once stood. In the words of Anthony Beevor, 'the Spanish Civil War is one of the few modern conflicts whose history has been written more by the losers than by the winners'.<sup>306</sup> But Beevor disagrees with the interpretation put forth by the 'losers' as much as he disagrees with that promoted by Francoist historians, instead claiming that the Civil War

was never a choice between liberal democracy and fascism... There were only two probable outcomes: a Stalinist dictatorship which had succeeded in crushing its rival allies on the Left, or the cruel regime—

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<sup>305</sup> 'El resurgimiento de la historiografía contemporánea española en los años ochenta fue una victoria de los historiadores españoles contra una fortaleza construida por el régimen de Franco, en términos de una inmensa falsificación del pasado a base de la censura y la propaganda'. Paul Preston, "La historiografía de la Guerra Civil Española: De Franco a la Democracia", *Tuñón de Lara y la Historiografía Española*, eds. José Luis de la Granja, Ricardo Miralles and Alberto Reig Tapia (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1999), 164.

<sup>306</sup> Anthony Beevor, "Who Started the Spanish Civil War?", *The Times Literary Supplement*, 9 March 2005.

reactionary, military and clerical with merely superficial fascist trappings—which the victorious Franco managed to assemble.<sup>307</sup>

At the turn of the twenty-first century, this debate expanded and some Spanish historians began to agree with Beevor, offering a more balanced vision of the war. In *1936: Los Mitos de la Guerra Civil*, Enrique Moradiellos goes beyond the myth of the ‘two Spains’ (fascist vs. democratic) to present a picture of the war that resembled Beevor’s view.<sup>308</sup> Other historians in Spain, especially ones aligned with the right, have not embraced the interpretations of their British counterparts. They accuse the Left of starting the Civil War in 1934, when bloody strikes took place in Asturias, an argument that Pío Moa advances in his 2004 book *Los Mitos de la Guerra Civil* (The myths of the Civil War).<sup>309</sup> Moa’s interpretation of the conflict implicitly celebrates Franco’s victory because it saved Spain from communism.

José-María Aznar’s right-wing government (1996-2004) supported Moa’s interpretation until it lost the elections in 2004. Under Aznar, the collective memory of the war remained a major issue in Spain. A few streets called ‘División Azul’—the army of volunteers who went to fight with Hitler in Russia during World War II— still existed, and some non-governmental organizations faced problems when trying to open graves containing the corpses of the purged opponents of the regime. At the same time, the archives of the Fundación Francisco Franco enjoyed public support and funding. Aznar’s years provoked a reaction from many intellectuals, sparking a debate on the

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<sup>307</sup> Beevor, “Who Started the Spanish Civil War?”

<sup>308</sup> See Enrique Moradiellos, *1936: Los Mitos de la Guerra Civil* (Barcelona: Península, 2004).

<sup>309</sup> See Pío Moa, *Los Mitos de la Guerra Civil* (Madrid: Esfera de los Libros, 2003).

transition, especially on the different types of transitional processes for the consolidation of democratic regimes.

The seminal work of this field, 2001's *The Politics of Memory*, immediately refers to Spain in its introduction:

The Spanish case confirms the link between avoiding truth and justice and experiencing a delay in reform... while amnesty and institutionalized 'forgetting' may have been appropriate to ensure a peaceful transition, they also placed some obstacles in the way of reform over the medium term and thus slowed down a process of democratic deepening... Ironically, the kinds of policy necessary to ensure a peaceful transition are not necessarily the same as those needed to pursue democratization... Indeed, one may work against the other over the medium or long term.<sup>310</sup>

Paradoxically, the pragmatic and psychological reasons behind the peaceful transition to democracy may have impeded the complete process of democratization. This and other new critical ideas have started a new debate about the success of the transition and the meaning of the war, so that, despite its alleged end, the war has remained at centre stage in twenty-first century works, inviting further examination. That a right-wing government was more or less explicitly in favour of Moa's interpretation of the war opened up a debate and started eroding the historiographical fortress built by the left in the 1980s.

The time for amnesia was over.

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<sup>310</sup> *The Politics of Memory: Transitional Justice in Democratizing Societies*, eds. Alexandra Barahona de Brito, Carmen González-Enríquez and Paloma Aguilar (Oxford: University Press, 2001), 32-3.

Music scholarship, still sheltered from politics and indeed benefitting from amnesia, has allowed musicologists to write histories of twentieth-century music without mentioning the word Franco. The end of the amnesic period and the beginning of heated political debate, it seemed, would not affect musicology. Our recent musical past would remain untainted by politics. One lone Spanish musicologist, however, has engaged in this debate in order to reassess Spanish avant-garde music.

Around the twenty-fifth anniversary of Franco's death, when Aznar won his second term as Prime Minister and historiographical debate would have place even in Parliament, the online classical music magazine *Mundo clásico.com* began to publish articles about music and politics under Franco. This change in focus can be primarily attributed to the influence of its editor, Xoán M. Carreira. Born in 1955, Carreira studied Medicine and Philosophy at the University of Santiago de Compostela, but also worked on eighteenth-century opera and ballet in the Iberian Peninsula. He gained a reputation for being among the first Spanish musicologists who advocated a social history of music. Carreira's outspoken criticism of academic musicologists, and especially the publication of "La musicologia spagnola: un'illusione autarchica?", discussed in chapter two, earned him the hostility of most Spanish academics, leaving him virtually isolated.<sup>311</sup> In his six articles on the musical memory of the dictatorship, the titles of which were drawn from Spanish and German fascist anthems such as *Cara al Sol*, *Montañas Nevadas*, *Prietas las Filas*, *Por Rutas Imperiales*, or were puns, such as *25 Años de*

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<sup>311</sup> Carreira, "La Musicologia Spagnola: Un'illusione Autarchica?", *Il Saggiatore Musicale*, 2 (1995), 105-42. Two aggressive responses were published by *Il Saggiatore* in the form of letters in the following issue.

*Paciencia* (25 years of patience, instead of peace), Carreira attacked the avant garde and accused it of collaborationism.<sup>312</sup>

In 1984 Carreira had already published the article “La Vanguardia como Excusa”, a review of Marco’s *Historia de la Música Española* in which he hints at the function of avant-garde music during the dictatorship.<sup>313</sup> But his seminal article on the connections between the Spanish avant garde and politics, “Transgression as Integration: Contemporary Music in Spain during the Sixties”, has not been published.<sup>314</sup> In this text, as well as in his articles for *Mundoclásico.com*, Carreira hints at some possible meanings for avant-garde music in 1960s Spain. He does not offer case studies or close readings of specific works or events, nor does he exhibit a strong theoretical frame. Carreira’s paper is nonetheless a useful exercise of memory that, in combination with Aguilar’s work, provides a strong foundation for my current research.

Carreira poses the question: ‘Why did Spanish fascism protect the most cryptic and apparently most radical musical language?’ Unfortunately, he never fully answers this inquiry; moreover, he allows himself the rhetorical excess of referring to Franco’s dictatorship in the 1960s and 1970s as fascist. Carreira’s bold and unique analysis of the implications of the promotion of avant-garde music in Cold War Spain fails to consider the political nuances of the historical context and makes no mention of international politics or the Cold War. However, Carreira’s many antagonists have never objected to his broad

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<sup>312</sup> All these articles can be found in *Mundoclásico.com*, <[www.mundoclasico.com](http://www.mundoclasico.com)>

<sup>313</sup> Carreira, “La Vanguardia como Excusa”, *Músicos*, 22 (1984), 15-22.

<sup>314</sup> I am most grateful to Carreira for having sent me a copy of his paper, which is forthcoming in the proceedings of the conference *Transgression as Integration*, held in Cascais (Portugal) in 1996, to celebrate the 90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Fernando Lopes-Graça (1906-94), a Portuguese communist composer who lived under the ultra-conservative regime of Antonio Oliveira Salazar.

generalisations. They simply deem his work inappropriate because they see it as going beyond music in order to deal with politics.

My thesis is a result of the ongoing national debate about the Civil War and a continuation of Carreira's work, rather than a critique of it. I have strived to contribute a fuller picture of the period while subscribing to his main thesis that avant-garde music served the propaganda purposes of Francoism. I began this thesis hoping to support Carreira's claims and to join him in his explicit condemnation of the avant-garde. Five years into my research, and on the verge of finishing this final chapter, my analysis of the data has proved Carreira right, but my conclusions differ from his. In other words, Carreira condemns the composers and I do not. For me setting the facts straight and offering an explanation of why Franco's authorities chose the avant garde is enough. This statement begs an explanation and triggers my political 'outing'.

I began researching this topic for my Master's dissertation in 2003. I was then in strong communion with Carreira's ideas, for two main reasons. First, having Aznar's Conservative Party in power fuelled my own anti-conservative ideas. I was then an undergraduate student and my personal sentiments manifested themselves historiographically through strong sympathies for a Manichean interpretation of the Civil War, which I understood then as a fight between democracy and fascism. My ideas about the Civil War permitted an interpretation of the dictatorship that enabled me to depict the careers of the members of the Generation of 1951 as 'blood-stained' by collaboration. Furthermore, Carreira provided an appealing alternative to the historiographical vacuum that confronted me. Faced with a choice between amnesia and Carreira's controversial analysis, I chose the latter.

