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MANUEL DE FALLA'S MUSIC IN LETTERS: NATIONALISM, INTERNATIONALISM, AND MODERNISM IN HIS CORRESPONDENCE WITH ENRIQUE F. ARBÓS (1916–1939)

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BY FRANCISCO J. GIMÉNEZ-RODRÍGUEZ*

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ENRIQUE FERNÁNDEZ ARBÓS (1863–1939), A COSMOPOLITAN MUSICIAN?

The violinist/composer Enrique Fernández Arbós remains in the shadows of Spanish musical historiography. The sidelining of his work is due to the convergence of two main factors. First, although he was also a composer, he was mainly known as a violinist and only later as a conductor, which relegated him to the field of musical performance, an area that has only recently begun to be considered in Spanish musicology. Secondly, both the critics of his time and later historians have tended to work with simplistic dichotomies, which has led to the emergence of two opposing sectors—left and right—in Spanish music.¹ This narrow view seems to contradict a more general move in musicological studies since the late 1990s that tends to view modernism as being related to 'peripheral' scenes (principally Britain, Scandinavia, and Eastern Europe), based not only in technical features but with political implications that transcend the simple binary between left and right.² One further reason why Arbós's biography and professional activities have scarcely been studied up to now may be that a great part of his career as a violinist and as a conductor took place outside Spain, leading to his neglect by scholars of Spanish music.³ His international experience, having lived since

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¹ The contemporary critic César M. Arconada points to this division, placing musicians attached to 'tradition' in the right sector (namely, Arbós, Moreno Torroba, Rogelio Villar, Vicente Arregui, Conrado del Campo, Julio Gómez, and Joaquín Turina), and those attached to 'modernity' in the left sector (namely, Ernesto and Rodolfo Halffter, Adolfo Salazar, Juan José Mantecón, Oscar Esplá, and Manuel de Falla). See César M. Arconada, 'Ensayo sobre la música en España', *Proa*, 9 Apr. 1925, pp. 49–50. For a critical view of left and right in Western music—historiography and musical style included—see Anne C. Shreffler, "Music Left and Right": A Tale of Two Histories of Progressive Music', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 185 (2013), 67–87. Along with Adolfo Salazar, Arconada is considered an advocate of new music in Spain; see María Nagore and Ruth Piquer, 'La crítica musical de César M. Arconada, paradigma del intelectualismo vanguardista en los años veinte', *Revista de Musicología*, 33 (2010), 139–58. For a refreshing view of the ideology of Adolfo Salazar and other discordant voices in the music criticism of the time, see María Nagore Ferrer, Leticia Sánchez de Andrés, and Elena Torres (coords), *Música y cultura en la Edad de Plata, 1915–1939* (Madrid, 2009), and Francisco Parraléjo Masa, 'La política musical durante la II República española y sus fundamentos ideológicos (1914–1936): Adolfo Salazar y la Junta Nacional de Música' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Salamanca, 2015).

² Some of these new modernist studies across artistic disciplines and geopolitical regions are collected in Stephen Ross and Allana Lindgren (eds.), *The Modernist World* (New York, 2015), especially Stephen Downes, 'Modernism in European Music', 347–55. For an overview of modernism in Western Classical peripheries see J. P. E. Harper-Scott, *The Quilting Points of Musical Modernism: Revolution, Reaction, and William Walton* (Cambridge, 2012), who develops a political theory of modernism.

³ The entries of the most recent dictionaries barely make reference to Arbós's international career. See Enrique Franco, 'Arbós, Enrique Fernández', in *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, 10 vols. (Madrid, 1999),

the age of 14 for significant periods in Brussels, Berlin, Hamburg, London, and Boston, and being influenced by seemingly opposed national violin schools, in fact raises a number of considerations concerning transnational exchange and cosmopolitanism.⁴

In this context, the correspondence between Manuel de Falla and Arbós—which went on for more than twenty years and includes more than two hundred unpublished documents—reveals important exchanges of aesthetic conception, which bridge the divide between traditionalism and modernism and reveal previously unknown information about the international reach of Falla's repertory and the creation of an image around the quintessential Spanish composer of the time. In this article I begin by analysing Arbós's biography in relation to his aesthetics and cosmopolitan outlook before moving to a discussion of his correspondence with Falla. This is the first study of its kind to offer an analysis of this correspondence, which sheds new light on Falla's move towards modernism. Moreover, by focusing on key institutions and events at the time (such as the Sociedad de Autores and the 1936 ISCM Festival in Barcelona), I interrogate the tensions between nationalism and internationalism in European music during the first decades of the twentieth century.

The son of a military musician, Arbós started playing music with his family and entered the Music Conservatory in Madrid under the tuition of Jesús de Monasterio, a renowned violinist who had studied in Brussels with Charles Auguste de Bériot and had been a teacher at the conservatory since 1856.⁵ Monasterio, a violinist, conductor, and composer, was a highly significant figure in Spanish music during the second half of the nineteenth century. He founded the Sociedad de Cuartetos in 1863, the main institution for chamber music in Spain, and was the director of the Sociedad de Conciertos from 1869, an institution which introduced the symphonic repertory to Madrid as well. His teacher's broad profile as well as the international reach of his education and his career as a concert violinist would have undoubtedly influenced the young Arbós in a powerful way.⁶

In 1876, when he was only 13 years old, Arbós won the Special Award granted by the Madrid Conservatory, and a year later was awarded a scholarship to study in Brussels with Henri Vieuxtemps, by then in his last years. Moving to Berlin, he completed violin studies with Joseph Joachim between 1880 and 1885 before embarking on some of his first important tours as a concert violinist with Monasterio, Pablo Sarasate, and his close friend Isaac Albéniz (see Pl. 1).⁷ While in Berlin, Arbós met several of the most significant musicians of the time, including Johannes Brahms, Clara Schumann,

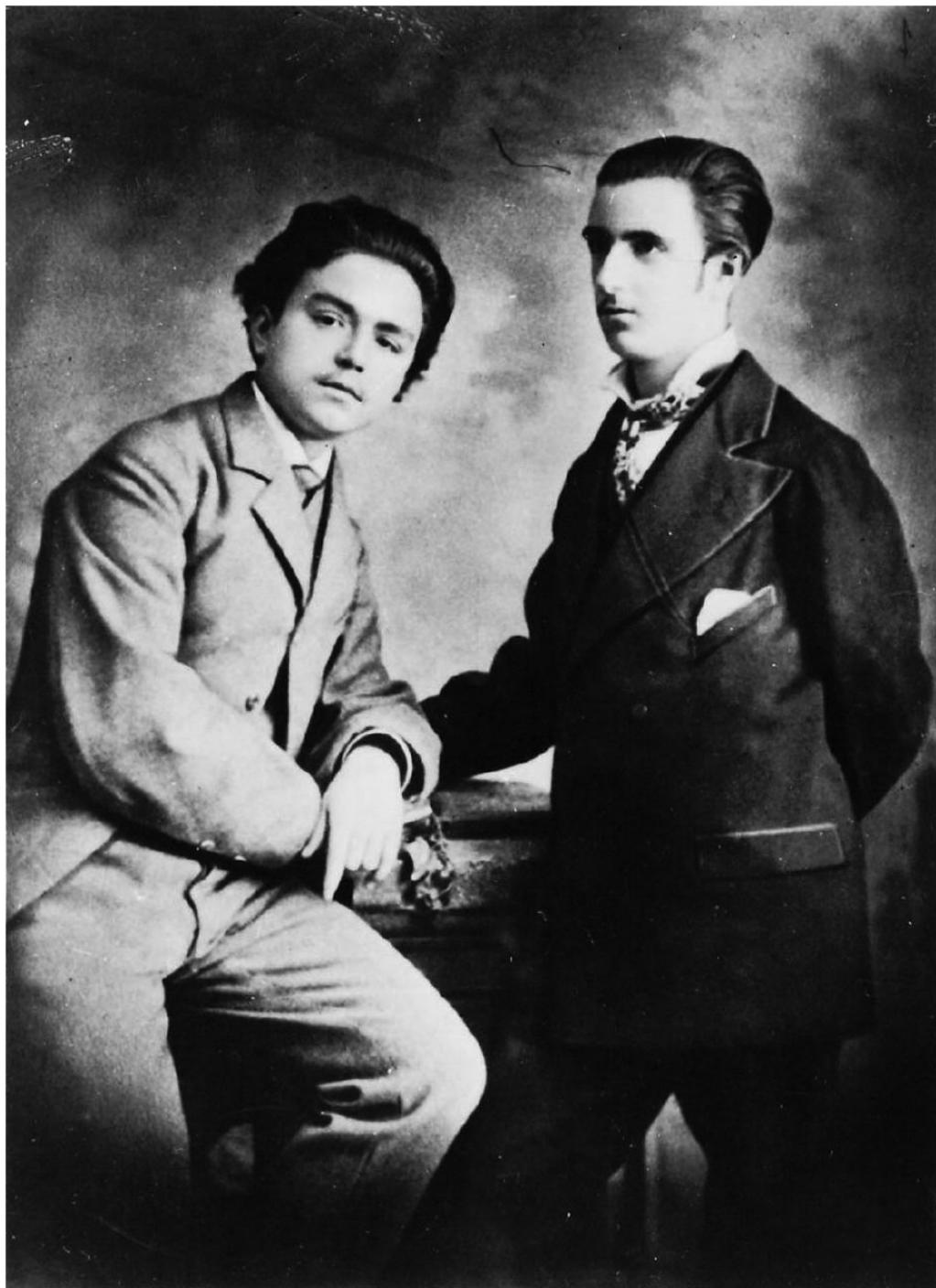
i. 579–81; Arthur Jacobs and Tully Potter, 'Arbós, Enrique Fernández', in *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

⁴ For recent works on this new cosmopolitanism and music see Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley, 'Music and the New Cosmopolitanism: Problems and Possibilities', *Musical Quarterly*, 99 (2017), 139–65, and Dana Gooley, Ryan Minor, Katherine K. Preston, and Jann Pasler, 'Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism, 1848–1914', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 66 (2013), 523–49.

