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Music and Exile in Francoist Spain

EVA MOREDA RODRIGUEZ

An Ashgate Book

MUSIC AND EXILE IN FRANCOIST SPAIN

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LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2016 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

The Library of Congress has cataloged the printed edition as follows:
Moreda Rodríguez, Eva.
Music and exile in Francoist Spain / by Eva Moreda Rodriguez.
pages cm
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-4724-5004-3 (hardcover)
1. Music – Political aspects – Spain – History –
20th century. 2. Musicians, Exiled – 20th century. 3. Musicians – Spain. 4. Halffter, Rodolfo, 1900–1987. 5. Bacarisse, Salvador, 1898-1963. 6. Gerhard, Roberto, 1896–1970. 7. Salazar, Adolfo, 1890–1958. I. Title.

ML3917.S73M67 2015
780.946'0904–dc23

2015019030

ISBN 9781472450043 (hbk)

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Acknowledgements

Five years ago, a 1959 letter from Argentinean composer Alberto Ginastera to Spanish exiled composer Julián Bautista fell into my hands, almost by chance. At the time, I was pursuing a rather different project as a research fellow at the McCann Collection of the Royal Academy of Music in London, but I recognized Ginastera's and Bautista's names and read on. The letter proved that the Franco regime had tried to secure Bautista's support and collaboration in the late 1950s, twenty years after Bautista, fleeing that same regime, settled in Argentina. Having researched music under the Franco regime in the past, I had often wondered whether the exiles had kept any connections with their home country after they left Spain, and Ginastera's letter encouraged me to engage with this question more seriously. I applied for, and was awarded, a Music & Letters Trust Award to conduct further research on Bautista in Madrid; one year later an article based on that research was published and my initial idea had grown into a project encompassing several other Spanish exiled composers. This allowed me to join the School of Culture and Creative Arts at the University of Glasgow as a Lord Kelvin Adam Smith Research Fellow, a time of enormous professional and personal rewards of which this book is the culmination. Therefore, my thanks go to Norman McCann for amassing the collection in which I found the letter, to Janet Snowman for her help in navigating the collection, to Alberto Ginastera for writing the letter, to Julián Bautista for being its addressee and to the Department of Academic Studies at the Royal Academy for hosting my research during the year that saw the foundations of this research project.

I am also grateful to staff of the following archives and libraries for their expert assistance in the years that followed: Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Archivo Pilar Bayona, Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Biblioteca Valenciana, British Library, Cambridge University Library, Centre d'Estudis Vallencs, Fundación Juan March, Lilly Library at the University of Indiana, National Library of Scotland, Senate House Library and Westminster Music Library. My thanks go also to the School of Culture and Creative Arts at the University of Glasgow for having hosted my research and provided institutional and financial support for the last two years. One grant from the Music & Letters Trust and two Carnegie Trust Small Grants enabled me to conduct research in Spain, while an Everett Helm Visiting Fellowship took me to the Lilly Library at the University of Indiana, where I had the privilege of examining the archival collection of composer Julián Orbón.

Several colleagues kindly offered their time to comment on aspects of the project at various moments of development, including Rachel Beckles Willson,

Martin Cloonan, David Code, Björn Heile, Erik Levi, Samuel Llano and John Williamson. Staff at Ashgate and two anonymous readers also provided invaluable help in refining my initial project into book form. Through the last eight years, my family has been a source of constant support and encouragement; to them and to my partner, Martin Ferry, I would like to express my most heartfelt thanks.