But I began work on this thesis in October 2004, eight months after the election of social-democratic Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero. This political change softened the sense of historical 'revenge' that I inherited from Carreira, while I gradually became disillusioned with the left. The rhetorical excesses of left-wing histories, now fuelled by Zapatero's government, have revealed how widely historical interpretation shifts in Spain in such a short span of time. Since he assumed power, Zapatero has pushed for a recuperation of a left-wing interpretation of the war. As part of his strategy, the Parliament passed a bill in 2007 called 'Ley de la Memoria' (Bill of Memory), which promotes the study of Francoist repression. This bill has revived terrible memories amongst the elderly and has been deemed as unnecessary by many young people for whom the memory of the war, however important, should not occupy the centre of the political debate.

My ideas on the Civil War are those of Beevor and Moradiellos. The changing memory of the Civil War continues to shape modern scholarship – mine is of course not an exception. Born four years after Franco's death and unable to remember the failed 1981 coup d'état, my personal memories are bound by the current democratic system. My interest in the Civil War and its memory derives from eagerness better to understand contemporary politics in Spain, not from a curiosity about the actual conflict. While the horrendous history of the war does not touch me directly, two of my relatives suffered its consequences. Eugenio Arbones, my father's great-uncle, was arrested by the police and unlawfully shot by a fascist group after the beginning of the war. He had been a prosperous medic, a socialist Member of Parliament and President of the Spanish Society of Friends of the Soviet Union. At the end of the 1990s a

left-wing city council oversaw the dedication of a street in Vigo, my hometown, to his memory. Enrique Sacau, my mother's father and my namesake, was an urban middle-class soldier of Franco's army. He died at 87 in October 2004, shortly after I started this thesis. His justification for having fought on Franco's side was to protect the country from politicians such as Eugenio Arbones who promoted Communism as a political system for Spain. The memory of Eugenio and the influence of Enrique, who towards the end of his life increasingly spoke about the war, made me wary of Manichean visions of the conflict, especially after my grandfather died. My family background and my physical distance from Spain, where Carreira's overstatements fall into a dull academic vacuum, inevitably affected my ideological leanings and shaped my political agenda.

In addition to my personal distance from the war, another fundamental difference exists between my approach and Carreira's: he discusses the Spanish avant garde without referring to international music. Carreira presents his revisionist stance solely based on his belief that the Spanish case was unique. However, as I discussed in the first section of this chapter, avant-garde music is being reassessed elsewhere at the moment, and the ongoing international debate must be taken into account. In return, the situation in the Spanish case contributes rather specific elements to the international picture.

These elements can only be uncovered by navigating the complex web formed by political implications of the promotion of avant-garde music in Cold War Spain. The composers involved have claimed not to have taken part in politics, but many factors indicate the contrary. These composers lived in a country where the avant garde enjoyed public support. They wrote in this musical idiom and benefited from it. I will not use the privileged position of the

scholar to judge them. However, I do believe it is time to confront the political implications of making avant-garde music in Franco's Spain. Calling these composers fascists is as misguided as claiming that their music was not connected to their social and political context or that it was rebellious. These two strategies, as Beevor argues when discussing the Manichaeic visions of the Civil War, leave truth as their first casualty.<sup>315</sup>

Avant-garde music helped perform a political shift by which Franco's authoritarian dictatorship fostered a more liberal approach to economics – freedom, however, was not granted to the Spanish people until the death of the dictator. Avant-garde music was thus one of the tools to convey the message to the people that Franco's regime was Western and modern – again, it was not so Western nor modern. This process caused changes in the way history was written that have pervaded historiographical practice until today. This thesis has taken the opportunity to reassess the workings of the Spanish avant-garde, seeking an approach that balances different perspectives. As the first systematic endeavour of its kind, I hope it will be amended and corrected by other scholars. Nothing could be a better reward for engaging with the music of my recent past and learning about its political implications.

These implications function differently in Spain than in the rest of Western Europe. In overt contradiction to the claim that the avant garde was politically independent or left wing, this musical aesthetic was branded a tool for political propaganda. The Spanish case suggests that, in addition to supporting pro-democratic propaganda during the Cold War, the avant garde could equally be used for authoritarian propaganda, thus destabilising its conventional

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<sup>315</sup> Beevor, "*Who Started the Spanish Civil War?*"

connection to ideals of freedom and democracy. This argument moves beyond most other scholars, who are generally content with highlighting some contradictions between the thoughts of the avant garde and its deeds. The Spanish composers I have discussed did not simply collaborate sporadically with the Congress for Cultural Freedom, as their correspondence reveals, but had their music performed at celebratory events such as the 'Concert for Peace'. Moreover, I have suggested that the composers knew of this use, although they later tried to deny their knowledge. This is my contribution to ongoing debates about the political nature of avant-garde music. But I have also added another dimension to this debate: the politics of memory.

In the present chapter I have introduced into musicological debate the politics of memory; I have incorporated the discussion of the methods used to address Spain's musical past in order to face its musical and political present. This debate will continue, since Europe is still the 'house of the dead', as Tony Judt called it, and every country will carry on implementing policies to deal with their past.<sup>316</sup> The way in which these policies and their politics have affected musical practice in technocratic Spain and musicological scholarship today will fuel the debate about the political nature of the avant garde and its scholars. Highlighting significant links between the political uses of the memory of a non-musical historical facts such as the Spanish Civil War, the type of music that was written under Franco and the musical criticism that followed opens up new, dynamic fields of musicological exploration.

One final thought about the historian's challenges to make sense of the past in the words of Timothy Garton-Ash:

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<sup>316</sup> Tony Judt, "From the House of the Dead: On Modern European History", *The New York Review of Books*, 52 (6 October 2005).

[A historian always] wrestles with an almost unavoidable human proclivity that psychologists have christened “hindsight bias” – the tendency, that is, to regard actual historical outcomes as more probable than alternatives that seemed real at the time... What actually happened looks as though it somehow had to happen. Henri Bergson talked of “the illusions of retrospective determinism”. Explanations are then offered for what happened... [a reminder] of the Polish philosopher Leszek Kolakowski’s “law of the infinite cornucopia”, which states that an infinite number of explanations can be found for any given event.<sup>317</sup>

Applied to this thesis, Garton-Ash reminds me of something else. In one of our many conversations about music history, Oxford musicologist Peter Franklin suggested that perhaps my thesis could be turned around to say that these composers actually contributed to the political liberalisation of Spain. This is precisely the ‘official’ position supported thus far by the Spanish musicological establishment. As I have shown in the main body of this thesis, however, this same establishment has relied on a highly selective sample of primary evidence precisely in order to support this position. Naturally, anybody is free to argue in its favour again. I would suggest, however, that this needs to be carried out in the light of the wealth of hitherto unknown or at least undiscussed evidence that I have presented here, and in the context of recent research on the ideological and political dimensions of avant-garde music promotion in Europe during the Cold War. Whilst I am aware that I have not given definite answers to the questions surrounding the promotion of avant-garde music under Franco, I

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<sup>317</sup> Timothy Garton-Ash, “1989!”, *The New York Review of Books* LVI n. 17 (November 2009), 4.

happily take the blame for having heeded Hadrian's advice, hence significantly complicating the picture.

## Appendix 1

### Lyrics of Cara al sol

***Cara al Sol*** (Spanish for "Facing the Sun") is the anthem of the Falange, the only party under Franco. The lyrics were written by the law student and Falange co-founder José Antonio Primo de Rivera, and the music composed by Juan de Tellería, and orchestrated by Enrique Franco. It was first performed in 1936.

#### **Cara al Sol**

Cara al sol con la camisa nueva,  
que tu bordaste en rojo ayer,  
me hallará la muerte si me lleva  
y no te vuelvo a ver.

Formaré junto a mis compañeros  
que hacen guardia sobre los  
luceros,  
impasible el ademán,  
y están presentes en nuestro afán.

Si te dicen que caí,  
me fui al puesto que tengo allí.

Volverán banderas victoriosas  
al paso alegre de la paz  
y traerán prendidas cinco rosas:  
las flechas de mi haz.

Volverá a reír la primavera,  
que por cielo, tierra y mar se  
espera.  
¡Arriba, escuadras, a vencer,  
que en España empieza a  
amanecer!

¡España una!  
¡España grande!  
¡España libre!  
¡Arriba España!

#### **Facing the sun**

Facing the sun in my new shirt  
that you embroidered in red yesterday,  
That's how death will find me  
if I do not return to you.

I'll take my place alongside my  
comrades  
who stand on guard in the heavens,  
with a hard countenance,  
they are alive in our struggle.

If they say to you that I fell, know that  
I'm gone to my place up there.

The flags of victory will return  
marching merrily along peace  
and bringing five red roses:  
the arrows of my quiver.

Laughter will return in the springtime,  
by the sky, earth, and sea, we await its  
return.

Onwards, squadrons, to victory,  
that a new day dawns on Spain!

Spain united!  
Spain great!  
Spain free!  
Onwards Spain!

## Appendix 2

### Programme of the 'Concert for Peace'

Madrid, 16 June 1964.  
Ministry of Information and Tourism Auditorium.

Orquesta Nacional de España  
Orfeón Donostiarra (Chorus Master: Juan Gorostidi)  
Soloists: Jesús Aguirre, tenor; Raimundo Torres, baritone.  
Conductor: Rafael Frühbeck de Burgos.