⁵ Mónica Velasco, 'Monasterio y Agüeros, Jesús de', in *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, vii. 664–76, and García Velasco, 'El violinista y compositor Jesús de Monasterio: Estudio biográfico y analítico' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Oviedo, 2003).

⁶ Franco, 'Arbós', 579.

⁷ The photograph reproduced in Plate 1 is catalogued in the National Library of France as c.1889, although Arbós's youthful appearance might suggest a date closer to 1880, coinciding with his arrival at the Brussels Conservatory, when he met Albéniz. Arbós shows a similar appearance in a portrait published in *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, Madrid, no. 34, 15 Sept. 1879, p. 168.



Pl. 1. Isaac Albéniz and Enrique Fernández Arbós during their student years in Brussels
*c.*1879. Bibliothèque nationale de France, FRBNF39602081

Franz Liszt, and Hans von Bülow, who all must have broadened his vision as a violinist and conductor.⁸

From 1886, his career as a violinist reached international standing and he was appointed Concertmaster of the Berlin Philharmonic and Hamburg Symphony Orchestras and a teacher at the Hamburg Conservatory, as well as being selected for the violin professorship at the Madrid Conservatory. He undertook a number of concert tours, taking in Madrid, Santander, and London, and it was in London that he became a professor at the Royal College of Music in 1894.⁹ His final position as Concertmaster was with the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1903:

Henry L. Higginson has engaged Fernandez Arbós, the London violinist, as the successor of Franz Kneisel, concert master of the Symphony Orchestra . . . Mr. Arbós, a young man, is a Spaniard by birth, and has held a position at the London Royal College of Music for some years. He is said to be a successful teacher, among his pupils being Maud MacCarthy, who was heard here last season.¹⁰

Arbós started his conducting career in 1904 with a permanent position at the newly formed Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid (Madrid Symphony Orchestra). However, he never lost contact with the British capital, where he established a concert society, The Concert Club, and conducted orchestras in London, Manchester, and Liverpool.¹¹ During his time with the Madrid orchestra, Arbós expanded its number of concerts and repertory and made tours in Spain and abroad. Although Arbós would later be cast as having left 'modernity' aside (a fact that would create both numerous detractors and staunch defenders), his first concert programmes show his innovative zeal and immersion in avant-garde European trends.¹² For instance, Arbós introduced to Spanish audiences Stravinsky's *Feux* and Scriabin's *Prometheus*, and although he was rather cautious in the face of what he considered to be a whirlwind of renewal, in the following years he gave the débuts of other groundbreaking modernist pieces in Spain such as Stravinsky's *The Rite of Spring* (1932) and extracts from Berg's *Wozzeck* (1934) and *Lulu* (1935).¹³

Arbós was an orchestral conductor for more than thirty years—the second part of his professional life, as he would himself say—and received international acclaim for this as well. In 1913, he performed with the Madrid Symphony Orchestra at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées in Paris and presented a programme including Central

⁸ Arbós left us some memoirs he began to write at the end of his life, which were divided into two parts: the first part is entitled 'Thirty years as a violinist' (Memoirs, 1863–1904), and the second, unfinished, details his experience as a conductor. There are two editions of the first part: Enrique F. Arbós, *Arbós* (Madrid, 1963) and Arbós, *Memorias* (Madrid, 2004). Both editions include a biographical study by the pianist and composer José María Franco Bordons, a disciple and friend of Arbós, who deals with his activity as a violinist, director, and composer and his musical writings: 'Aspectos biográficos y críticos', in Arbós, *Arbós* (1963), 415–512; 'El maestro Arbós: Aspectos biográficos y críticos', in Arbós, *Memorias* (2004), 499–558.

⁹ Franco, 'Aspectos biográficos y críticos', 432–40.

¹⁰ 'Arbós for Boston Symphony', *New York Times*, 3 Sept. 1903, p. 2.

¹¹ Victor Espinós, *El maestro Arbós: Al hilo del recuerdo* (Madrid, 1962), 178.

¹² Ramón Sobrino, 'Paisaje musical de Madrid en el primer tercio del siglo XX: Las instituciones orquestales y la Banda Municipal de Madrid', *Recerca Musicològica*, 14–15 (2004–5), 155–75 at 160.

¹³ Franco, 'Aspectos biográficos', 468–9. Espinós catalogued the works premiered in Spain by the Madrid Symphony Orchestra; see Espinós, *El maestro Arbós*, 181–99. There is another list of premieres by the Madrid Symphony Orchestra limited to Spanish composers in Carlos Gómez Amat and Joaquín Turina Gómez, *La Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid* (Madrid, 1994), 249–54.

European music as well as pieces by Spanish composers: Pérez Casas, Arbós, Del Campo, Turina, and Albéniz. The concerts were a remarkable success, with critics praising the orchestra and the Spanish compositions.¹⁴ Debussy saluted Spanish music being played by genuine Spanish musicians and praised the orchestra's playing and its conductor:

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All these pieces were played with firm conviction by the Madrid Symphony Orchestra, which displayed equally interesting qualities with classical pieces such as the 13th symphony by J. Haydn, played with fine nuances. E. F. Arbós, an eminent conductor, achieved well-deserved success as a composer with his two pieces for violin and orchestra.¹⁵

Arbós's acclaimed debut in Paris was the first of a series of concerts with the Sinfónica in France, Italy, and Portugal. But he also conducted other orchestras all over Europe—in Paris, Rome, Brussels, Amsterdam, Budapest, Prague, and other cities. He continued to work with the Concert Club in London and to conduct the London Symphony Orchestra, to highly positive reviews in the London press.¹⁶ He travelled to the USA in 1928 to conduct the New York Symphony Orchestra at Carnegie Hall and to tour the country for what would be the first of a number of visits intended to introduce the Spanish orchestral idiom to American audiences.¹⁷ This series of concerts included European music as well as Spanish pieces by Albéniz (notably Arbós's orchestral arrangement of the suite *Iberia—Triana*), Granados, Turina, Falla, Pérez Casas, and Ernesto Halffter. The extraordinary success of Arbós's performances are reflected in the press reviews of the time.¹⁸

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In 1933, the year of his seventieth birthday, Arbós was celebrated by distinguished Spanish composers, Falla and Joaquín Turina among them, who composed pieces based on the notes associated with the letters in Arbós's surname.¹⁹ This tribute reveals the status that he had achieved within the Spanish musical scene, but such celebrations were also echoed in the international press.²⁰ In fact, as a result of his intense international activity, Arbós was appointed president of the Spanish section of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM), which hosted their 1936 festival in Barcelona. His last appearance was at a concert in the Alhambra at the

¹⁴ Sobrino, 'Paisaje musical de Madrid en el primer tercio del siglo XX', 162.

¹⁵ 'Ces diverses œuvres furent exécutées avec une chaleureuse conviction par l'orchestre symphonique de Madrid, qui montra des qualités non moins intéressantes dans l'exécution d'œuvres classiques. Entre-autres la 13e Symphonie de J. Haydn, finement nuancée. Monsieur E. F. Arbós, éminent chef-d'orchestre, remporta comme compositeur un succès mérité dans deux pièces pour violon et orchestre.' Claude Debussy, 'Concerts Colonne—Société des Concerts Nouveaux', *Revue Musicale S.I.M.*, 11 (1 Dec. 1913), 42–3. As a composer Arbós produced a zarzuela, some symphonic and chamber music, and songs, all of which belong to his 'violinist' period. He is best known, however, for his magnificent Albéniz orchestrations. See Franco, 'Arbós, Enrique Fernández', 581.

¹⁶ Franco, 'El maestro Arbós', 529.