Introduction

This book tells the stories of several Spanish composers who went into exile as a result of the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). Most of these stories bear significant family resemblances to widespread tropes and archetypes broadly applicable to any exile. Some of these composers appear to have been cut off from their milieu, from the audiences for which they had written music for several years, from the networks that had supported and nurtured them. In exile, they seemed to languish without realizing their own ambitions or the expectations others had placed on them. Salvador Bacarisse is an example: he had caused outrage as an *enfant terrible* in 1920s and 1930s Madrid, but apparently became more conservative and uninteresting in exile. Jaume Pahissa was already 57 years old when he left Spain in 1937. He had a solid career in Barcelona behind him, as well as a reputation as a staunch Wagnerite and a pioneer of chromaticism in Catalan music. However, the last decades of his life in Buenos Aires, where he took on a variety of jobs and commissions in order to make a living, were perhaps not as glorious as might have been expected: he found it difficult to have his concert works performed and instead turned to composing for the amateur music-making market. Other stories in this book speak of acculturation – of composers immersing themselves in the new milieu into which they had been transplanted, taking full advantage of the opportunities they found there and building international careers. Indeed, Rodolfo Halffter, Julián Bautista and Julián Orbón became fully integrated into the rich fabric of musical and cultural exchange between the various American nations, while Roberto Gerhard, living and working in Britain, acquired a truly international reputation in the landscape of post-Webernian avant-garde.

These few examples will probably resonate with intuitive notions of what exile is – and, more specifically, with notions about how composers, or creators more generally, deal with exile. We may put, say, Arnold Schoenberg and Kurt Weill at the opposite ends of a continuum spanning what Jim Samson calls narratives of transplantation and narratives of acculturation, respectively.[1] Schoenberg's experience of exile was one of almost total isolation from his new milieu, with the exilic experience having little or no influence whatsoever on his music; Weill's experience is better described by words such as integration,

[1] Jim Samson, 'Little Stories from the Balkans', in Florian Scheding and Erik Levi (eds), *Music and Displacement: Diasporas, Mobilities, and Dislocations in Europe and Beyond* (London and New York, 2010), pp. 181–94, at p. 188.

hybridity and success.[2] Both narratives, however, contain the same underlying assumption: forced displacement to a new milieu always has an effect on an individual's works, thinking and understanding of his sense of belonging. Such a sense of belonging, of national identity, is typically considered to be informed – for better or worse – by a sense of disconnection with respect to the home country. Indeed, the relationship of the exile with the home country he or she has left behind is rarely regarded as a happy or productive one, except for perhaps providing inspiration for creative pursuits.

This book emerged from a wish to make sense of the various contacts that Spanish exiled composers had with their home country during Francoism – that is, the same regime they had fled. Spanish exiled composers corresponded with friends and acquaintances, some of whom held government or administrative offices or were otherwise prominent in Spanish cultural life. They had their works performed in Spain almost from the beginning of the dictatorship – sometimes in small venues or provincial cities and sometimes in high-profile state-sponsored festivals. Such works were reviewed in the musical press, as were some of the books the exiles wrote in their host countries. Some of the exiles went back to Spain, permanently or on a series of short visits, with some of them actively participating in Spanish musical life while others enjoyed much more limited exposure. Their relationship with their home country could be a happy and productive one – although this was not always the case. Existing literature on Spanish exiled composers proves insufficient for making sense of such contacts: many of the studies focus on the composers' careers in their host countries and are not concerned with the contact between them and Spain, claiming instead that Spanish exiled composers were neglected, ignored or even actively silenced by the Franco regime.[3] When such contacts are taken into account, explanations for them leave me unsatisfied. They no doubt hold true for specific individuals or situations, but they cannot be generalized due to the very diverse ways in which Spanish exiled composers related to their homeland.

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[2] Reinhold Brinkmann, 'Reading a Letter', in Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff (eds), *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States* (Berkeley, CA, and London, 1999), pp. 3–20, at pp. 11–13.