#### 1st part

Ángel Arteaga:  
*La cueva de Nerja. Movimientos sinfónicos*  
(Ministry of Information and Tourism International Composition Prize 1964)

Luis de Pablo:  
*Testimonio*

Cristóbal Halffter:  
*Secuencias*

#### 2nd part

P. Miguel Alonso:  
*Visión Profética. Recitaciones sacras*  
Text by prophet Joel for soloists, choir and orchestra.

Manuel de Falla (completed by Ernesto Halffter):  
*La Atlántida*

- 'La Atlántida sumergida'
- 'Himno hispánico'
- 'Las carabelas'.
- 'Salve'.

### Appendix 3

#### Transcriptions of reviews on the 'Concert for Peace'

##### 1. Federico Sopena, *Abc*, 17 June 1964:

Estrenos de Arteaga, Halffter, De Pablo y Alonso en el 'Concierto de la Paz'

Imposible es a esta hora, tan tardía como la del final de la ópera, escribir con detalle nada menos que de cuatro estrenos presentados en el concierto de gala organizado por el Ministerio de Información. Afortunadamente, estas obras van a ser oídas, una a una, dentro del amplio programa de festivales, en conciertos para el gran público. Lo importante, lo gozosamente importante, es destacar cómo en el 'encargo' hecho a Luis de Pablo, a Halffter y a Miguel Alonso no ha habido ninguna exigencia extramusical, ningún 'programa' impuesto. En la Florencia de estos días leía yo el mejor comentario que puede hacerse a la iniciativa del Ministerio de Información. Las palabras son de Rilke en su 'diario florentino': 'Proteged al arte para que permanezca ajeno a las querellas del día y para que esté más allá de cualquier época'.

Antes del comentario reposado debo decir con alegre urgencia, que las obras oídas son de interés extraordinario. Con el concurso para la *Cueva de Nerja* irrumpe en la vida musical madrileña, y ya era hora, Ángel Arteaga.

Luis de Pablo ha hecho en *Testimonio* su obra orquestal más jugosa, más 'espiritual'—ya me explicaré sobre esto desde Granada—y Cristóbal Halffter, una vez más, ha derrochado técnica de la mejor clase para una obra muy distinta en clima a las inmediatamente anteriores. El público, que había aplaudido con cariño los estrenos, llegó al entusiasmo, a los gritos en torno al autor, con Miguel Alonso, músico eclesiástico, que nos llena de orgullo por su

labor en Roma, y que ahora llega a la música sinfónica con una obra de gran ambición, de gran aliento: gran música de concierto, pero siempre 'religiosa', sobre un texto impresionante de Joel traducido por el P. Schöckel. Aunque sólo hayan sido trozos, ¡cómo no alegrarse de la reaparición de esa pobre, cenicienta, casi olvidada *Atlántida*! También sobre ella y sobre su culpable olvido escribiremos con detalle.

Fruhbeck ha hecho un esfuerzo inmenso con este concierto, preparado a conciencia, con seriedad y con entusiasmo, difícilísimo en cada uno de sus capítulos, difícilísimo para él, la orquesta y para el Orfeón Donostiarra, que ha montado una obra como la de Alonso, erizada de escollos, que sólo se hace directa, brillante, cantándola con cuidado y con fuerza a la vez. Para Fruhbeck, para Gorostidi, para la Orquesta Nacional y para el Orfeón, junto con los solistas Torres y Aguirre, tuvo el público de la gran gala cordialidad constante y muchísimo entusiasmo en la segunda parte.

## **2. Enrique Franco, *Arriba*, 18 June 1964**

Una gran jornada para Rafael Frühbeck

El Ministerio de Información y Turismo quiso añadir a los diversos actos conmemorativos del XXV aniversario de la Paz española un concierto que, por fuerza, debía tener carácter representativo. Entre los distintos tipos de 'representación' posibles—recuento de obras y autores, equilibrio entre las generaciones que han hecho música durante estos cinco lustros, ojeada al presente pensando en su futura proyección—los organizadores tiraron por el último camino. Podía simbolizarse el homenaje a las generaciones anteriores

en un solo nombre, Manuel de Falla, y en una obra que incluye otra generación en el nombre de Ernesto Halffter: *Atlántida*. El resto debía obedecer no a un criterio de mirada atrás sino a otro, más positivo, de vista hacia delante. Se encargaron pues tres obras a otros tantos compositores de la última generación y se incluyó el preestreno de la partitura premiada en el Concurso *Cuevas de Nerja*, firmada por un cuarto componente de la misma generación. Así se alinearon Arteaga, el P. Alonso, Cristóbal Halffter y De Pablo. El proyecto ambicioso y comprometido se planteó, además, desde un criterio absolutamente abierto y jamás se pensó en música programática para una cierta ocasión y, menos aún, en lo que se conoce como 'música política', concepto en el que suelen salir malparados los dos términos. Por el contrario, se ha hecho todo con arreglo a la más sana política para lo artístico: la de que cada cual, como decía Falla 'siga su gusto y sus tendencias'. Sea pues para los promotores del esfuerzo el primer '¿Bravo!' [sic], más fuerte si se tiene en cuenta que, a juzgar por todos los síntomas, la actitud de apoyo a nuestra música y la decisión de protegerla no queda reducida a una ocasión conmemorativa sino que se hará uso, hábito necesario.

## LAS OBRAS

Desde este natural y voluntario ejercicio de tendencias, los resultados han venido a equilibrios de un '2 contra 2'. Con todo lo que la aplicación de las palabras pueda tener de convencional, diremos que se situaron dos representantes de la 'guardia' junto a dos de la 'vanguardia'. Entiéndase por lo primero aquello que traía de caminar por su tiempo sin desengancharse demasiado del tiempo anterior conocido como tradicional y que—en líneas generales—queda presidido por la observancia, en alguna medida, de la

tonalidad (considerada también en un sentido genérico y no sólo en el estricto juego de las dos modalidades tipo: mayor y menor). Entiéndase por 'vanguardia' lo que se propone desarrollar en el sentido que sea los supuestos técnicos-estéticos de la evolución 'serialista' que, hoy en día, ha dejado a un lado del camino como problema el 'ser' o 'no ser tonal'.

La guardia: Ángel Arteaga y el padre Miguel Alonso. Obras: *La cueva de Nerja*, movimientos sinfónicos y 'Visión profética', recitaciones para tenor, barítono, coro y orquesta. La obra de Arteaga parte de una cierta ambientación sonora, de una 'atmósfera' en suma, única alusión metafórica a lo que puede sugerir el tema objeto del Concurso. Se desarrolla luego por cauces melódico-armónicos, rítmicos y contrapuntísticos dentro de una instrumentación coloreada con habilidad e innegable talento. Aparece como sombra un compositor que ha hecho 'manera' de algunas cosas que originariamente no nacieron de él: Carl Orff. Nada de extraño que así sea puesto que Arteaga ha sido su discípulo en Munich. Y estando en ese 'límite' ¿sería posible que no se nos apareciese también la sombra de Stravinsky? Ni lo es ni el compositor la niega. En líneas generales ¿cuál es la aportación personal del autor? Para mí la persistencia en una dialéctica si no inventada sí articulada al gusto personal: incisiva, ligera y zumbona.

El padre Miguel Alonso abordó un texto del profeta Joel para su *Visión profética*, que el compositor denomina 'recitaciones' y que constituye una suerte de cantata con recitados orales y musicales y presencia de diversos elementos musicales y estéticos, desde la alusión a motivos gregorianos y la escritura polifónica, arraigada en nuestras tradiciones, hasta el 'martilleo' silábico a la Orff, tan acusado en la primera y segunda partes. El texto bíblico

ha sido traducido –muy bien traducido—al castellano por el padre Alonso Schöckel; pero por su misma índole los resultados son broncos y admonitorios. Dar con una línea de ‘vocalitá’ [sic] para dicho texto era el escollo mayor en la ambiciosa ideación de Miguel Alonso. Este tipo de «recitaciones», en la que se precisa junto a la adecuación al texto la inteligibilidad del mismo, es siempre cuestión problemática y en su abordaje por el compositor encuentro la mayor razón de elogio. El resto de la partitura está delicadamente puesto al servicio del texto, más que para cantarlo, para evidenciarlo en todos sus valores. Por lo mismo—como muy bien escribe el crítico de *L’Osservatore Romano* Luigi Falt—Miguel Alonso concibe su obra en función de la ‘recitación’. A lo largo de la partitura encontramos frecuentes hallazgos rítmicos, ambientales o instrumentales.

Luis de Pablo ha conseguido en *Testimonio* una de sus obras mejor estructuradas, equilibrio que le viene dado claramente por un esquema formal. Será innecesario advertir que no se trata de formas arquitectónicas a lo clásico, sino de situación de tensiones y relajaciones de distinto tipo de organización de los elementos sonoros que acaban, a fin de cuentas, por hacernos diferenciar—independientemente del juego de las continuidades—unas a modo de ‘secciones’.

*Testimonio*—título un tanto enigmático como sucede con cuantos se apoyan en palabras de las que se abusa en todos los campos—me parece, en el fondo, una obra no demasiado ‘nueva’. Es una coquetería muy extendida en los compositores actuales esta de anunciar cosas absolutamente inéditas. Ingenua coquetería por cierto, ya que lo absolutamente nuevo, en todo caso, será aquello que el compositor diga con procedimientos y técnicas que no precisan

ser totalmente renovadas en cada nueva partitura. *Testimonio* está en línea con la producción anterior de De Pablo. Tal cual hallazgo, el desarrollo de cualquier aspecto particular o la evidencia de mayor soltura en el hacer, no modifican la cuestión de fondo.