¹⁷ Some authors consider Arbós to be the first person to have introduced the Spanish orchestral idiom in the United States. See Roland J. Vázquez, 'Presenting the Spanish orchestral idiom: Enrique Fernández Arbós in the United States', *Revista de Musicología*, 16 (1993), 221–4. The introduction of the 'Spanish idiom' in the United States as the most influential factor in the international vision of Spanish musical culture has been studied by Louise K. Stein, 'Before the Latin Tinge: Spanish Music and the Spanish Idiom', in Richard L. Kagan (ed.), *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States* (Chicago, 2002), 193–246.

¹⁸ Olin Downes, 'Music; Arbós in First Appearance', *New York Times*, 23 March 1928, p. 24; 'Enrique Arbós arrives; Madrid Symphony Conductor Sees Music in Golden Age in Spain', *New York Times*, 11 Mar. 1928, p. 23.

¹⁹ Franco, 'El maestro Arbós', 545.

²⁰ Olin Downes, 'Reminiscences of Arbós; Spanish Conductor on 70th Birthday Recalls Long and Vivid Career', *New York Times*, 17 Dec. 1933, p. X8.

Palace of Charles V on 17 June 1936.²¹ Arbós finished with Sibelius's *Valse triste*, a piece he had recorded a few years earlier.²²

MANUEL DE FALLA AND ENRIQUE FERNÁNDEZ ARBÓS'S LETTERS

The correspondence between Arbós and Falla consists of 214 documents, including letters, postcards, and telegrams.²³ Letters in those days were an essential means to pass on news and discuss concerts, plays, performers, et cetera. Seen in this light, these letters are a valuable source of information concerning the historiographical vision of these two musicians. Their correspondence begins in 1916, when they were both living in Madrid, and goes on until 1939, the year Arbós died and Falla went into exile in Argentina (from where he would occasionally correspond with Arbós's widow). When the correspondence begins, Arbós was already 53, the acclaimed conductor of the Madrid Symphony Orchestra, and linked to some of the main musical institutions of the city, such the Royal Conservatory, where he had been a violin teacher since 1886, and the Teatro Real.²⁴

Manuel de Falla was younger—just 40—and a highly renowned composer in musical circles after the successful Paris premiere of *La vida breve* in January 1914. Falla had just returned from Paris, fleeing from the war, and in order to re-establish himself in Madrid, he participated in some public concerts in the Ateneo de Madrid in January 1915 and in the opening concert of the National Society of Music in February. Only two months later, on 15 April, he would premiere *El amor brujo* in the Teatro Lara, albeit with scant success.²⁵ As a member of the artistic committee, Falla was involved in the organization and promotion of the Society's concerts. And in Adolfo Salazar—the main music critic of the time, then the Secretary of the Society—Falla found a great advocate of his work, which was otherwise not appreciated on the Spanish musical scene.²⁶

Falla's activities in this politically charged period clearly aligned him with a modernist and pro-French aesthetic that ran against more traditional values oriented towards Germanic music. The composer signed a manifesto condemning Spanish neutrality 'in light of Germany's fomenting of egotism, of domination, and of shameless violence' published in the journal *España*, founded by José Ortega y Gasset, in July 1915, and spoke out against German aggression in a memorial essay for Enrique Granados in *Revista Musical Hispanoamericana* (April 1916). Political sentiments were more directly related to his musical aesthetics in a lecture Falla delivered at the Ateneo de Madrid in June 1915,²⁷

²¹ Rafael del Pino, *Los conciertos en la Alhambra y otros escenarios granadinos durante las fiestas del Corpus Christi, 1883–1952, Orígenes del Festival de Música y Danza de Granada* (Granada, 2000), 324–5.

²² Arbós made some recordings conducting the Madrid Symphony Orchestra in the thirties for Columbia (San Sebastián, Columbia Graphophone Company, D 41006 Regal, 1930), now digitized in the National Library of Spain's online archive. Among other European—mainly Spanish—works, we can hear Arbós conducting Sibelius's *Valse Triste* on <<http://Ybdh.Ybne.Yes/Ybnesearch/Ydetalle/Ybdh0000169376>>.

²³ I would like to thank the Manuel de Falla Archive (Granada) for allowing access to this correspondence, kept in the folders with the signatures 6967 (Remit: Arbós), containing the originals sent to Falla, and 6968 (Remit: Falla), in which are some drafts and copies of the letters sent by Falla to Arbós. I consider this body of correspondence to be comprehensive given that it includes all known letters between Arbós and Falla (draft or copy).

²⁴ Franco, Arbós, Enrique Fernández', 579.

²⁵ Elena Torres Clemente, *Biografía de Manuel de Falla* (Madrid, 2009), 71–85.

²⁶ Elena Torres Clemente, 'La imagen de Manuel de Falla en la crítica de Adolfo Salazar', in Nagore (ed.), *Música y cultura en la Edad de Plata*, 265–85.

²⁷ Conferences organized by the Ministerio de Instrucción pública y Bellas Artes, 14 Jun. 1915. 'D. Manuel de Fallas [sic]: La música nueva, con ejemplos musicales', *Boletín de la Biblioteca del Ateneo Científico, Literario y Artístico*, VI/14 (Madrid, Dec. 1914–May 1915), 77.

and in his prologue to Salazar's Spanish translation of Jean Aubry's *La Musique française d'aujourd'hui* he addressed the harmful effects on European music of the 'German tradition' and its 'universal formulae' inimical to the expression of racial feeling. Thus, 'in 1916, his pro-allied sentiments, which implicitly challenged the Germanophilia of the Spanish Church's hierarchy, established him as a liberal, despite his obvious hunger for unity and his distaste for "freethinking".'²⁸

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Meanwhile, debates among the Spanish intelligentsia regarding the tension between nationalism and internationalism had reached a high point in 1915 with the creation of the National Society of Music, which advocated the overcoming of local nationalism. French music—Impressionism and Neoclassicism later—would mean the internationalization of Spanish music, but in fact these ideals were clearly out of step with mainstream musical creation in Spain around 1915, and for its critics the Society advocated an 'excessive' and 'Frenchified' modernism:²⁹

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In practice, procedures of a very different kind coexisted during the first third of the century, and traditional nationalist, regionalist, and zarzuela music abounded. However, from very early on, Ortega's nationalism, i.e. the most universalist and most elitist face of nationalism, had a decisive weight in theory which did not correspond to the small percentage that it represented in the total Spanish creation.³⁰

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In view of this state of affairs, a certain degree of mutual mistrust between the young composer and the famous conductor who had introduced much of the German Romantic repertory in Spain can safely be assumed. They did not frequent the same circles in the complex music scene of Madrid, and the first time they undertook a project together their encounter may well have turned into a clash. In October 1915, the National Society of Music asked Falla to produce a concert version of *El amor brujo*, on which he worked intensely until its premiere on 28 March 1916, with Arbós conducting the Madrid Symphony Orchestra. Some disagreement or disparity in viewpoints seems to have occurred during the rehearsals, as is apparent in the following words Falla wrote to María Lejárraga: 'nothing interesting is going on, except that Arbós finds *El amor brujo* annoying in a most extravagant way and he was on the brink of telling me so'.³¹ Another source of disagreement could have been that Falla had just finished the score for *Noches en los jardines de España*, a work that Arbós was scheduled to premiere with the Sinfónica less than two weeks later. As a result, Arbós needed to find a substitute for the pianist to whom the work was dedicated—

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²⁸ Carol A. Hess, *Sacred Passions: The Life and Music of Manuel de Falla* (New York and Oxford, 2005), 97–9.

²⁹ The excess of modernism and Frenchification is pointed out by José Subirá, a critic dissenting from the Society's secretary Adolfo Salazar. See David Ferreiro Carballo, 'La Sociedad Nacional de Música (1915–1922) y su papel en la introducción de las nuevas corrientes musicales en España', in Elena Torres Clemente and others (eds.), *El amor brujo, metáfora de la modernidad: estudios en torno a Manuel de Falla y la música española del siglo XX* (Madrid, 2017), 799–830, at 824–8.

³⁰ 'En la práctica, coexistieron durante el primer tercio de siglo procedimientos de muy diverso cariz, y abundó la música nacionalista tradicional, la regionalista y la de zarzuela. Sin embargo, desde muy pronto, el nacionalismo de corte orteguiano, el más universalista, el más elitista, tuvo en la teoría un peso que no correspondía al escaso porcentaje que este representaba en el cómputo global de la creación española.' Carlos Villanueva, 'La problemática nacionalista en la Edad de Plata: La traslación del lenguaje identitario español a México', in Torres (ed.), *El amor brujo*, 769–98, at 784.

³¹ 'no ocurren otras novedades más interesantes, si no es que a Arbós le fastidia el Amor brujo del modo más extravagante y que casi me lo ha dicho'. Letter to María Lejárraga, Madrid, 27 Mar. 1916, cited in M%. Luz González Peña, 'La amistad bruja de María Lejárraga y Manuel de Falla a través de su correspondencia', in Torres (ed.), *El amor brujo*, 73–106, at 93.