[3] Examples include: María Luisa Mallo del Campo, *Torner. Más allá del folklore* (Oviedo, 1980), p. 15; Susana Asensio, *Fuentes para el estudio de la música popular asturiana. A la memoria de Eduardo Martínez Torner* (Madrid, 2010), p. 13; Susana Asensio, 'Eduardo Martínez Torner y la Junta para Ampliación de Estudios en España', *Arbor*, 187/751 (2011), pp. 857–74, at p. 868; Javier Arias Bal, *Jesús Bal y Gay* (Lugo, 2003), p. 107; Jorge de Persia, *Julián Bautista* (Madrid, 2005), p. 2; Xavier Cester, *Robert Gerhard i la importància de la seva contribució a la música* (Manresa, 2000), p. 5; Julian White, 'National Traditions in the Music of Roberto Gerhard', *Tempo*, 184 (1993), pp. 2–13, at p. 2; Antonio Iglesias, *Rodolfo Halffter. Su obra para piano* (Madrid, 1979), p. 10; Christiane Heine, 'Salvador Bacarisse (1898–1963) en el centenario de su nacimiento', *Cuadernos de música iberoamericana*, 5 (1998), pp. 43–75, at p. 43.

In the study of the Spanish Republican exile, literary scholars have probably been the most active in challenging existing paradigms and imagining ways of conceiving of this phenomenon to acknowledge its diversity. This should come as no surprise. On the one hand, literature has often been regarded as a fundamental pillar of Spanish culture (in a way in which art and music are not) and it is normally writers (Max Aub, León Felipe, Rafael Alberti, Antonio Machado), rather than composers, who are regarded as paradigmatic exiles in the Spanish imaginary. On the other hand, within Spain, the very study of Spanish culture in Spain has focused for decades on *filología* – that is, language and literature – at the exclusion of other arts and humanities, only recently opening up to other perspectives. The first systematic attempt to research the Spanish Republican exile, the multivolume *El exilio español de 1939*, edited by José Luis Abellán and published in 1976, a mere year after Franco's death in 1975, does include practitioners of the various arts and sciences, but it is heavily focused on writers. This focus is obvious from the prologue, in which Abellán writes:

> Although in the last few years a few well-known émigrés have returned [to Spain], their works have been published here and the intellectual recovery of several among them was attempted, the truth is that most Spaniards were still hugely ignorant of this gigantic exodus. Therefore it appeared necessary to provide information about the significance of such exodus for our cultural and social history in a manner as precise and accurate as possible.[4]

Abellán acknowledges that there had been contacts between the exiles and Spain, but he dismisses such contacts as scarcely significant in general terms. Therefore, he argues, scholars in the new Spanish democracy had the important task of finding a place for the exiles in their home country. Understandably, many scholars of the Spanish Republican exile still see the exiles' work as ethically and politically necessary. Manuel Aznar Soler, for example, claims that 'to write the history of our literary exile has … an obvious ethical and political meaning, because it makes our environment more habitable and merits therefore our intellectual commitment, individually as well as collectively.'[5]

Nevertheless, no matter how well intentioned, attempts to discuss the exiles have often been fraught with difficulties. Mari Paz Balibrea repeatedly argues that such problems are due to the fact that the exile challenges modern understandings of time and space (and, in particular, the space of the nation-state).[6] In Chapter 1,

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[4] José Luis Abellán, *El exilio español de 1939* (Madrid, 1976), p. 13. All translations of sources into English are mine.

[5] A more recent example comes from Manuel Aznar Soler, 'La historia de las literaturas del exilio republicano español de 1939. Problemas teóricos y metodológicos', *Migraciones y exilios*, 3 (2002), pp. 9–22, at p. 13.

[6] Mari Paz Balibrea, 'Rethinking Spanish Republican Exile: An Introduction', *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 6/1 (2005), pp. 3–24, at p. 7; Mari Paz Balibrea, 'Hacia una

I focus on time; with respect to space, I agree with Balibrea that dealing with the exilic corpus forces scholars to ascertain 'how exile manages to speak the nation, even if to undermine it and force it to go where it ceases to be.'[7] The presence of the exiles in Spain is a prime example of this: it is not that, after the exiles left Spain, the nation continued to exist in two separate spaces (inside and outside), but rather that the boundaries of these spaces were made blurry by the exiles' presence in Spain, which was discontinuous, asynchronous, irregular and involved different degrees of agency. As with other aspects of the Spanish Republican exile, making sense of the presence of the exiles in Spain has to include acknowledging the diversity of the exilic experience and leaving room for heterogeneity and difference.[8]