Sí representa un giro bastante acusado dentro de su producción, *Secuencias*, de Cristóbal Halffter. En ellas la personalidad del autor de *Microformas* cede en su preocupación—o en su espontaneidad—constructiva para entregarse, en mucha mayor medida que en obras anteriores, a la creación de un cuerpo sonoro fluido y flexible con ‘acontecimientos’ inteligentemente planteados y resueltos con absoluto dominio. El ‘hilo’ de *Secuencias* no puede ser más simple: a partir del ruido para llegar de modo progresivo al sonido de las cuerdas pasando por las distintas familias instrumentales. El plan da como resultado una serie de ‘estructuras’ cuyo valor incluso constructivo viene presidido principalmente por el factor tímbrico en combinación con la proporción de los tiempos. Mas el interés mayor de la página, su belleza también (¿hay en el arte interés sin belleza?), reside en la serie de ‘sucesos’ que se desarrollan ante nosotros, cada uno bien diferenciado y todos perfectamente coherentes. Tan grande es la mutación de Halffter en esta su última obra, que desde ella podríamos emparentarlo con un autor con el que anteriormente nada tuvo que ver, como es el polaco Penderecki. Obra fresca, sumamente atractiva, amplía en medida notable los rasgos definitorios del compositor.

LOS INTERPRETES [sic]

Noche de triunfo para Rafael Frühbeck y la Orquesta Nacional. El joven conductor superó con brillantez la prueba de los 'cuatro estrenos' y todos ellos los montó con preciso conocimiento y actitud de entrega. Fueron oídas las obras con seguridad, hechas como repertorio en la conciencia del maestro. Y hay que anotar que cada página estaba cargada de dificultades que las de De Pablo y Halffter planteaban incluso procedimientos de marcaje no habituales. Servicios así podrían no proporcionar éxitos multitudinarios, pero aureolan una carrera y otorgan consistencia al director de nuestro primer conjunto sinfónico, obligado, por naturaleza, a la defensa de la música española y, de modo particular, a la de su tiempo. A fe que en esta ocasión los compositores jóvenes han tenido en Frühbeck un defensor ardiente, serio y pleno de competencia. No es tan fácil, ni aquí ni fuera de aquí, gozar de primeras audiciones tan responsables y brillantes. Los solistas Jesús Aguirre y Raimundo Torres, en cometidos difíciles, los resolvieron con buen arte, seguidores no sólo de las indicaciones, sino de la tónica moral impuesta por el director. El Orfeón Donostiarra cantó la obra del P., Alonso de manera excelente, y la Orquesta Nacional consiguió una de sus más fecundas jornadas.

El colofón de varios fragmentos de 'Atlántida' alcanzó mayor calidad en el 'Himno hispánico' que en el 'Prólogo' o la 'Salve', excesivamente interpretada en estilo 'orfeónico'.

Recibieron aplausos, con el director, Frühbeck, el de los Coros, Gorostidi, los solistas y el P. Alonso, único compositor que subió al estrado a recoger las ovaciones. Para los demás, que no se hicieron presentes en la escena, las hubo, en mayor medida para la 'guardia' que para la 'vanguardia', otorgadas por ese público especial de las grandes solemnidades.

### **3. Fernando Ruiz Coca, *El Alcázar*, 18 June 1964.**

Estreno de obras del Padre Miguel Alonso, Halffter y Luis de Pablo.

Apenas clausurado el I Festival de Ópera, suena de nuevo la música en lo que viene a ser la culminación artística de la conmemoración de los veinticinco años de paz: un concierto brillantísimo en el teatro del Ministerio de Información y Turismo, interpretado por la Orquesta Nacional, que tenía en sus atriles pentagramas nuevos, escritos expresamente para la solemne ocasión por jóvenes compositores españoles. No son músicas para la nostalgia estas que han compuesto el padre Miguel Alonso, Cristóbal Halffter y Luis de Pablo. La Junta Interministerial encargada de la celebración, que pidió las obras, parece haber querido hacerlo bajo un signo de esperanza. Y ello está bien, porque lo que realmente importa no es tanto lo que se haya hecho en este cuarto de siglo, sino lo que, gracias a estos años, podemos hoy afrontar. De Pablo, Halffter y Miguel Alonso inician su adolescencia en los años de nuestra posguerra. Entre los maestros—Falla, Turina, Rodrigo, Ernesto Halffter, Esplá, Mompou, Guridi...—, ellos, junto a otros muchachos, quisieron encontrar su propio camino: saben rendir la admiración justa, pero sin renunciar a la insobornable fidelidad a sí mismos. Su ambición la ponen en superar la época de la música nacionalista, que, en el concierto mundial, nos relegaba al amable rincón de las curiosidades pintorescas. Y, quemando gozosamente las ambiciosas etapas, se recobra, así, en nuestros días, una universalidad que sólo Falla, en los suyos, conoció. Hoy, las obras de Halffter, Miguel Alonso [...] De Pablo las publican importantes editoriales europeas, y son interpretadas en

todo el mundo: su españolía no es producto de fórmulas folclóricas, sino que nace de la profunda personalidad de sus autores.

*Visión profética*, para solistas, coro y orquesta, del padre Miguel Alonso, está compuesta sobre textos del profeta Joel, a cuyo servicio se ciñe la música. El autor, maestro de capilla de la iglesia española en Roma y subdirector de la importante revista internacional de música sagrada *Psalterium*, conoce bien las corrientes del arte actual, que utiliza con la prudencia que su género exige: hay un dinamismo dramático en estos pentagramas, que comentan y subrayan la 'recitación' de las profecías. El libre contrapunto, los recursos de la bitonalidad, la eficaz técnica coral y de la orquestación, contribuyen a crear un clima altamente expresivo y rico en sugerencias de seguro y directo impacto.

Luis de Pablo ha logrado *Testimonio* su más importante composición orquestal. Se trata de una estructura en que juega la oposición entre sucesivas tensiones y distensiones buscadas en las distintas densidades orquestales y cualificadas por el timbre de los instrumentos. Hay en estas sutilísimas atmósferas sonoras, logradas con una técnica estadística de verdadera orfebrería como una herencia lejana del mejor y más lúcido Debussy.

En *Secuencias*, Cristóbal Halffter gusta de trabajar en ese mundo impreciso que separa el ruido del sonido tradicionalmente musical. Partiendo del primero, va gradualmente organizando su obra como en el paso del caos a un mundo tenso y dinámicamente ordenado, que fluye a través del tiempo, 'temporalizando' al máximo: cada instante es eslabón irreversible, coloreado fugaz y definitivamente, como en un transcurrir existencial.

*Visión profética*, *Testimonio* y *Secuencias* tuvieron la compañía de *Cuevas de Nerja* de Ángel Arteaga, que ha obtenido el importantísimo premio internacional

que le da título, presentada como preestreno, ya que su primera audición oficial se hará en el festival del mes próximo, en Nerja, a cuyo momento aplazamos nuestro comentario. Final y coronación de la memorable velada fueron varios fragmentos de *Atlántida*, de Falla—‘La Atlántida sumergida’, ‘Himnus Hispánicus’, ‘Las Carabelas y Salve. En ellos, como en ‘Visión profética’, del padre Alonso, el Orfeón Donostiarra, preparado por Gorostidi, realizó una estupenda labor por la buena afinación, la musicalidad, el empaste y el permanente buen gusto. También fue muy digna la colaboración de los solistas Jesús Aguirre y Raimundo Torres. Frühbeck, segurísimo director de todos, sensible y entregado a las nuevas y difíciles técnicas, supo obtener de la Orquesta Nacional versiones claras y precisas y, sobre todo, substancialmente musicales, que la radio y la televisión llevó a todos los hogares españoles. Todas las obras e intérpretes fueron largamente aplaudidos, recogiendo el padre Alonso personalmente la ovación.

El concierto de gala, al que asistieron altas jerarquías del Gobierno, Cuerpo diplomático y numerosas personalidades—los príncipes don Juan Carlos y doña Sofía ocuparon uno de los palcos—fue presidido por la esposa de Su Excelencia el Jefe del Estado, a la que recibió el ministro, señor Fraga Iribarne, siendo saludada con el Himno Nacional.

#### **4. Tachín, *El Correo Español-El Pueblo Vasco*, 18 June 1964.**

Grandioso éxito del ‘Concierto de la Paz’.

Gran noche para la música en el Teatro del Ministerio de Información y Turismo; lleno. En un palco, doña Carmen Polo de Franco. En otro, los príncipes Juan Carlos y Sofía. Ministros, personalidades y—el tópico es

inevitable—el ‘todo Madrid’. Era el ‘Concierto de la Paz’. En el escenario nada menos que el Orfeón Donostiarra. Es trenos de Arteaga, Halffter, De Pablo y Alonso. Este músico eclesiástico provocó grandes ovaciones. Los orfeonistas donostiarras, tan espléndidos y ajustados como siempre, así como la Orquesta Nacional. Juan Gorostidi y Rafael Frühbeck recogieron las entusiastas ovaciones de la concurrencia entusiasmada ante la versión de *Atlántida*. El brillante concierto fue retransmitido y televisado por Televisión Española, por lo que llegó a la más modesta aldea donde haya—que lo hay—un televisor. A veces, raras veces—lo hemos dicho ya—nos alegramos de que el progreso no se detenga.