Ricardo Viñes—after failing to reach a financial agreement with him and the impossibility of his preparing for performance at such short notice.³²

Ultimately, the two concerts were a success, and Falla's symphonic music began to be performed more frequently in many Spanish cities as well as abroad. As a result, Arbós came into contact with a modern Spanish repertory that would open the doors to the main orchestras and concert halls in Europe and North America, and the correspondence between Falla and Arbós also began at this point. Even though these letters contain revealing information on all sorts of topics, it is their musical content that is of most interest. In the following sections, I will examine the references to Falla's works, each of which represents a step forward, an aesthetic change, and a rethinking of his attitude towards modernism. I then move to an analysis of the international dissemination of Falla's work and Arbós's role in the 'internationalization' of Falla as a Spanish composer.

MANUEL DE FALLA'S WORK

Noches en los jardines de España [Nights in the Gardens of Spain] (1916)

Described by Falla as 'three symphonic impressions for piano and orchestra', *Noches* is the composer's 'most extended tribute to Debussy, Dukas, Ravel, and the other French colleagues for whom he felt strong empathy, especially in the difficult days of 1916'.³³ This piece—which appears as *Nocturnos* in the letters—inaugurates the correspondence between Manuel de Falla and Arbós as the latter conducted its world premiere on 9 April 1916 with the Madrid Symphony Orchestra and José Cubiles at the piano.³⁴

Once Falla and Arbós had overcome their initial differences, the first letter following the premiere of *Noches* already reveals their emerging friendship, with Arbós beginning his letter with 'My dear friend Falla' and ending it with 'your good friend who loves you, Arbós'.³⁵ They were both living in Madrid when they started their correspondence, and this first letter had a very specific purpose: to find a pianist in Barcelona to perform the work there. *Noches* remains the main subject of subsequent letters as Arbós was scheduling a Spanish festival at San Sebastian in September, which featured this piece. Finally the pianist was confirmed as Ricardo Viñes, who would also play pieces for solo piano by Albéniz and Granados.³⁶ One year later they resumed communication with the same purpose, to discuss performing *Noches* and *Siete canciones populares españolas* [Seven Popular Spanish Songs] in September 1917 in San Sebastian, this time with Falla in attendance—a commitment he was to cancel at the last minute via telegram.³⁷

The communication between Falla and Arbós is clearly defined from the beginning as a professional relationship between a composer and the conductor who premieres his work. But right from the start there also appear other significant topics, such as an

³² Torres, 'Biografía de Manuel de Falla', 86–7.

³³ Hess, *Sacred Passions*, 92.

³⁴ Yvan Nommick, 'La interpretación de las *Noches*: Una carta de Falla a Ansermet', *Jardines de España: De Santiago Rusiñol a Manuel de Falla* (Granada, 1997), 27–38 at 30.

³⁵ Letter to Falla dated 24 May 1916 (Madrid).

³⁶ Letters to Falla dated 6, 15, 26 Aug. 1916, 1, 4, Sept. 1916 (San Sebastián).

³⁷ Postcard to Falla dated 8 Sept. 1917 (San Sebastián). Letter to Falla dated 16 Sept. 1917 (San Sebastián). Letter drafts to Arbós undated (Madrid, sign. 6968-001-2). Telegram to Arbós undated (Madrid, sign. 6968-070).

enquiry from Arbós to Falla regarding orchestrations of *Iberia* by Albéniz.³⁸ In 1910, Arbós had made orchestral arrangements for two pieces of the first book of the suite: 'Evocación' and 'El puerto'.³⁹ In 1917, he arranged 'Triana' and seems to have written a letter to Falla in Madrid asking him to take a look at his orchestration.⁴⁰ We do not know whether or not Falla made changes to Arbós's arrangement, but this letter clearly reflects the admiration the conductor felt for Falla's arranging skills. This seems logical as Arbós had premiered Falla's major symphonic piece from those years, in which the composer shows a boldness with timbre in his orchestral writing that reflects his exposure to the French school—above all Debussy—during his stay in Paris. *Noches* remained in Arbós's repertory. In 1935, one year before Arbós retired from the Madrid orchestra, Falla regretted not being able to attend a *Noches* concert with Cubiles at the piano at the Alhambra concerts: 'I am so sorry I won't be meeting Cubiles nor hear him playing *Noches* with you as when it was first played!'⁴¹

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El sombrero de tres picos [*The Three-Cornered Hat*] (1919)

At its world premiere in London, *El sombrero de tres picos* was seen as a perfect example of the universal appeal of Spanish music. 'So pleased was Diaghilev' notes Carol Hess, 'that he telegraphed Alfonso XIII's secretary to report that the new ballet, which had drawn upon the formidable talents of Spanish artists Falla and Picasso, had brilliantly triumphed in London.'⁴² Sergei Diaghilev considered the ballet an example of 'Latin-Slav art' and a challenge to the Germanic hegemony against which Falla also rebelled.⁴³

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In the years in which both Arbós and Falla were in Madrid for the concert season, their correspondence was limited to letters written in the summer to prepare concerts in San Sebastian in September and some postcards sent by Arbós and his wife to Falla from Malaga, Granada, Seville, and Cadiz. The postcards and some of the letters were frequently written by Bérengère Pascault ('Ela'), Arbós's wife, who wrote the longer letters in her native French, and who was always warm with affection and admiration for Falla. There are also exceptional letters written by Arbós and his wife, such as one sent from Seville to express their happiness concerning the premiere of *El sombrero de tres picos*:

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Bien Cher Ami

... Nous regrettons énormément de ne pas vous voir ici mais sommes hereux du succès qui vous attend à Londres!

...

Querido Falla,

Parece que por fin le llueven a VD felicidades por todas partes. Excuso decirle a VD si nos alegramos pues algo más se merece VD!⁴⁴

³⁸ Arbós's five orchestrations of pieces from *Iberia* are among the most frequently programmed works in the Spanish orchestral repertory today. See further Lindsey Carlson, *From Albéniz to Arbós: The Orchestration of Iberia* (MA thesis, University of Maryland, 2010).

³⁹ Franco, 'El maestro Arbós', 550.

⁴⁰ 'Quisiera verle. He acabado Triana y antes de copiarla desearía lo viera V.' (Id like to see you. I have finished Triana and I'd like you to see it before copying it.) Undated letter to Falla (Madrid, sign. 6967-2-052).

⁴¹ '¡Cuánto siento también no ver a Cubiles ni oírle las "Noches" en unión de ustedes, como cuando se estrenaron!' Letter to Arbós dated 17 June 1935 (Granada).

⁴² Carol A. Hess, *Manuel de Falla and Modernism in Spain, 1898–1936* (Chicago, 2001), 129.

⁴³ Hess, *Sacred Passions*, 101.

⁴⁴ 'Dear Friend... We regret very much not being able to see you here, but we are proud of the success that awaits you in London!... Dear Falla, It seems that finally you are being showered with congratulations from all sides. All we can say is that we are very happy for you and that you deserve so much more!' Letter to Falla dated 2 May 1919

In later correspondence, Arbós sent Falla letters of introduction to various prominent figures in London and highlighted those he believed it was mandatory for Falla to meet, based on his experience of living in the British capital. First, Arbós recommended that Falla meet Mrs Waterhouse, whom he considered to be family and who spoke Spanish well. Second, he tells him that he should meet Robin Legge—the *Daily Telegraph* music critic—a charming man but one who only spoke English. He also recommends seeing a series of ladies, artists, or patrons that he had met through Sarasate. In this manner, Arbós introduced Falla to some of the most distinguished musical circles in London, high-class patrons, and the leading music critic of the time, all friendships he had maintained from his London days.

Throughout his life, Arbós maintained the attitude of belonging to a ‘larger’ world as a way of keeping local attachments (the Madrid music scene, standard repertoires, national models) in check, a process that Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley refer to as the ‘new cosmopolitanism’.⁴⁵ In fact, to some extent this correspondence represents the continuous process by which the two men opened themselves to new countries, new orchestras, and new repertoires. Arbós wrote letters and postcards asking about the *Sombrero* premiere and the possibility of conducting other pieces by Falla in London (namely *El amor brujo* and *Noches*) to take advantage of the predicted success of *Sombrero*’s premiere.⁴⁶ And his prediction proved correct: the concert at the Alhambra Theatre in London was a great success and Falla consolidated himself as a Spanish musical innovator with this piece. A few days later *El Sol* published an article by Adolfo Salazar on its front page, which spoke of a ‘triumph for Spanish art, a new era for Spanish music, whose renewal and elevation have placed it at the level of the “most intense and current foreign musical art”’.⁴⁷ These successes in London and Paris, with the work praised for its quintessentially Spanish qualities, contrasted with the Spanish premiere on 5 April 1921, when some critics hailed the work as a challenge to *españolismo*, while others questioned the compatibility of modernist stylization with the Spanish tradition.⁴⁸

In early 1920, Arbós wrote to Falla in Paris where he was rehearsing for the French premiere of *Sombrero*, and reflected on the time they had spent in that city a few weeks earlier when Arbós had conducted the French premiere of *Noches* with Joaquín Nin (4 January). Again, Arbós wished Falla success with the premiere of *Tricornio*.⁴⁹ He wrote this letter on a sheet of paper which advertised the Concurso de Obras Musicales organized by the San Sebastian Gran Casino. The contest was open to Spanish composers who would compose a piece for a large orchestra ‘in several movements’—a symphonic poem or symphony—that dealt with a Spanish topic. Arbós starts his letter by encouraging Falla to participate given the importance of the prize—5000 pesetas—and to enrich the repertory with another major piece. Indeed, during these years of correspondence, Arbós repeatedly asked Falla for symphonic compositions to include in his programmes. It is difficult not to see Arbós’s own interest in Falla composing a more extensive symphonic work, a symphonic poem or symphony, given the success

(Sevilla). I have kept the dual-language original in the main text because of the peculiarity of the common letter by Arbós and his wife.