My study intends to shed light on heterogeneity and difference in Spanish exiled composers' contacts with their home country; in doing this, I expand on the growing body of literature that attempts to make sense of such contacts between the exiles and Spain. A long-standing assumption in the scholarship of the Republican exile is that, being disconnected from Spain, the exiles could no longer make any contribution to the artistic and intellectual life of their home country. It is sometimes assumed, for example, that the reflections of exiles on Spanish arts and politics were of limited value because their authors were cut off from Spain after 1939 and therefore they could not possibly understand the situation under Francoism.[9] The experience of these exiles is typically conceptualized, in Balibrea's words, as 'narratives of flight, of frustration, of historical ineffectiveness, of sterility, even if they are sympathetic towards the victim',[10] and it is often compared with the successive diasporas that, over the course of several centuries, allegedly depleted Spain of talent and potential from advancement – from the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, to that of the *moriscos* in 1609, to the liberal exile in 1814 and 1823.[11] The Republican exile thus acquires quasi-fatalistic undertones.

In the last few years from the time of writing, some scholars focus instead on the exiles' contributions to Spain under Franco. Jordi Gracia, for example,

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historiografía del exilio republicano cultural. Retos y propuestas', *Iberoamericana*, 12/47 (2012), pp. 87–99, at pp. 87–8.

[7] Balibrea, 'Rethinking Spanish Republican Exile', p. 6.

[8] Balibrea, 'Rethinking Spanish Republican Exile', pp. 4 and 6.

[9] Examples of this include: Carlos Blanco Aguinaga, 'La literatura del exilio en su historia', *Migraciones y exilios*, 3 (2002), pp. 23–42, at p. 29; Francisco Caudet, *El exilio republicano de 1939* (Madrid, 2005), pp. 21–2; Fernando Larraz, *El monopolio de la palabra. El exilio intelectual en la España franquista* (Madrid, 2009), p. 12.

[10] Mari Paz Balibrea, 'De los *Cultural Studies* a los estudios culturales. El caso del exilio republicano', *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 11/3 (2010), pp. 251–62, at p. 258.

[11] Studies that uphold such views include: Francisco Caudet, *Hipótesis sobre el exilio republicano de 1939* (Madrid, 1997), p. 61; José Luis Abellán, *De la guerra civil al exilio republicano (1936–1977)* (Madrid, 1983), p. 60; Henry Kamen, *The Disinherited: The Exiles who Created Spanish Culture* (London, 2007). And, under Francoism, see Juan Gómez Casas et al., *La España ausente* (Madrid, 1973).

aims at broadening existing perspectives on the Spanish Republican exile by bringing to the forefront 'those forms of reparation, comfort or relief that many exiles built after that first moment of flight and vertigo'[12] and argues that from the 1950s onwards the relationships between Spain and the exiles are 'rather more fluid than we normally assume.'[13] He also points out that 'a valuable part of the exiled community understood that their lives were still intertwined with Spanish culture, even though Spanish culture was subjected to Francoism',[14] which can certainly be applied to many of the composers discussed in this book, including Bacarisse, Bal y Gay, Gerhard and Salazar. Gracia, nevertheless, overgeneralizes when he argues that, from the 1950s onwards, after it became clear that the regime wasn't going to end soon, exiles acknowledged that their goal was not to defeat Franco or to restore the Republic but 'to build a shared future for Spanish society after Franco's death',[15] which obscures the multiplicity of ideologies in the Spanish exile and instead groups all of the exiles under the banner of liberalism.[16] Antonio Martín Puerta analyzes the 'cultural opening up' of the first half of the Franco regime by focusing on the reception of Miguel de Unamuno and an exile, Ortega y Gasset.[17] Martín Puerta's study successfully problematizes the tensions between the various factions of the early Franco regime, particularly those concerning their view of the exiles,[18] and also reflects on the mixed outcomes of Ortega's return,[19] which again hints at the fact that the narratives of return are not always neat and tidy. Fernando Larraz attempts to provide a comprehensive overview of the presence of exiled writers in Francoist Spain and concludes that the regime dealt with the exiles in three different ways: silencing, manipulating or normalizing them. Larraz rightly argues that the regime combined these three strategies in different ways at different points in time, according to its needs or to the tensions among its various factions.[20] Although Larraz does acknowledge that the regime's position vis-à-vis the exiles was not monolithic, it must also be acknowledged that, in terms of establishing a presence in Spain, the exiles did not always interact solely with 'the regime', understood as the various factions that were part of the successive Franco governments or were in control of high-level administrative offices. Indeed, sometimes the exiles managed to establish and control their