##### **5. Fernando López-Lerdo de Tejada, *Ritmo*, 345, July 1964.**

Noche de gala, noche de la máxima significación española aquella en que ante Su Excelencia Doña Carmen Polo de Franco, esposa del Jefe del Estado Español, asistíamos al ‘Concierto de la Paz’, organizado por el Ministerio de información y Turismo, en el teatro del dicho departamento. La presencia de Doña Carmen en este acto, la inclusión en el programa de cuatro obras de compositores jóvenes españoles y la rúbrica del concierto con unos fragmentos de la *Atlántida*, del maestro Falla, no podía ser mejor resumen de lo que han sido estos 25 Años de Paz, que Dios quiera podamos disfrutar muchos más para el bien de la Patria y de todos los que en ella vivimos.

No se tome en tono de censura. Pero cuatro estrenos en un mismo programa, con obras que no se dominan por el crítico, nos parece demasiado para poder realizar un comentario ponderado, hondo y eficaz para estas obras sin detrimento de sus autores y los elementos constitutivos de las mismas.

Indudablemente, las obras de Ángel Arteaga y Miguel Alonso fueron, a nuestro juicio, lo mejor del concierto, ya que los otros dos estrenos pueden considerarse como una experiencia de laboratorio, sin que ello quiera significar que lo desechamos por negar la evidencia de la música en su contenido, sino que se trata de algo que no está consagrado y admitido por el auditor; una música, sí, de nuestro tiempo, pero que aquí nos llega con evidente retraso y en otras partes se está rechazando de plano, salvo en ciertas minorías, donde tiene plena y justificada vigencia.

Pero para evitar malas interpretaciones desentrañemos el desarrollo del programa por el mismo orden que tuvo el mismo. Y la primera obra corresponde al compositor Ángel Arteaga, músico neto, de quien conocemos muy pocas obras en Madrid, salvo un par de ellas que se dieron en audición minoritaria del Aula de Música, en el Ateneo; su título, *Cueva de Nerja*, que corresponde al Premio Internacional del Ministerio de Información y Turismo 1963-64. Consta de cuatro tiempos, no muy amplios de duración, y en ellos se observa una línea de construcción musical muy del día, con recursos técnicos de última hora, respondiendo a procedimientos atonales, de marcado sentido vanguardista y universal, pero con un contenido y una 'garra' de auténtico signo español. Encontramos una gran riqueza rítmica y el discurso musical se muestra muy fluido, en tal forma que, a pesar de esta carencia tonal que se cita, hay momentos de auténtico lirismo, de ambiente esperanzador, sin ese sello de incontenible angustia que se advierte en el compositor de hoy.

Luis de Pablo y Cristóbal Halffter, en obras de la misma categoría musical, en ese género que ellos cultivan se han propuesto dos caminos divergentes. El primero, con *Testimonio*, pretende llegar con el sonido a la solución de los

máximos problemas del mismo, sin darse tregua para establecer un discurso musical coherente, ni que se establezca una línea musical continuada, al estilo tradicional. El segundo emplea en *Secuencias* algo que, por las pretensiones de su autor, pudiera ser como lograr la fusión del binomio «ruido-música», ya que el ruido es un elemento más que interviene en la consecución de una página musical. Y en ésta que se comenta, su autor ha demostrado perfectamente lo que desea y su buen 'oficio' de músico, pese a la opinión contraria de muchos. Y así, junto al ruido de la sala, viene la incorporación del puramente musical hecho el silencio del público.

En *Visión profética*, de Miguel Alonso, se sigue la más pura esencia de la música tradicional española, y el autor emplea un lenguaje actual, pero sin olvidarse en ciertos momentos de aquello que es consustancial a los españoles, un lenguaje en el que las citas a lo Falla no están ausentes. El compositor observa una honda preocupación por estar al día de las corrientes estéticas actuales, pero sin olvidar el mundo de la tonalidad; la obra contiene un hondo dramatismo y descarnada realidad, pero dando paso a una alegría esperanzadora.

Y de Falla nada vamos a reiterar, puesto que ha sido ampliamente comentado desde estas páginas por quien escribe ahora y por otros, su contenido y la significación que encierra *Atlántida*.

Sólo nos queda cerrar con un breve comentario la interpretación de Jesús Aguirre en *Visión profética*, y de Raimundo Torres en ésta y en *Atlántida*, diciendo que estuvieron a la altura de las circunstancias, salvando las enormes dificultades que encierran ambas obras, tanto en dirección como en tesitura. Y esta maravilla del Orfeón Donostiarra, inteligentemente regentado por Juan

Gorostidi. Observamos con cuánto cariño y mimo han cuidado la parte coral y resuelto los problemas de ajuste en las voces—evitando el evidente peligro de ‘desgarro’—realizándolo con naturalidad, que impide la desafinación forzada, en el caso de no dominarse la situación como ellos la dominaron. Esta naturalidad supone muchas horas de estudio, ensayos, desvelos y machacona reiteración en el trabajo. Por ello queremos dar fe, con auténtica satisfacción del éxito logrado.

La Orquesta Nacional de España fue una vez más el conjunto e instrumento del cual nos sentimos orgullosos todos los españoles, una entidad de estos 25 Años de Paz que muy pronto cumplirá sus primeras bodas de plata, y cuya labor segura se va afirmando cada vez más. A su frente la juventud y la labor firme de su titular, el maestro Rafael Frübeck, con atinada seguridad, maestría singular, en forma convincente para todos, y demostrando que es una de las principales figuras de la dirección orquestal no sólo de España, sino del extranjero, codo a codo con maestros de indiscutible signo universal.

El público, que llenó absolutamente todo el teatro, aplaudió y calibró en su medida justa las intervenciones de todos, así como la valía de cuanto se sometió a su consideración.

#### **6. José María Franco, Ya, 17 June 1964.**

En la conmemoración de los veinticinco años de paz no ha querido el ministerio de Información y Turismo que quedase ausente la música y por ello ha organizado un concierto de gala, que se celebró anoche en el teatro del ministerio. La esposa de Su Excelencia el Jefe del Estado, doña Carmen Polo de Franco, se hallaba en un palco con los señores de Fraga Iribarne y Nieto

Antúnez. Otro palco estaba ocupado por los príncipes don Juan y doña Sofía.

Muchas personalidades figuraban entre el selecto auditorio.

La esposa del Jefe del Estado fue recibida y despedida con los acordes del Himno Nacional.

El programa presentaba, con excepción de los fragmentos de la “Atlántida”, del inolvidable músico español Manuel de Falla, tres obras encargadas a músicos jóvenes procedentes de la paz y el preestreno de la composición ganadora del premio instituido por el ministerio, *Cuevas de Nerja*, cuyo autor también se cuenta entre los jóvenes músicos españoles.

Esta presentación de la música española en su precisa dimensión de 1964 me ha parecido algo descorazonadora. Con la honrosa del maestro gaditano, cuyo innegable valor reconoce el mundo entero, poco fruto se recoge de esta labor, más bien experimental, que en persecución de nuevos moldes han emprendido unos cuantos jóvenes. Sin duda, los tiempos cambian, y con ellos hay que evolucionar, pero siempre debe perseguirse un fin, que en el arte musical, por ejemplo, debe ser eso: arte y música, que yo lo veo lejano en esta alquimia de sonidos y libertad de ruidos a los componentes de la orquesta.

Esto va especialmente dedicado a las obras *Testimonio*, de Luis de Pablo, y *Secuencias*, de Cristóbal Halffter. Aunque hay algunos momentos de acierto tímbrico en la del primero de los citados autores, poco es lo que puede llegar al público, que espera algo que le llegue al espíritu. El público otorgó sus aplausos a los compositores. La *Visión profética*, del padre Miguel Alonso, está escrita con adecuado carácter, si bien la declamación es a veces exagerada de expresión, forzando la tesitura del barítono; pero aunque emplea libertad armónica conserva una cierta base tonal y rítmica, así como línea melódica.

Los solistas fueron el tenor Jesús Aguirre y el barítono Raimundo Torres, que, como el Orfeón Donostiarra, estuvieron muy brillantes en su intervención. El maestro Frühbeck, al frente de la Orquesta Nacional, consiguió que la ejecución fuese notable y todos tuvieron su parte en la gran ovación que les tributó el auditorio, [...] como al autor, que hubo de salir a saludar varias veces. *La cueva de Nerja* es la obra premiada en el concurso, y en ella muestra su autor, Ángel Arteaga, un buen sentido de la orquesta, empleando con acierto sus sonoridades, y aunque no muy grande concepción temática, con cierto sentido constructivo.

*La Atlántida*, de Falla, tuvo un completo éxito: contribuyó a ello la excelente ejecución obtenida por el maestro Frühbeck, con la cooperación de Raimundo Torres, el magnífico Orfeón Donostiarra—cuyo director, el maestro Gorostidi, hubo de salir a saludar—y nuestra valiosa Orquesta Nacional, admirable resultado de estos veinticinco años de paz.

#### **7. Diego Belalcazar, 'Notas críticas de televisión', Ya, 17 June 1964.**

Anoche, Televisión Española retransmitió el 'Concierto de la paz'.