⁴⁵ Collins and Gooley, ‘Music and the New Cosmopolitanism’, 3.

⁴⁶ Letter to Falla dated 22 July 1919 (Zumaya).

⁴⁷ Adolfo Salazar, ‘Triunfo del arte español: Manuel de Falla y el Sombrero de tres picos. Éxitos y duelos’, *El Sol*, 25 July 1919, p. 1.

⁴⁸ Hess, *Manuel de Falla*, 130–1.

⁴⁹ Letter to Falla dated 23 Jan. 1920 (Madrid). *El sombrero de tres picos* often appeared as *Tricornio* in these letters.

he had obtained conducting *Noches*, Falla's greatest symphonic work to date. The end of this letter—‘And come back soon to help your loving friends live out their lives in this sad village of the bear without the strawberry tree’—reveals the friendship the pair had already consolidated during their years in Madrid, a friendship that would continue once Falla moved to Granada that summer (see Pl. 2).⁵⁰

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El amor brujo [Love, the Magician] (1920)

The first version of *El amor brujo* premiered on 15 April 1915, a one-act, two-scene *gitanería* with music by Falla, who mixed gypsy music and symphonic writing.⁵¹ It was a completely new kind of stage show, conceived as a final performance for the flamenco dancer Pastora Imperio, but with an original script and set design that opened the door to modernity in Spanish music.⁵² Nevertheless, it prompted harsh reactions couched in deeply felt views of what constituted Spanish national identity, perhaps because the ‘Frenchified’ Falla had not anticipated that Spaniards would react to Spanish music rather differently than had international audiences.⁵³

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The correspondence related to this work shows that Falla chose not to participate in the symphonic composition contest, nor was he able to be part of the jury, as Arbós had requested.⁵⁴ Furthermore, Arbós suggested including the original *gitanería* version of *El amor brujo* in the programme for the final concert, a piece that had inconspicuously premiered in Madrid in 1915 and which was performed in its concert version in March 1916. A later telegram reveals that Falla must have agreed to perform the original *gitanería* again, as Arbós informed him that the negotiations with Pastora Imperio had failed and so they were in talks with other *bailaoras*.⁵⁵ The difficulties in finding a new *bailaora*, and in reconstructing the novel stage and drama conception of the piece, would finally lead Arbós to abandon the idea of performing the stage version.

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There are also references to *El amor brujo* one year later in a letter from Arbós's wife Ela.⁵⁶ It states that the director of the Paris Opera, Monsieur Rouché, would be in charge of a revival of Granados's *Goyescas*. He was asking for suggestions of a short Spanish piece featuring dances that the Opera's subscribers might like, and wanted to consult Falla on the possibility of performing *El amor brujo*. Furthermore, Arbós proposed a tour in France, which would also include *Noches*. Unable to find a suitable pianist, he invited Falla himself to play the solo piano part.⁵⁷ Already in Granada, Falla replied with potential dates for the tour and agreed to send him the score of *El amor brujo*, adding: ‘the only one who could do this is “la Argentina”, and who knows where she is. As for the voice, it is not a big deal . . .’.⁵⁸

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⁵⁰ ‘y vuelva pronto para ayudar a pasar la vida en esta villa triste del oso sin el madroño a sus amigos que tanto le quieren. Arbós y Bérengere.’ Ibid. This is a joke by Arbós: an image of a bear reaching up to a strawberry tree appears on the coat of arms of Madrid as a symbol of the city.

⁵¹ Hess, *Manuel de Falla*, 57.

⁵² Elena Torres Clemente, ‘Repensar *El amor brujo* en el siglo xxi: Nuevas interpretaciones sobre la obra y su autor’, in Torres (ed.), *El amor brujo*, 13–14.

⁵³ Hess, *Manuel de Falla*, 59.

⁵⁴ Letter to Falla dated 29 July 1920 (San Sebastián).

⁵⁵ Telegram to Falla dated 18 Aug. 1920 (San Sebastián). *Bailaora* is the Spanish term used for a female flamenco dancer.

⁵⁶ Letter to Falla dated 21 Sept. 1921 (San Sebastián).

⁵⁷ Letter to Falla dated 22 Nov. 1921 (Madrid).

⁵⁸ ‘la única que pudiera hacer esto es la Argentina, y no sé donde andará. En cuanto a la voz no es cosa grave . . .’. Draft letter to Arbós dated 26 Jan. 1921 (Granada).



Pl. 2. Photograph of Arbós dedicated to Falla in December 1920, inscribed 'To my dearest friend Falla with the faithful affection and enthusiastic admiration of his friend and companion E. F. Arbós' [A mi queridísimo amigo Falla con el fiel afecto y entusiasta admiración de su amigo y compañero E. F. Arbós]. Manuel de Falla Archive, Granada

As with so many other projects, the tour with Falla on the piano seems never to have happened, as only a few months later Arbós wrote to Falla:

I just conducted *El amor brujo* in Nantes and Paris with great success; the orchestra performed it very well. I am delighted with the piece. I like it more and more each time. It is the heart of Andalusia, but revealed with the signature and good taste of a deep and genuine artistry. And it sounds wonderful. But what is now needed is a Spaniard to conduct it and manage the *mise au point* [sic], as you have no idea how difficult it is for foreign orchestras to find the true character of the piece without the guidance of someone from our land.⁵⁹

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From this point onwards, *El amor brujo* became a recurrent piece in Arbós's repertory and correspondence, and he would write to Falla relating how he had 'conducted *El amor brujo* again to great success'.⁶⁰

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Over the following years Arbós never stopped insisting on the idea of performing the *gitanería* at the Paris Opera, and Falla would gratefully reply with precise indications on the requirements for a potential protagonist:

You can imagine how happy your Rouché—*El amor brujo* news make me. And I'm writing to Chester so that they send you the *mise en scène* and the music. In case 'Dora la Cordobesita' can't make it, and given that 'la Argentina' does not sing, the songs should be sung behind the scenes and as close to the stage as possible, as indicated in the libretto you will receive. Therefore, the singer does not appear on the stage.⁶¹

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Finally, Arbós confirmed to Falla that the stage version of *El amor brujo* had been scheduled at the Paris Opera for December 1924.

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After it had been premiered in April 1915, the original *gitanería* briefly toured Madrid, Valencia, and Barcelona, and finally Buenos Aires in September that year.⁶² Arbós had not been able to see the staged version, so he found it difficult to describe the role to potential protagonists. As a result, he asked Falla to send him a script for the performance part and told him that he would try to get 'Dora la Cordobesita' to perform it.

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I'll make sure to play the music for *El amor brujo* to her, but given that I haven't seen the stage version, I'd like you to tell me exactly how the acting, music, dance, and body language go, so that I can explain them to her. Is there a libretto for the stage part?

Could you send it to me promptly? The idea is that she will become interested in the part. I'd also be grateful if you could tell me how the role is played when there are two performers, a singer and a dancer.⁶³

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⁵⁹ 'Acabo de dirigir en Nantes y en París el *Amor Brujo* que ha tenido un gran éxito y fue muy bien tocado. Yo estoy encantado de la obra. Cada vez me gusta más. Es la entraña de Andalucía pero expuesta con una firma y buen gusto de artista profundo y sincero. Suená además maravillosamente bien. Ahora, que hace falta sea un español el que dirija y se ocupe de la *mise au point* [sic] de estas obras, pues no se puede Vd. imaginar la dificultad que encuentran las orquestas extranjeras para dar el verdadero carácter si no están guiados por uno de la tierra.' Letter to Falla dated 21 Jan. 1922 (Madrid).

⁶⁰ Letter to Falla dated 11 Sept. 1922 (San Sebastián).

⁶¹ 'Me alegra cuanto Vd. supondrá las noticias que me da sobre Rouché-Amor brujo.

Y escribo a la casa Chester para que envíe a Vd. la *mise en scène* detallada con la música correspondiente. De no poder Dora la Cordobesita y puesto que la Argentina no canta, las canciones se cantarán entre bastidores y lo más cerca posible de la escena, como ya está indicado en el libretto que recibirá Vd. Por consiguiente, la artista de canto no actúa en la representación.' Draft letter to Arbós dated c.1924 (sign. 6968-009).