[12] Jordi Gracia, *A la intemperie. Exilio y cultura en España* (Barcelona, 2010), p. 13.

[13] Gracia, *A la intemperie*, p. 14.

[14] Gracia, *A la intemperie*, p. 66.

[15] Gracia, *A la intemperie*, p. 15.

[16] Mari Paz Balibrea, *Tiempo de exilio. Una mirada crítica a la modernidad española desde el pensamiento republicano en el exilio* (Madrid, 2007), pp. 24–5.

[17] Antonio Martín Puerta, *Ortega y Unamuno en la España de Franco* (Madrid, 2009), p. 9.

[18] Martín Puerta, *Ortega y Unamuno*, p. 26.

[19] Martín Puerta, *Ortega y Unamuno*, p. 62–3.

[20] Larraz, *El monopolio*, pp. 12–13.

presence in Spain thanks to friends and acquaintances; similarly, the Spanish institutions they interacted with were subjected to different degrees of control by the Francoist apparatus.

The Boundaries of the Political

Understandably, the three above-mentioned studies and others closely follow the transformations of the regime in their attempt to make sense of the exiles' role in it. More broadly, scholars of the Spanish Republican exile have repeatedly called for a wider acknowledgement of the political nature of exile, while at the same time expanding the boundaries of what qualifies as political.[21] I argue that to expand such boundaries is crucial to make sense of the exiled composers' contacts with Francoist Spain. Indeed, some of the few studies that pay attention to the presence of exiled composers in Spain try to explain them by focusing only on the most obviously political aspects. For example, Xoán M. Carreira argues that, from the 1960s onwards, the regime allowed the return of Jesús Bal y Gay and other exiles to Spain, as well as their participation in high-profile events and summer schools such as Música en Compostela, with the intention of appropriating their work for reasons of cultural prestige.[22] While this is certainly a reason that must be taken into consideration, it can also obscure the broader political implications of Bal y Gay's return, which paint a much more complex picture. For instance, Bal y Gay's understanding of his own national identity led him to take the decision to return to Spain in 1965 because he did not want to 'become uprooted from what is mine.'[23] Similarly, his decision to return seems to have been informed by Bal y Gay's re-encounter with former friends who had shared his Galician nationalist ideals in the 1920s as part of the Seminario de Estudos Galegos, but who had then evolved towards political positions supportive of the dictatorship while still keeping some commitment to Galician culture.[24] Another example of the political dimensions of exile and its reception being understood in a narrow way comes from Germán Gan Quesada's commentary on a concert held in Barcelona in 1953 in which a significant part of the audience allegedly left the room before Salvador Bacarisse's

[21] Balibrea, 'Hacia una historiagrafía del exilio republicano', p. 97; Balibrea, 'De los *Cultural Studies*', p. 255; Balibrea, *Tiempo de exilio*, p. 32; Ángel Loureiro, 'Pathetic Arguments', *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 9/2 (2008), pp. 225–37, at p. 233; Jo Labanyi, 'Historias de víctimas. La memoria histórica y el testimonio en la España contemporánea', *Iberoamericana*, 6/24 (2006), pp. 87–98, at p. 95.