En presencia de las más destacadas personalidades del Gobierno, y en el cálido clima de las noches madrileñas, se ha vuelto a producir el milagro. Ha sido como una tibia transpiración, como un rocío benéfico, que ha invadido los campos y las aldeas de España. Todos: eruditos, cosmopolitas, labriegos, intelectuales. Todos han guardado silencio, obsequioso silencio, mientras la maestra batuta de Frühbeck [sic] amasaba la calma cristalina de la pequeña pantalla. Un millón de televisores en la geografía de España es como un millón de charcos en los que se refleja el cielo estrellado. Nunca se ha podido decir

con más propiedad: España se ha vestido de gala para asistir al concierto. En la última de las aldeas, perdidas en el valle, no huele esta noche a establo y a tomillo. Huele a noche de concierto, y los oboes salmodian con la amplia sonrisa de nuestras damas. ¡Bendita televisión de esta bendita España que goza de la paz de Dios!

## Appendix 4

### Programme of the I Festival de Música de América y España – 1964

#### Concerts

14 October 1964

Auditorium of the Ministry of Information and Tourism

Orquesta Nacional de España

Conductor: Guillermo Espinosa

Soloist: Luz Vernova, violin

Heitor Villa-Lobos (Brazil): *Sinfonía 12*

Rodolfo Halffter (Spain): *Concierto para violín y orquesta*

Aurelio de la Vega (Cuba): *Sinfonía en cuatro partes*

Harry Sommers (Canada): *Lírica para orquesta*

15 October 1964

Instituto de Cultura Hispánica

Agrupación Nacional de Música de Cámara and Quinteto de Viento de Madrid

Victorino Echevarría (Spain): *Música para muñecos de trapo*

Conrado del Campo (Spain): *Cuarteto en La Mayor 'Carlos III'*

Domingo Santa Cruz (Chile): *Quinteto para instrumentos de viento*

Blas Galindo (Mexico): *Quintetos para instrumentos de arco y piano*

17 October 1964

Auditorium of the Ministry of Information and Tourism

Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid and Coro de Radio Nacional de España

Conductors: Vicente Spiteri and Ernesto Halffter

Soloists: Ángeles Chamorro, soprano; Julio Catania, bass

Roberto Pineda Duque (Colombia): *Preludio sinfónico*

Ernesto Halffter (Spain): *Canticum in P.P. Johannem XXIII*

Celso Garrido-Lecca (Perú): *Sinfonía en tres partes*

Jesús Guridi (Spain): *Diez melodías vascas*

19 October 1964

Auditorium of the Ministry of Information and Tourism

Orquesta Municipal de Valencia

Conductor: Enrique Jordá

Soloist: Nicanor Zabaleta, harp; Alicia de Larrocha, piano

Aaron Copland (USA): *Noneto para cuerda*

Virgil Thomson (USA): *Suite de Otoño para arpa, cuerda y percusión*

Walter Piston (USA): *Capricho para arpa y orquesta de cuerda*

Enrique Solares (Guatemala): *Partita de cuerda*

Xavier Montsalvatge (Spain): *Concerto breve*

20 October 1964

Pittsburg Symphony Orchestra

21 October 1964

Auditorium of the Ministry of Information and Tourism

Orquesta Filarmónica de Madrid

Conductor: Odón Alonso

Soloist: R. Caamaño, piano

Julián Bautista (Spain): *Obertura grotesca*

Roberto Caamaño (Argentina): *Concierto para piano y orquesta*

Manuel Simó (Dominican Republic): *Rutas*

Quincy Porter (USA): *Estampas de Nueva Inglaterra*

Antonio Estévez (Venezuela): *Concierto para orquesta*

22 October 1964

Ateneo de Madrid

Grupo de Cámara de la Orquesta Filarmónica de Madrid y Coro de Radio

Nacional de España

Soloist: Carmen Pérez Durías

Luis de Pablo (Spain): *Cesuras*

Mario Davidovsky (Argentina): *Sincronismos 2*

José Vicente Asuar (Chile): *Preludio 'La noche' para cinta magnetofónica*

Gerald Strang (USA): *Pieza para el computador IBM7090 para cinta magnetofónica sola*

Carmelo A. Bernaola (Spain): *Mixturas*

José Soler (Spain): *Constantes rítmicas en el modo primero (Improperia ad honorem beatae Trinitatis)*

22 October 1964

Pittsburg Symphony Orchestra

24 October 1964

Auditorium of the Ministry of Information and Tourism

Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid and Coro de Radio Nacional de España

Conductor: Vicente Spiteri

Soloists: Yara Bernette; Raimundo Torres, bass

Juan Orrego Salas (Chile): *Sinfonía 3*

Mozart Camargo-Guarnieri (Brasil): *Variaciones sobre un tema nordestino*

Héctor Tosar (Uruguay): *Te Deum* para bajo, coro y orquesta

Joaquín Turina (Spain): *Sinfonía sevillana*

26 October 1964

Instituto de Cultura Hispánica

Cuarteto Clásico de Radio Nacional de España and Quinteto de Viento de Madrid

Soloist: Carmen Díez Martín, piano

Roberto Gerhard (Spain): *Cuarteto 2*

Francisco Escudero (Spain): *Cuarteto de cuerda*

Carlos Chávez (Mexico): *Soli II* para quinteto de viento

Gustavo Becerra (Chile): *Quinteto para piano y cuarteto de cuerda*

28 October 1964

Auditorium of the Ministry of Information and Tourism

Orquesta Filarmónica de Madrid and Coro de Radio Nacional de España  
Soloists: Isabel Penagos, José María Higuero, Raimundo Torres, Enrique Navarro, Carlos Garrido, Julián puerta y Agustín Barchino; Agustín León Ara, violin; Raimundo Torres, bass

Manuel de Falla (Spain): *El retablo de Maese Pedro*

Joaquín Rodrigo (Spain): *Concierto de Estío*

Federico Mompou (Spain): *Improperios*

31 October 1964

Auditorium of the Ministry of Information and Tourism

Orquesta Nacional de España

Conductor: Rafael Frühbeck de Burgos

Soloist: Sofía Bandín

Roque Cordero (Panama): *Segunda sinfonía*

Alberto Ginastera (Argentina): *Sinfonía de Don Rodrigo*

Cristóbal Halffter (Spain): *Secuencias*

Óscar Esplá (Spain): *Sinfonía Aitana (A la música tonal In Memoriam)*

### **Other activities**

14 October 1964

Instituto de Cultura Hispánica

Inauguration of the exhibition 'Manuel de Falla'

Enrique Franco: Colloquium 'Manuel de España y de América' (some sources say 'Manuel de Falla y América')

15 October 1964

Madrid Royal Conservatory

Reception presided by the director of the Madrid Royal Conservatory, Cristóbal Halffter

16 October 1964

Instituto de Cultura Hispánica

First session of the 'I Conversaciones de Música de América y España'

20 October 1964

Instituto de Cultura Hispánica

Second session of the 'I Conversaciones de Música de América y España'

22 October 1964

Sociedad General de Autores de España

Reception presided by the President of the Sociedad General de Autores de España

23 de octubre de 1964

Instituto de Cultura Hispánica

Third session of the 'I Conversaciones de Música de América y España'

24 October 1964  
Instituto de Cultura Hispánica  
Round table and press conference

25 October 1964  
Church of the PP. Dominicos de Alcobendas  
Religious service, concert of the Coro de Radio Nacional de España and lecture  
by Revd Federido Sopeña on 'Problemas de la Música Religiosa'

27 October 1964  
Instituto de Cultura Hispánica  
Fourth session 'I Conversaciones de Música de América y España'

29 October 1964  
Madrid City Hall  
Reception presided by the Mayor of Madrid

Brazil House  
Concert of the Rio de Janeiro Quartet

31 October 1964  
Instituto de Cultura Hispánica  
Closing reception of the exhibition 'Manuel de Falla'

## Appendix 5

### Programme of the Bienal Internacional de Música Contemporánea – 1964

#### Concerts

Orquesta Nacional  
Conductor: Maurice Le Roux  
Webern: *5 piezas op. 10*  
Messiaen: *Chronochromie*  
Xenakis: *Metastasis*  
Debussy: *Jeux*

Parrenin Quartet  
Maderna: *Cuarteto*  
Franco Evangelisti: *Aleatorio* (it was not played)  
Nikos Skalkottas: *Diez sketches*  
Maurice Ohana: *Secuencia*  
Toshiro Mayuzumi: *Cuarteto*  
Pierre Boulez: *Libro para cuarteto II*

Grupo de Grandes Conciertos de la Sorbona.  
Parrenin Quartet  
Conductor: Max Deutsch  
'Schoenberg: An Anniversary'  
*Suite op. 29*  
*Lieder de los jardines colgantes*  
*Oda a Napoleón*  
Op. 11  
Op. 33

Conductor: Enrique García Asension  
Miguel Angel Coria: *Vértices*  
Juan Hidalgo: *Caurga*  
Cristobal Halffter: *Espejos*  
Anton García Abril: *Homenaje a Miguel Hernández* Earle Brown: *Availables Forms I*  
Luigi Nono: *Polifonía, monodia, rítmica*

Severino Gazzelloni, flauta. Frederick Rzewski, piano. Julio Magro, percusión.  
Szöllösy,  
Fukushima, Ekagra / Mei  
Kotonski.  
Luciano Berio: *Secuencia*  
Seppo Nummi:  
Castiglioni:  
Olivier Messiaen, *Le merle noir*  
Luis de Pablo, *Recíproco para cuatro flautas, piano y percusión*