⁶² 'Teatros y conciertos. La escena lírica. El amor brujo', *La Nación* (Buenos Aires), 28 Sept. 1915, p. 10.

⁶³ 'Para ello le haré oír la música del *Amor Brujo* pero como yo no lo he visto en la escena, quisiera que VD me dijera exactamente sus actuaciones como música, baile y mímica para podérselo explicar y que se interese. No existe un libretto de la parte escénica? . . .

The writing of the original *gitanería* seems to have been an obstacle for playing it at the Paris Opera. Arbós received a stage script sent by the music publisher Chester in which—as he confessed to Falla—it was extremely difficult to understand the acting and staging.

These comments by Arbós almost ten years after the *gitanería* premiered in Spain are no surprise. Some reviews had already noted that on the opening night there was a lack of correlation between the lyrical elements and the action, as well as the new aesthetics of the staging and certain effects confusing the audience.⁶⁴ Arbós believed it was therefore essential for Falla to participate in the stage direction. By December, the project with the Paris Opera was not yet agreed and Arbós wrote to Falla to ask him about the original stage decor made by Néstor de la Torre, which had caused a sensation in the original *gitanería*:

But it's absolutely necessary for you to take part in stage direction, etc. as in the staging sent by Chester (which 'la Cordobesita' now has) it's very difficult to understand the action. Do you know what happened to Néstor's stage design? Was it good?⁶⁵

The difficulties in staging the 1915 original *gitanería* and the interest shown by Antonia Mercé—'La Argentina'—in playing the part after years of work with Falla resulted in a new ballet-pantomime version, which premiered at the Théâtre Trianon Lyrique in París on 23 May 1925. Arbós kept programming the concert version throughout the following years until April 1934, when he conducted the version premiered by 'La Argentina' in Paris for a Spanish music festival organized by her at the Teatro Español in Madrid:

I've already told you about the wonderful success of *El amor brujo* in Madrid staged by 'La Argentina'. I don't think Madrid has ever seen such a beautiful and complete work of art. I have never seen Antonia perform it and she really moved me and the whole audience that packed the theatre for five days running (20 pesetas a seat). We could have staged three or four more performances, but we had to leave Madrid on the 3rd and Antonia also had other commitments. Both Antonia, in the first place, and Pastora Escudero and the girls were a wonderful ensemble that Madrid will remember for a long time. And the songs had a performer in Conchita Velázquez (who I believe was unsurpassable). Both the 'Danza ritual del fuego' [Ritual Fire Dance] and the 'Danza del terror' [Dance of Terror] as well as the second song (danced by Pastora) had encores every night. It's a pity you were not with us. Antonia showed admirable enthusiasm, art, and magic to recite this beautiful piece and on the last night there were ovations such that I had never heard before. She had to come back to the stage 10 or 12 times!⁶⁶

No me lo podría enviar a la mayor premura? Mi idea es que a ella le interese el hacerlo. También le agradeceré me indique como se reparte el papel cuando son dos, una artista para el canto y otra para el baile.' Letter to Falla dated 30 July 1924 (Cauterets).

⁶⁴ Eduardo López-Chávarri, 'La música en España. Valencia. El concierto de la Orquesta del Conservatorio. – Amparo Iturbi y Leopoldo Querol. –"Amor Brujo" –Una bella frase de Hans de Bülow', *Revista Musical Hispano-americana*, 16 (May–June 1915), 10–11.

⁶⁵ 'Pero es de absoluta necesidad que VD intervenga en la cuestión de dirección de escena etc. etc. pues el escenario que mandó Chester (y que por cierto lo tiene la Cordobesita) es muy difícil de entender la acción y cómo se debe hacer. Sabe VD. que fue de las decoraciones de Néstor? Estaban bien?' Letter to Falla dated 6 Dec. 1924 (Madrid).

⁶⁶ 'Ya le dije el éxito maravilloso que tuvo en Madrid el *Amor Brujo* montado por la Argentina. Creo que no se haya visto en Madrid un conjunto tan hermoso ni una manifestación tan completa de arte. Yo no se lo había visto hacer nunca a Antonia y realmente me emocionó y conmigo a todo el público que llenó por cinco días consecutivos el Teatro (a 20 pesetas la butaca). Se hubieran podido dar 3 o 4 representaciones más pero nosotros teníamos que salir de Madrid el 3 y Antonia también tenía otros compromisos. Tanto Antonia, en primer lugar, como Pastora Escudero y las chicas formaban un conjunto admirable y que Madrid no olvidará en mucho tiempo. También las

Turning point: *Retablo de Maese Pedro* [Master Peter's Puppet Show] (1923) and *Concerto* (1928)

After the international acclaim he had obtained performing Falla's music, specifically *Noches en los jardines de España* and *El amor brujo* in Paris in 1923, Arbós encouraged Falla to keep writing: 'Congratulations and keep on working on more beautiful things. I'd like to tell you that you should take no notice of any fashion or influence. You are above all that and should write what you feel and follow the path of *Amor* and the *Nocturnos*.'⁶⁷

In fact a few years earlier, in 1920, a new piece by Falla based on 'El retablo de Maese Pedro' had already been announced in the press.⁶⁸ Having returned from Paris that year, Falla announced that he would move to Granada in order to write *El retablo de Maese Pedro* in peace, an adaptation for the stage of a chapter from *Don Quixote*, to be performed in Paris at Princesse de Polignac's house.⁶⁹ This same article mentions the premiere of *El sombrero* in Paris, of the *Ballets Russes*, and Stravinsky's *Pulcinella*, 'a delightful pantomime' of 'pungent' harmony which 'brings out the soft and lilting melodies by Pergolesi'. But it was an article by Adolfo Salazar in *El Sol* that proclaimed a change in compositional direction in Falla's new work:

—Every night when I go to bed—he says—, new ideas and projects occur to me, and in each of them I'd like to renew my technique, rework my methods, or change direction to reflect a new colour; changes that are nothing more than a complete affirmation of personality, new approaches, and new points of view.

To repeat oneself! Here is the danger, old age, academicism. To renew oneself is the secret, in such a way that each different position defines the total volume in which the statue marks out its space. Substantial unity and multiple aspects. Few artists have known how to fulfil this splendid intention to the extent that Falla has.

After *El sombrero de tres picos*, *El retablo de Maese Pedro*, the new work by Falla, represents this change... besides the purely Castilian nature of the music, based partly on Castilian popular songs and in concert arrangements of its greatest classics—thus following the Pedrellian school—I've been able to observe the criteria that Falla uses for instrumentation, which is that of a small orchestra, utilizing the instruments as soloists to highlight pure timbres. An even smaller orchestra than that of the first version of *El Corregidor y la Molinera* [The Magistrate and the Miller's Wife], aside from what this means in the context of modern orchestral trends, is a logically suitable arrangement for a small theatre-room for which Falla composed this piece commissioned by the Princesse de Polignac. I believe it is no more than forty minutes in length, and the skill of his technique is such, that in a new style, with a new colour, and in a time and place different from what is customary with Falla, his new work will be—without a doubt—a new masterpiece.⁷⁰

canciones tuvieron una intérprete (yo creo que insuperable en Conchita Velázquez). Tanto la danza del fuego como la del Terror y la segunda canción (bailada por Pastora) fueron bisadas todas las noches. Es una pena que VD no haya podido estar con nosotros. Antonia estuvo admirable de entusiasmo, arte y magia para recitar esta bellísima obra y la última noche hubo ovaciones como yo no recuerdo. Teniendo que salir a escena 10 y 12 veces!" Letter to Falla dated 21 May 1934 (Vigo).

⁶⁷ Letter to Falla dated 7 Feb. 1923 (Madrid). This letter and the reply from Falla (14 Feb. 1923, Granada) constitute texts of exceptional interest to illustrate the aesthetic and musical conceptions that both musicians exchange in this correspondence; in consequence these texts are transcribed in full in Appendix I.

⁶⁸ Corpus Barga [Andrés García de Barga], 'Nuestras crónicas de París. La calva de Falla y El sombrero de tres picos. Reflexiones sobre las Bellas Artes', *El Sol*, 13 Feb. 1920, p. 5.

⁶⁹ Juan del Brezo [Juan José Mantecón], 'Lo que dice Falla a su regreso de París', *La Voz*, 12 July 1920, p. 8.

⁷⁰ '—Al acostarme, cada noche—dice—, nuevas ideas y nuevos proyectos me asaltan, y en cada uno de ellos quisiera renovar mi técnica, rehacer mi sistema de procedimientos, cambiar de faceta para reflejar un color nuevo; cambios que no son sino la afirmación más completa de la personalidad, nuevos enfoques y nuevos puntos de vista.