[22] Xoán Manuel Carreira, 'El extraño caso del dr. Bal y de mr. Gay', in *Xornadas sobre Bal y Gay* (Santiago de Compostela, 2003), pp. 177–87, at p. 183. See also Larraz, *El monopolio*, p. 234.

[23] Jesús Bal y Gay and Rosita García Ascot, *Nuestros trabajos y nuestros días* (Madrid, 1990), p. 134.

[24] Jesús Bal y Gay, *La dulzura de vivir* (Mexico City, 1964), p. 9.

24 preludios was due to be played. Gan Quesada regards the episode as proof that in those times 'the Spanishness of such an actively Republican composer was not obvious at all.'[25] While, again, Gan Quesada's interpretation might well be accurate in the case of that particular event, it does not account for the fact that, at the same time, Bacarisse's music was being performed elsewhere in Spain with relative critical success. Bacarisse's reception, as I shall discuss in Chapter 2, certainly had political implications, which were obvious in some cases and subtle in others.

Other studies of the same period seem to shy away from the political, which again seems dissatisfying when considering exile. María Victoria García Martínez's study of the return of Óscar Esplá to Spain in 1951[26] is impressively well documented, and its author points out that the re-absorption of Esplá into Spanish musical life was not unproblematic; García Martínez briefly mentions the facts that Esplá was an exile (which is conspicuously political) and that he did not follow the particular brand of musical nationalism promoted by the Franco government (which is less conspicuously political).[27] Nevertheless, specific examples of such problems and tensions are not discussed in detail; and indeed García Martínez argues, 'we believe that in those four years [after Esplá's return in 1951] Esplá's oeuvre became totally reintegrated into the Spanish musical life.'[28] Antonio Iglesias, who was commissar of music under Franco, takes an even more explicitly non-political approach, writing, 'Whoever wished to perform the works of Esplá, Remacha, Bacarisse and Rodolfo Halffter [under the Franco regime] did so without having to endure political censorship, because … very few politicians are interested in music.'[29]

In this book, I try to explain the various contacts of the exiles with Spain by expanding the categories of what is political and what is not. In the same way as a scholar of exile, of any exile, should not assume that everything an exile does, writes or thinks is a consequence of his or her displacement, understood in a narrow way,[30] our view of what politics is should not be reductionist. We should not assume that every instance of an omission or criticism of an exile under Francoism can be accounted for as an attack of the regime's higher echelons. We should be equally

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25 Germán Gan Quesada, '*De musica in verbis*. Notas sobre la literatura musical de Xavier Montsalvatge en un momento de transición (1948–1953)', in Leticia Sánchez de Andrés and Adela Presas (eds), *Música, ciencia y pensamiento en España e Iberoamérica durante el siglo XX* (Madrid, 2013), pp. 87–106, at p. 95.

26 María Victoria García Martínez, *El regreso de Óscar Esplá a Alicante en 1950* (Alicante, 2010).

27 García Martínez, *El regreso de Óscar Esplá*, pp. 51 and 160.

28 García Martínez, *El regreso de Óscar Esplá*, p. 76.

29 Antonio Iglesias, *Rodolfo Halffter. Tema, nueve décadas y final* (Madrid, 1991), p. 127.

30 Sebastiaan Faber, 'The Privilege of Pain: The Exile as Ethical Model in Max Aub, Francisco Ayala, and Edward Said', *Journal of Interdisciplinary Crossroads*, 3/1 (2006), pp. 11–32, at p. 16.