Frederik Rzewski, piano.  
John Cage: *Music of changes IV*  
Frederic Rzewski: *Poem*  
Karlheinz Stockhausen: *Klavierstück X*  
Christian Wolf: *Piece for piano with preparations*  
Morton Feldman: *Extensions 3*  
Rufold Komorous: *The devil's trill*  
Michael von Biel: *Septenary*  
Giuseppe Chiari: *Gesti sul piano*

Orquesta Nacional de España.  
Conductor: Benito Lauret  
Anton Webern: *Six Pieces* for orchestra op. 6.  
Arnold Schoenberg: *Lieder op. 22*  
Alban Berg: *Lieder de Altenberg* (Carla Henius, voz)  
Giorgy Ligeti: *Atmospheres*  
Carmelo Bernaola: *Espacios variados*  
Luis de Pablo: *Testimonio*

#### **Lectureseries:**

#### **'Examen de las diversas corrientes estéticas de la composición actual'**

President: HRH José Eugenio de Baviera y Borbón, President of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts 'San Fernando'  
Venue: Club Pueblo, 73, Huertas St., Madrid

30 November 1964

Manuel Valls Gorina (Spain): *Las graffías actuales: razones y problemas*

1 December 1964

Massimo Mila (Italy): *Significado general de la obra aleatoria*

2 December 1964

Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt (Germany): *La tímbrica como factor constructivo en la actual música*

3 December 1964

Vicente Salas Viu (Chile): *Examen de las diversas proyecciones de la nueva música*

5 December 1964

Jean Etienne Marie (France): *Los modernos medios de difusión y su influencia dentro de la música de nuestro tiempo*

6 December 1964

*Conclusions and closing reception*

## Appendix 6

### Programme of the Festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music – 1965

20 May 1965

Auditorium of the Ministry of Information and Tourism  
Orquesta Sinfónica de RTVE, Coro de RNE y Coral de Cámara “Tomás Luis de Victoria.

Conductor: Odón Alonso

Soloists: Alice Gabbai, mezzo; Tadashi Kitagawa, piano.

Yorgo Sicilianos (Greece): *Stasimon B*

Yoritsué Matsudaira (Japan): *Piano Concerto*

Friedrich Cerha (Austria): *Spiegel II*

André Jolivet (Francia): *Second Symphony*

21 May 1965

Auditorium of the Instituto Nacional de Previsión

Conductors: José María Franco Gil, Gilbert Amy and Heinz Holliger

Soloists: Keith Puddy, clarinet; Vivian Troon, piano; Teresa Torné, soprano

Alexander Goehr (England): *Fantasies op. 3 for clarinet and piano*

Riccardo Malipiero (Italy): *In Time of Daffodils*

Gilbert Amy (France): *Alpha-Betha*

Luis de Pablo (Spain): *Polar op. 12*

22 May 1965

Auditorium of the Ministry of Information and Tourism

Orquesta Nacional de España

Conductor: Rafael Fruhbeck de Burgos

Soloists: Elizabeth Grummer, soprano; Agustín León-Ara, violin

Rudolf Maros (Hungary): *Eufonía 64*

Ake Hermanson (Sweden): *In nuce*

Aribert Reimann (Germany): *Hölderlin-Fragmente*

Alban Berg: *Violin Concerto*

Andrzej Dobrowolski (Poland): *Muzyka na orkiestre*

Cristóbal Halffter (Spain): *Secuencias*

24 May 1965

Auditorium of the Instituto Nacional de Previsión

Conductor: José María Franco Gil

Gunther Schuller (USA): *Music for brass quintet*

Carrillo Togni (Italy): *Rondeaux per Dieci*

Peter Kolman (Czechoslovakia): *Canonic Sonata*

Jürg Wyttenbach (Switzerland): *Divisions*

Shin-Ichi Matsushita (Japan): *Fresque sonore pour 7 instruments*

Ton De Kruyf (Holland): *Einst dem Grau...*

Noam Sheriff (Israel): *Destination 5'*

25 May 1965

Auditorium of the Ministry of Information and Tourism

Orquesta Nacional de España

Coro de RNE y Coral de Cámara "Tomás Luis de Victoria

Conductor: Rafael Fruhbeck de Burgos

Antón García Abril (Spain): *Homenaje a Miguel Hernández*

Óscar Esplá: *Sonata del Sur*

Ernesto Halffter: *Canticum in P. P. Johannem XXIII*

Xavier Montsalvatge: *Desintegración morfológica de la chacona de Bach*

26 May 1965

Auditorium of the Ministry of Information and Tourism

Orquesta Sinfónica de RTVE

Coro de RNE y Coral de Cámara "Tomás Luis de Victoria"

Conductor: Odón Alonso

Bo Nilsson (Sweden): *Szene II*

Arve Nordheim (Norway): *Epitaffio per orchestra & nastro magnetico*

Kazimierz Serocki (Poland): *Freski symfoniczne*

Igor Stravinsky (USA): *Abraham and Isaac*

Antón Webern: *Symphony op. 21*.

Arnold Schoenberg: *A Survivor from Warsaw*

28 May 1965

Teatro María Guerrero

Orquesta Filarmónica de Madrid

Coro de RNE y Coral de Cámara "Tomás Luis de Victoria

Conductors: Enrique García Asensio and Jesús López Cobos

Alberto Ginastera (Argentina): *Bomarzo*

René Koering (France): *Combat T 3 N*

Manuel de Falla: *El Retablo de Maese Pedro*

## Appendix 7

### Programme of the II Festival de América y España – 1967

Festival organizado por el Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, con la colaboración de la Organización de Estados Americanos y de los ministerios españoles de Asuntos Exteriores, Educación y Ciencia e Información y Turismo

Comité de programas y encargos: Ernesto Halffter (compositor), Guillermo Espinosa (director de orquesta), Cristóbal Halffter (compositor), Odón Alonso (compositor y Antonio Iglesias (musicólogo).

#### Concerts

14 October 1967

Auditorium of Ministerio de Información y Turismo

Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional de Washington

Conductor: Howard Mitchell

Luís A. Escobar (Colombia): *Pequeña sinfonía n. 2*

Joaquín Rodrigo (Spain): *Música para un jardín*

Alberto Ginastera (Argentina): *Concierto para piano y orquesta*

Aaron Copland (Estados Unidos): *Symphony n. 3*

15 October 1967

Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial

Organ: R. P. Paulino Ortiz

Organ recital. Works by Antonio de Cabezón, J. José Cabanilles, Joaquín Oxinagas, P. Antonio Soler and F. Correa de Arauxo)

Auditorium of the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica

Quartet of RTVE

Jesús García Leoz (Spain): Quartet with piano

Gerardo Gombau (Spain): *Música 3 + 1*

José Maria Mestres-Quadreny (Spain): *Música per a Anna*

Xavier Benguerel (Spain): *Dos lieder sobre Joan Salvat*

Agustín Bertomeu (Spain): *Música para cuarteto, op. 5*

Claudio Prieto (Spain): *Cuarteto*

16 October 1967

Teatro Real

Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional de Washington

October: Guillermo Espinosa

Harry Freedman (Canada): *Symphony. 1*

Jorge Sarmientos (Guatemala): *Concierto para cinco timbales y orquesta*

Jacqueline Nova (Colombia): *Doce móviles para conjunto de cámara*

William Schuman (Estados Unidos): *Judith*

17 October 1967

Auditorium of the Real Conservatorio de Música

Claremont Quartet

Sergio Cervetti (Uruguay): *Cinco episodios para violín, violonchelo y piano*

Eduardo Maturana (Chile): *Cuarteto de cuerda*

Ezra Laderman (USA): *String Quartet n. 2*

Manuel Castillo (Spain): *Cuatro invenciones para cuarteto de cuerda*

18 October 1967

Teatro Real

Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional de Washington

Conductors: Howard Mitchel y Enrique García Asensio

Carmelo A. Bernaola (Spain): *Heterofonías*

Juan José Castro (Argentina): *Concierto para piano y orquesta*

Domingo Santa Cruz (Chile): *Sinfonía n. 3, op. 34 'In Memoriam'*

Samuel Barber (USA): *Meditación y danza de la venganza de Medea*

19 October 1967

Sala del Instituto de Cultura Hispánica

Claremont Quartet

Héctor Campos Parsi (Puerto Rico): *Cuarteto*

Joaquín Orellana (Guatemala): *Trío para cuerda*

Hilda Dianda (Argentina): *Cuarteto III*

Joaquín Homs (Spain): *Cuarteto*

Gunther Schuller (USA): *String Quartet*

20 October 1967

Auditorium of the Ateneo de Madrid

Orquesta de Cámara de Madrid

Conductor: Franco Gil

Enrique Pinilla (Perú): *Tres movimientos para percusión y piano*

León Schidlowsky (Chile): *Concierto para seis instrumentos*

Narcís Bonet (Spain): *La pell de brau sobre poemas de Salvador Espriu*

Mario Davidovsky (Argentina): *Estudio n. 3 para cinta magnetofónica 'In Memoriam Edgar Varese'*