In view of Arbós's concerns regarding a shift from the style of *El amor brujo* and *Noches en los jardines de España*, Falla immediately replies: 'Do not fear, I will never follow any fashion contrary to my way of feeling in music. I am and always have been absolutely impervious to this.' Abandoning the *andalucista* musical language with which he had defined himself in *La vida breve*, the *Cuatro piezas españolas*, the *Siete canciones populares españolas*, *Noches en los jardines de España*, *El amor brujo*, *El sombrero de tres picos*, and the *Fantasía bética*, Falla found his new style in the cosmopolitan and 'universalist' idiom of neoclassicism, 'engaged in a fascinating dialogue between past and present, elite and popular, all within the quest for national identity with a modernist hue'.⁷¹ Although *El retablo*'s Castilianism has been praised as the cradle of pure national identity, one that leads to mysticism and that transcends the periphery in musical representations of Spanishness, the fact is that few of the musical elements in this piece actually derived from Castilian sources. Falla saw it as a means of distancing himself from *andalucismo*, although the similarity between the constructions of 'purity' attached to Castile and the rhetoric of neoclassicism led to this perception of Castile's aesthetic validity by both Spanish and foreign colleagues.⁷²

Aware of the expectations raised by the premiere of his new piece, in his letter Falla invited Arbós to attend the first performances of *El retablo*, which would take place at the *Sociedad Filarmónica* based in Seville in late March, and he even asks Arbós to 'do us the honour of conducting the orchestra'.⁷³ But Arbós replied with a different wish:

Dear Manuel: many thanks for your warm letter that has moved me and brought me joy. I'm briefly writing to you to ask if you would like me to premiere your *Retablo de Maese Pedro* in our next series of concerts which starts on 1 March. Needless to say, it would be a great pleasure to perform your new production as I have had the good fortune to do with all the others. I was not aware that it could be played as a concert version, otherwise I would have asked you before. Who's going to play it with the Seville Philharmonic? I ask because it is almost certain that we will be there in April and if we performed it here in Madrid we could do it in Seville as well. This is of course, as long as you don't have other commitments. Who knows, if I knew it well I could even premiere it in Paris as well! Ultimately, don't see this as anything other than my desire and pleasure in continuing to be your first performer. Let me know if you want the Symphonic to premiere *El retablo*...⁷⁴

¡Repetirse! He aquí el peligro, la vejez, el academismo. Renovarse es el secreto, de tal modo, que defina en cada distinta postura el total volumen con que la estatua se traza en el espacio. Unidad de fondo y pluralidad de aspectos. Pocos artistas han sabido cumplir, como Falla, hasta ahora, este propósito espléndido.

Después de "El sombrero de tres picos", la nueva obra de Falla, titulada "El Retablo de maese Pedro", representa ese cambio de frente.

... a más del carácter puramente castellano de la música, basada a trozos en el canto popular de Castilla y en la música concertada de sus grandes clásicos—siguiendo así estrechamente la doctrina pedrelliana—, he podido observar el criterio seguido por Falla en la instrumentación, que es el de la orquesta reducida, utilizando los instrumentos como solistas y aprovechando sus timbres puros. Una orquesta aún más reducida que la primitiva versión de "El Corregidor y la Molinera", y—aparte de lo que esto significa dentro de las modernas tendencias orquestales—la lógicamente adecuada al pequeño salón-teatro para el que, por encargo de la princesa de Polignac, Falla ha ideado su obra. Su duración creo que no excederá de cuarenta minutos, y la filigrana de su técnica es tal, que en un nuevo estilo, con un color nuevo, en época y ambiente distintos de lo acostumbrado en Falla, su nueva obra será—¡poco cuesta este futuro!—una nueva obra maestra. Adolfo Salazar, 'Manuel de Falla en Granada. "El Retablo de Maese Pedro". Otras obras nuevas de Falla', *El Sol*, 25 Oct. 1921, p. 8.

⁷¹ Hess, *Sacred Passions*, 136–8.

⁷² Hess, *Manuel de Falla*, 210–11.

⁷³ Draft letter to Arbós dated 14 Feb. 1923 (Granada).

⁷⁴ 'Querido Manuel: mil gracias por su cariñosa carta que también me ha alegrado y emocionado. Le escribo a escape dos palabras para preguntarle si quiere VD que estrene su "Retablo de Maese Pedro" en nuestra próxima serie de conciertos que empieza a 1^{os} de Marzo. Excuso decirle a VD. qué gusto tendría en estrenar su nueva producción, así como me ha cabido la suerte de hacer con todas las demás. Ignoraba que se pudiera ejecutar en

The manuscript with Falla's reply has not been preserved, but *El retablo* was finally premiered in its concert version in March at the Teatro de San Fernando in Seville conducted by Falla himself, 'a good Andalusian, he had the grace to offer the premiere to his country' wrote a contemporary critic.⁷⁵ In May that same year, Arbós wrote to Falla while touring with the Madrid Symphony Orchestra and asked him about the possibility of playing *El retablo* in the autumn.⁷⁶ However, a version of this piece conducted by Arbós was still years away. Falla's aesthetic shift in *El retablo* and the Concerto for Harpsichord, Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Violin, and Violoncello, away from the style of *El amor brujo* and *Noches*, is likely to have delayed their inclusion in the repertory of the Madrid Orchestra and in Arbós's concerts abroad. In fact, in November 1928 Falla sent Arbós a signed copy of the Concerto score. The conductor admitted that it was a difficult piece to appreciate on first hearing, while at the same time noting the continuing evolution of music during this era and showing himself open to study Falla's new work: 'I have received the photographs and the Concerto score, and I'm very grateful and moved by the warm dedication that it contains. I'm glad to have the score, as it is not an easy work to appreciate on first hearing, and in this time of constant evolution I wish to study the piece.'⁷⁷

Although one might think that the Concerto is a chamber piece impossible to adapt to Arbós's Madrid orchestra, the fact is that there is no mention of *El retablo* in the correspondence between these two musicians until 1932, when the conductor suggests playing it in a festival dedicated to music based on *Don Quixote*:

After our series of popular concerts at the Monumental, which finished on 27 November, I'm organizing two important festivals, one entirely dedicated to works from different countries based on *Don Quixote* (with pieces by Telleman [sic] 1680, Purcell, Philidor, Strauss etc.) and another devoted to Stravinsky and in which I will premiere *The Rite of Spring*. Naturally, I want to include *El Retablo de Maese Pedro* in the first festival and it would be a pleasure for all of us if you could be there, either conducting or playing the harpsichord or simply in the audience.

... After playing the concert version of your *Retablo*, I would like to conduct the full version with puppets at the Teatro Lírico Nacional. This should come after the concert version (which would be a rehearsal too) and before the end of December ...

The programme would look something like this:

1. *Don Quixote Overture* [sic] —Telleman [sic] 1680
Sighs of Love for Princess Dulcinée and Attacking the Windmills.
2. *D. Quijote velando las armas* —Esplá
3. a Aria —Philidor
a Aria —Purcell

-.
El Retablo de Maese Pedro—M de Falla

concierto, si no, ya se la habría pedido. ¿Quién la va a ejecutar en el Filarmónica de Sevilla? Lo digo, porque es casi seguro que nosotros vayamos allí en Abril, y si la hubiéramos ya tocado aquí en Madrid podríamos ejecutarla. Esto, naturalmente, siempre que no haya VD. hecho otros proyectos. Quien sabe, si conociéndola ya bien podría estrenarla igualmente en París!

En fin, no vea VD. en todo esto más que el deseo y el placer de seguir siendo yo su primer intérprete.

Dígame pues si quiere que le estrene el "Retablo" la Sinfónica ...'. Letter to Falla dated 17 Feb. 1923 (Madrid).

⁷⁵ José Andrés Vázquez, 'Cartas andaluzas: "El retablo de Maese Pedro", una obra de Falla', *El Imparcial*, 30 Mar. 1923, p. 3.

⁷⁶ Postcard to Falla dated 21 May 1923 (Burgos).

⁷⁷ 'Recibí las fotografías y la partitura del Concierto, por ambas cosas le estoy muy agradecido y enternecido por la cariñosa dedicatoria del concierto. Me alegro tenerla, pues no es obra que puede apreciarse en una sola audición y en esta época de constante evolución es obra que deseo estudiar.' Postcard to Falla dated 23 Nov. 1928 (Madrid).

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D. Quixote — Strauss⁷⁸

The concert finally took place on 16 December in Madrid. Falla could not attend for reasons of health, but Arbós wrote him a telegram noting his appreciation for *El retablo de Maese Pedro*: 'Your beautiful piece was a great success yesterday. I can assure you that the singers and orchestra played it magnificently. Particularly wonderful was Niño Aguirre, and it was as if your spirit had been with us.'⁷⁹ And he adds in a later letter:

It was a real pity you could not attend the concert. First, because we would all have liked to honour you publicly for writing such an extraordinary piece, so Quixotic, so Castilian and heartfelt. And also because—and here I cannot deceive myself—it was played in an admirable way and was loyal to all your intentions and wishes. I worked with love and followed all your instructions. I taught the singers the musical and declamatory sentiment of each word myself, and both the singers and the orchestra were absolutely perfect. Niño Aguirre, who sang the Trujamán part, was simply extraordinary and unsurpassable, I don't think you've ever seen a better singer. Ease, joy, perfect elocution (with accents), grace, and alertness, and an irresistible charm... the play and Aguirre received a spontaneous and deserved ovation, and he came back to the stage many times. Just imagine if you had been there!