wary of assuming that there were no special restrictions, no reservations and no strategies in place when it came to performing, presenting or reviewing the music of the exiles. Let us look, for example, at histories of Spanish music written under Francoism. None of these histories entirely omitted the exiles or criticized them as a group specifically on the basis of their political position.[31] However, we do find some startling omissions. For example, Gerhard is not mentioned at all in Sopeña's *Historia de la música española contemporánea*[32] and Salazar only gets a passing mention in Subirá's *Historia de la música española e hispanoamericana*.[33] These two omissions can certainly be considered political, but it is not simply a matter of a historian ostracizing a composer or author simply because they were an exile. Indeed, both Subirá and Sopeña duly mention, and in some cases extensively discuss, other exiles, so clearly the issue is not one of censorship based on political ideology. Sopeña does refer to composers who had lived and worked in Madrid before the Civil War and then went into exile, but his knowledge of music in Catalonia is more superficial; Gerhard started to achieve international prominence in the mid-1950s, so it is likely that, in the run-up to the publication of *Historia de la música española contemporánea*, Sopeña had not heard much about him. However, Sopeña's likely ignorance has a political side to it, in that it suggests that the history of contemporary Spanish music was often understood as the history of contemporary music in Madrid, with the provinces having a secondary role. In the case of Subirá and Salazar, it is likely that the reasons for the omission have to be sought in the two men's personal rivalries during the 1920s and 1930s. Both Subirá and Salazar were supporters of the Second Republic and committed to improving the circulation and dissemination of Western art music in all sectors of Spanish society. Their rivalries concerned music research and music administration rather than the purely political, but this does not mean that there was nothing political in them: underlying their work were significant discrepancies on the nature of Spanish national identity and the musics that best embodied such Spanish national identity, in addition to differing opinions on the optimum method of organizing Spanish musical life so that Spaniards could be properly educated, and the role the government should have in this. Sopeña's and Subirá's examples illustrate three of the main issues we must take into account when contextualizing and interpreting the presence of the exiles in Spain, all of which can be considered political. The three issues are:

1. how the internal and external struggles and changes in the regime generally changed the way in which the exiles were viewed;
2. how the exiles themselves were a diverse group with differing ideologies and perceptions of displacement; and

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[31] This contrasts with literary historiography: while some histories of Spanish literature treated the exiles as central in their narrative, others omitted or attacked them – see Balibrea, *Tiempo de exilio*, p. 41.

[32] Federico Sopeña, *Historia de la música española contemporánea* (Madrid, 1958).

[33] José Subirá, *Historia de la música española e hispanoamericana* (Barcelona, 1953).

3. how the relationship between both cannot be understood by looking at the period 1936–1975 alone, but has to be contextualized within longer-standing debates in Spanish music and culture.

In the next pages, I provide an overview of these three issues.

Three themes recur when engaging with the subject of Spanish exiled composers and their reception in Francoist Spain; these themes are reflected, to varying extents, in all of the chapters of this book. They comprise (1) modernity, (2) national identity and (3) the regime's strategies for dealing with the fact that the exiles were political dissidents. The third theme is specific to the Franco regime, of course, but themes (1) and (2) are not: both modernity (what is modern?) and national identity (what is Spanish? or, more precisely, what is modern *and* Spanish at the same time?) had been at the centre of debates about Spanish music since the late nineteenth century. Such themes are closely related to questions about the organization of the state and the role the government should play in musical life and are therefore political in nature. Throughout the late nineteenth- and early twentieth century, and during the Franco regime, different individuals, groups and institutions responded to questions concerning modernity and national identity in different ways and in relation to diverse questions. These questions included, what genres should composers focus their attention on? How much support should the government provide to music? How much should be absorbed (or copied) from other musical cultures? Whether the exiles should be reintegrated into Spanish musical life and how is another such question; its responses cannot be understood without taking into account debates around national identity and modernity.