Julián Bautista (Spain): *Catro poemas galegos*

Rodolfo Halffter (España): *Sonata III*

21 October 1967

Teatro de la Zarzuela

Orquesta Filarmónica de Madrid y Coral de la Universidad de Madrid

Conductor: Odón Alonso

Leonardo Balada (Spain): *Concierto para guitarra y orquesta*

Óscar Esplá (Spain): *Nochebuena del diablo*

22 de octubre de 1967

Auditorium of the Instituto Nacional de Industria

Grupo Koan

Conductor: Arturo Tamayo

Joan Guinjoán (Spain): *Célula n. 1*  
Eduardo Mata (Mexico): *Improvisación n. 3*  
Ramón Barce (Spain): *Objetos sonoros*  
Juan Hidalgo (Spain): *Los holas (música, etc.)*  
Mauricio Kagel (Argentina): *Transición para piano, percusión y dos cintas magnetofónicas*  
Agustín G. Acilu (Spain): *Estructura para 24 sonidos*  
Earle Brown (USA): *Folio (December 52)*  
Tomás Marco (Spain): *Anna Blume*

24 October 1967

Auditorium of the Ministerio de Información y Turismo  
Orquesta Sinfónica de la Radio Televisión Española y Coro de la RTVE  
Conductor: Antoni Ros-Marbá  
Luis de Pablo (Spain): *Módulos II*  
Gene Gutche (USA): *Symphony n. 5, op. 34*  
Antonio Tauriello (Argentina): *Canti para violín y orquesta*  
Fernando Remacha (Spain): *Jesucristo en la cruz*

25 October 1967

Auditorium of the Real Conservatorio de Música  
Brazilian Quartet  
Edino Krieger (Brasil): *Cuarteto n. 1*  
Roberto García-Morillo (Argentina): *I Cuarteto de Arcos, op. 19*  
José Muñoz-Molleda (Spain): *Cuarteto n. 1*

26 October 1967

Teatro Real  
Orquesta Sinfónica de la RTVE y Coro de la RTVE  
Conductor: Enrique García Asensio  
Carlos Tuxen-Bang (Argentina): *Abysus, serie de siete piezas para orquesta*  
Lukas Foss (USA): *Para 24 instrumentos de viento*  
Héctor Tosar (Uruguay): *Cuatro piezas para orquesta*  
Cristóbal Halffter (Spain): *Simposion para barítono solo, coro mixto y orquesta*

27 October 1967

Auditorium of the Ateneo de Madrid  
Enrique Granados, In Memoriam  
Piano: Rosa Sabater  
Enrique Granados: *Danzas españolas, Goyescas (primera parte) and El Pelele (Goyescas)*

28 October 1967

Teatro Real  
Orquesta Nacional de España y Coro de RTVE  
Conductor: Carlos Chávez  
Claudio Santoro (Brazil): *Sinfonia n. 8*  
Julián Orbón (Cuba): *Monte Gelboe: Lamentación de David por la muerte de Saúl y Jonatán para tenor, clave, concertante y orquesta*

Carlos Chávez (Mexico): *Elatio*  
Ernesto Halffter (Spain): *Salmos XX y CXVI*

### **Other activities**

14 October 1967

Instituto de Cultura Hispánica

Inauguration of the exhibition about Enrique Granados and lecture by Antonio Fernández-Cid: 'Enrique Granados, compositor español'

15 October 1967

Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial

Conferencia de Federido Sopeña: 'La música en el Monasterio del Escorial'

Instituto de Cultura Hispánica

Lecture by Enrique Franco: 'La música de cámara española contemporánea'

28 October 1967

Auditorium of the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica

Lecture by Conchita Badía: 'En torno a Enrique Granados'

## Appendix 8

### Programme of the III Festival de América y España – 1970

Festival organizado por el Instituto de Cultura Hispánica y la Dirección General de Bellas Artes con la colaboración de la Organización de Estados Americanos, los ministerios españoles de Asuntos Exteriores, Educación y Ciencia e Información y Turismo.

Comité de programas: Odón Alonso, Guillermo Espinosa, Enrique Franco, Cristóbal Halfter, Antonio Iglesias y José Tordesillas.

\* Estreno mundial

\*\* Primera audición en Europa

\*\*\* Primera audición en España

#### Conciertos

1 October 1970

Teatro Real

Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid

Conductor: Vicente Spiteri

Carmelo A. Bernaola (Spain): *Espacios variados*

Marlos Nobre (Brazil): *Concierto breve para piano y orquesta* \*\* (soloist: M. Nobre)

Héctor Quintanar (Mexico): *Galaxias* \*\*

Alicia Tercian (Argentina): *Concierto para violín y orquesta* \*\* (soloist: Szymsla Bajour)

2 October 1970

Auditorium of the Ateneo de Madrid

Grupo Alea

Conductor: Alcides Lanza

Gilberto Mendes (Brazil): *Blirium A-9* \*\*

Alfredo del Mónaco (Venezuela): *Estudio electrónico* \*

Mesías Maiguashca (Ecuador): *Solo* \*

Alcides Lanza (Argentina): *Penetrations II* \*\*

Edgar Valcárcel (Perú): *Fisiones* \*\*

John Cage (USA): *Atlas Eclipticalis*

Gonzalo de Olavide (Spain): *Sistemas II*

3 October 1970

Auditorium of the Ateneo de Madrid

José A. Almeida Prado (Brazil): *Cantus Creationis para cuatro grupos instrumentales* \*\*

Rafael Aponte-Ledés (Puerto Rico): *Elejía [sic] para cuerdas* \*\*

Edgar Varese (USA): *Densidad 21,5* for flute (soloist: Francisco Maganto)

Blas Emilio Atehortúa (Colombia): *Concertante para timbales y conjunto de cámara* (soloist: José Martín Porrás)

Luis de Pablo (Spain): *Prosodia*  
Gabriel Brnele (Chile): *Quodlibet XIII para conjunto de cámara* \*\*  
César Bolaños (Peru): *Divertimento III (Densidad I)* \*\*  
Alberto Villalpando (Bolivia): *Música para piano y pequeña orquesta* \*\*  
(soloist: Ana María Gorostiaga)

4 October 1970

Auditorium of the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica  
“La música española en tiempos del descubrimiento de América – La música en las cortes de Carlos I y de Felipe II”  
Soprano: Elvira Padín; tenor: José Foronda

5 October 1970

Madrid City Hall  
Philadelphia Quartet  
Mario Lavista (Mexico): *Diacronía* \*\*  
Sergio Cervetti (Uruguay): *Zinctum para cuarteto de cuerda* \*\*  
Agustín Bertomeu (Spain): *Confluencia sobre Do sostenido* \*  
Robert Suderburg (USA): *Chamber Music II*

6 October 1970

Auditorium of the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica  
Philadelphia Quartet  
León Kirchner (USA): *String Quartet n. 1*  
Manuel Enríquez (Mexico): *Cuarteto n. 2* \*\*  
Tomás Marco (Spain): *Aura para cuarteto de cuerda* \*\*\*  
Gustavo Becerra (Chile): *Cuarteto de cuerda n. 4*

7 October 1970

Teatro Real  
Orquesta Filarmónica de Madrid  
Conductor: José Serebrier  
Juan José Castro (Argentina): *Corales criollos* \*\*\*  
Guillermo Uribe Holguín (Colombia): *Ceremonia indígena* \*\*  
Xavier Montsalvatge (Spain): *Cinco invocaciones al crucificado*  
John Corigliano (USA): *Concierto para piano y orquesta* \*\* (soloist: Hilde Somer)

8 October 1970

Teatro Real  
Orquesta Nacional de España  
Conductor: Rafael Frühbeck de Burgos  
Yannis Ioannidis (Venezuela): *Metaplasis A para orquesta* \*  
Joaquín Rodrigo (Spain): *Concierto para violonchelo y orquesta* (soloist: Pedro Gorostola)  
Bruce Mather (Canada): *Symphonic Ode* \*\*  
Alberto Ginastera (Argentina): *Concierto para arpa y orquesta* \*\*\* (soloist: Nicanor Zabaleta)

9 October 1970

Teatro Real

Orquesta y Coros de la RTVE

Conductor: Enrique García Asensio

Arthur Custer (USA): *Found objects II* \*\*

Heitor Villa-Lobos (Brazil): *Concierto para piano y orquesta n. 1 en Do mayor*

(soloist: Luis Galve)

Antonio Tauriello (Argentina): *Mansión de Tlaloc* \*

Óscar Esplá (España): *Llamada de amor viva, cantata sobre texto de San*

*Juan de la Cruz* (soloist: Dolores Pérez)

10 October 1970

Auditorium of the Ateneo de Madrid

Cardinal Wind Quintet

Virtú Maragno (Argentina): *Divertimento* \*\*

Oswaldo Lacerda (Brazil): *Variaciones y fuga para quinteto de viento* \*\*

Celso Garrido-Lecca (Perú): *Divertimento para quinteto de viento*

Gerardo Gombau (España): *Texturas y estructuras*

Walter Piston (Estados Unidos): *Quintet*

11 October 1970

Teatro Real

Orquesta y Coros de la RTVE

Conductor: Odón Alonso

Cristóbal Halffter (Spain): *Anillos*

Rodolfo Halffter (Spain): *Diferencias para orquesta* \*\*

Ernesto Halfter (Spain): *Los gozos de nuestra Señora, cantata para solistas,*

*coro mixto y orquesta con texto del Marqués de Santillana* (soloists: Isabel

Penagos, Carmen Sinovas, Ángeles Nistal, Julián Molina, Antonio Blancas y

Julio Catania)

### **Other activities**

1 October 1970

Comisaría General de la Música

Inauguration of the exhibition 'Higinio Anglés (In Memoriam)'

5 October 1970

Comisaría General de la Música

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