Such debates were not exclusive to Franco's conservative and nationalist regime. The exiles themselves engaged in these debates too, which had been part of Spanish musical life since the mid-nineteenth century. At first, it was *zarzuela* composers who debated the need to construct a genre of *ópera nacional* (Spanish-language opera). In the last decades of the century, Felipe Pedrell took up the *ópera nacional* project, but he rejected *zarzuela* as a source and instead set out to unveil the treasures of Spanish early and traditional music, which, in Pedrell's opinion, should be the foundation of a modern Spanish school of composition. Pedrell's influence both in Francoist Spain and in exile reminds us of the diverse faces that musical nationalism could adopt. Let us consider, for example, Higini Anglès, who studied Musicology under Pedrell and founded the Instituto Español de Musicología (IEM) in 1944 under the auspices of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC). During his tenure at the IEM, Anglès dedicated his efforts to studying and promoting Spanish traditional early music, following Pedrell's footsteps,[34] mainly through the publication of the edition series *Monumentos de la música*

[34] Gemma Pérez Zalduondo, 'La utilización de la figura y la obra de Felip Pedrell en el marco de la exaltación nacionalista de posguerra (1939–1945)', *Recerca musicològica*, 11–12 (1991), pp. 467–87; Juan José Carreras, 'Hijos de Pedrell. La historiografía musical española y sus orígenes nacionalistas', *Il Saggiatore musicale*, 1 (2001), pp. 121–69.

española. Anglès's historical writings during this period were often based on the notion that a distinctive Spanish national identity started to develop as early as the Middle Ages – that is, centuries before Spain became a nation-state – with early medieval Hispanic chant and the *cantigas*.[35] This fitted well within the regime's understanding of Spanish identity, with the belief that Spain's identity as a nation was atemporal and eternal, intrinsically linked with Catholicism, and that its development had been animated by *Hispanidad*.[36] Nevertheless, we should not be too quick to jump to conclusions and argue that Anglès was essentially pandering to Francoist nationalism. Anglès's understanding of Spanish music history was based on Pedrell's concept of *música natural* (traditional music, that which is the product of the instinct and predisposition of a nation, and not of learning). Although Pedrell's *música natural* and *Hispanidad* share a celebration of the irrational and the allegedly atemporal, we should be wary of establishing a simplistic cause–effect relation between them; we might regard both as variations of musical nationalism, but differences still matter. Similarly, we should not automatically assume that histories of music written under Francoism relied on notions of *Hispanidad* or Spanish nationalism as posited by the regime. It could even be argued that some of them (specifically, Manuel Valls's narratives of Catalan music) were written as a reaction against Francoist exclusive nationalism; nevertheless, all of Francoist music historiography shares a concern with determining what is Spanish (or, in Valls's case, Catalan) and establishing whether the exiles could be reasonably fitted within this concept. Musical nationalism therefore crucially influenced the way in which the exiles were received in Francoist Spain, but there were various brands of musical nationalism stemming from different genealogies, a number of which applied to some exiles to a greater extent than others.

However, the understanding of music history as a way forward to a modernist ideal is certainly not exclusive to Spanish music under Francoism; indeed, it is widespread in other cultures to the point that it can be considered as one of the main tenets of the historiography of the avant-garde.[37] In Spain, the evolutionary way of understanding music history was especially prevalent from the 1960s onwards, as the Spanish government tried to foster economic development and industrialization under the banner of *desarrollismo*. Just as Spain was quickly

[35] For example Higinio Anglès, *La música española desde la Edad Media a nuestros días* (Barcelona, 1941). 'Higinio' is the Spanish version of the name; 'Higini' is Catalan. In this book, I use the Catalan version of the name, while leaving unchanged the Spanish version where it is used in Spanish publications.

[36] Michael Richards, *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco's Spain, 1936–1945* (Cambridge, 1998).

[37] For example: Leo Treitler, 'What kind of Story is History?', *19th-Century Music*, 7/3 (1984), pp. 363–73; Susan McClary, 'Terminal Prestige: The Case of Avant-Garde Music Composition', *Cultural Critique*, 12 (1989), pp. 57–81; Richard Taruskin, 'Revising Revision', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 46 (1993), pp. 114–38; Richard Taruskin, 'A Myth of the Twentieth Century: The Rite of Spring, the Tradition of the New, and "The Music Itself"', *Modernism/Modernity*, 2/1 (1995), pp. 1–26.