The harpsichord that Miguel Salvador kindly lent us after having repaired it went out of tune at the general rehearsal the day of the concert and the keys broke as they were trying to fix it. We had to use a piano imitating the harpsichord, but even with all that, the balance was perfect.

I want you to know how happy I am for having conducted such an original, noble, and profound piece.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ 'Al terminar nuestra serie de conciertos populares que estamos dando en el Monumental el 27 de este mes de Noviembre voy a hacer dos grandes festivales de altura, uno dedicado enteramente a las obras de distintos países y compositores sugeridas por *el Quijote* (en el cual habrá ejemplos de Telleman [sic] 1680, Purcell, Philidor, Strauss etc. y el otro dedicado a Stravinsky en el cual daré por 1% vez la *Consagración de la Primavera*. Naturalmente, para el festival del Quijote he pensado en *El Retablo de Maese Pedro*, y todos tendríamos mucho placer en que VD estuviera presente, sea dirigiéndolo, o tocando el cembalo, o simplemente sentado en la sala para oírlo.

... Despues de dar su *Retablo* en la versión de concierto, hay el deseo de darlo en el Teatro Lírico Nacional, con muñecos y completo, dirigido por mí. Y esto tendría que ser después de la audición de concierto (que serviría ya de ensayo) y antes del final del mes de Diciembre...
El Programa sería poco más o menos así:

1º Oertura [sic] del Quijote — Telleman [sic] 1680
Los suspiros de D. Quijote a Dulcinea y ataque a los molinos.
2. D. Quijote velando las armas — Esplá
3. a Aria — Philidor
a Aria — Purcell

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El Retablo de Maese Pedro — M de Falla

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D. Quijote — Strauss
Letter to Falla dated 10 Nov. 1932 (Madrid).

⁷⁹ 'Su hermosísima obra obtuvo ayer un éxito rotundo. Puedo asegurarle que la ejecución fue magnífica de parte de cantores y orquesta. Especialmente maravilloso niño Aguirre como si su espíritu estuviera con nosotros.' Telegram to Falla dated 17 Dec. 1932 (Madrid).

⁸⁰ 'ha sido un dolor que no pudiera VD asistir a la ejecución de su "Retablo". Primero, porque todos hubiéramos deseado rendir a VD públicamente el tributo de nuestra admiración por esa extraordinaria obra tan Quijotesca, tan castellana y tan sentida. Y segundo porque, sin que yo me pueda llamar a engaño, tuvo una interpretación en todos modos admirable y fiel a todas sus intenciones y deseos. Y trabajé con amor y siguiendo todas sus instrucciones. Yo mismo enseñé a los cantores el sentido musical y declamatorio de cada palabra y el conjunto de ellos y la Orquesta fue realmente perfecto. El niño Aguirre que cantó el Trujamán estuvo simplemente extraordinario e insuperable no creyendo que haya VD podido nunca tener un intérprete parecido. Soltura, alegría, elocución perfecta (con sus

Falla replied to congratulate him on the success of *The Rite* and for *El retablo*:

I don't want to let another day go by without telling you about my excitement and joy reading everything you have told me, nor do I want to delay sending you the attached portrait that Stravinsky has sent. And I would also like to congratulate you warmly on the magnificent success of *Le Sacre*, (do you remember my wish that you should do it when we spoke here?), given that I was unfortunately not able to accompany you at yesterday's warm reception, which I only just found out about... How I long to hear that Trujamán that you and everyone else are celebrating so much for me!⁸¹ 5

It had taken almost ten years for Arbós to include the innovative and neoclassical aesthetics of *El Retablo* in his repertory, almost at the end of his career. In the meantime, he had preferred to disseminate music by Falla more directly linked to Andalusian popular music—*El amor brujo*, *Noches*, and some dances of *El Sombrero*. This had granted him great success and with it he had helped create a popular image of Falla. However, an almost 70-year-old Arbós was eventually 'modernized' by Falla's aesthetic turning point, which seems to have convinced him to launch *Le Sacre* in Spain. Falla himself was especially satisfied with the bringing together of 'utterly modern' pieces in the festivals programmed by Arbós, when the premiere of *Le Sacre* coincided with *El retablo*. Arbós also notes his great success with Stravinsky in a later letter: 'You cannot imagine the great success of *Le Sacre du Printemps* the other day. I do not recall a night like this in all these years, I have to admit we were fortunate and it was a splendid concert.'⁸² In reality, though, there was hard work behind this success. Some critics of the time tell of how Arbós carried out twenty-one rehearsals using a portable gramophone. He would play shellac records and listen to short three-minute fragments and then rehearse repeatedly the same fragment.⁸³ He was praised even by young composers such as Salvador Bacarisso,⁸⁴ although it is again worth quoting Salazar's 10 15 20 25 vibrant words:

But Arbós has accepted this heroic challenge, and being the skilled man that he is, he has been able to prepare the audience appropriately with cautious words, while solidly rehearsing the piece. 'The Rite of Spring', one would say, is a work for young directors, except for its tremen-

acentos cambiados), gracia y malicia, con una simpatía irresistible... Tuvieron la obra y él una ovación espontánea y merecida, volviendo repetidas veces a saludar. Qué hubiera sido si hubiera VD asistido a la fiesta!...

El clave que galantemente nos cedió Miguel Salvador después de haberle hecho un arreglo completo, en el ensayo general, el mismo día del concierto, empezó a desafinarse, y en los intentos de repaso que se hicieron empezó a ceder la tabla del clavijero. No hubo más remedio que echar mano de un piano con el correspondiente apagador para imitar el clave, pero así y todo el equilibrio fue perfecto.

Termino esta diciendo lo muy feliz que he sido dirigiendo esta obra tan original, tan noble y tan honda.' Letter to Falla dated 22 Dec. 1932 (Madrid).

⁸¹ 'pero ni quiero dejar pasar un día más sin decirle con cuanta emoción y alegría he leído todo cuanto me dice, ni tampoco demorar el envío del adjunto retrato de Strawinsky que me acaba de mandar para usted. Y también quiero felicitarle vivamente por el magnífico éxito del "Sacre", (¿recuerda Vd. mi deseo de que lo hiciera cuando hablamos aquí?) ya que desgraciadamente no he podido acompañarle en el agasajo de ayer y del que me acabo de enterar en este momento...'

¡Cuánto deseo tengo de oír a ese Trujamán que usted y todos me celebran tanto! Draft letter to Arbós dated 4 Jan. 1933 (Granada). Although this typed draft is dated 4 Jan. 1932, the right date is 4 Jan. 1933 since it refers to these concerts (held in Dec. 1932) and also includes a photo for Arbós dedicated by Stravinsky dated 31 Dec. 1932.

⁸² 'No se puede Vd figurar el éxito que alcanzó *Le Sacre du Printemps* el otro día. No recuerdo en toda mi carrera un triunfo semejante y debo admitir que tuvimos suerte y que la ejecución fue espléndida.' Letter to Falla dated 5 Jan. 1933 (Madrid).

⁸³ Gómez Amat, *La Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid*, 98–9.

⁸⁴ Salvador Bacarisso, 'Música. Orquesta sinfónica. El "Quijote" en la música. "La consagración de la primavera"', *Luz*, 24 Dec. 1932, p. 9.

dous technical difficulties. What should be said of this veteran maestro, who at almost seventy years of age decides to make an effort that would exhaust a conductor of twenty-five?

This fact deserves to be emphasized right from the start. The audience evidently highlighted it with applause. Given that 'The Rite' was a clear and absolute success, Arbós received the warmest and most affectionate applause. And to the Symphony Orchestra, which returned with its own applause the glory that belonged to its veteran maestro, who won yesterday one of the best and most brilliant battles: one which most highly honours his artistic career, one that is overflowing with triumphs.⁸⁵

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In those years, Falla was especially interested in obtaining international recognition for his most modern pieces. Therefore, in 1936, on the occasion of the International Society for Contemporary Music Festival, when Arbós asked Falla which of his pieces he would like him to perform,⁸⁶ Falla replied 'regarding my choice of another of my pieces, I would say *El Retablo de Maese Pedro*, and if that is not possible, *Noches*'.⁸⁷

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Fanfare (1934)

On 24 December 1934 Arbós turned 70 and to celebrate the event, fourteen Spanish composers wrote brief pieces using the notes that could be related to the letters of his second surname, to which Falla added the initials of his first name and first surname (see Pl. 3).

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Falla's work opened a concert held on 28 March 1934 at the Teatro Calderón in Madrid, where the honouree himself would conduct the fourteen compositions.⁸⁸ Falla sent his work from Palma de Mallorca just four days before the concert: 'I'm affectionately sending you *Fanfare* for trumpet, French horns, timpani, and drums, and I regret not being able to be there for the concert. Congratulations for the Paris concerts. Best wishes. Manuel'.⁸⁹ Just three days later, the day before the concert, Arbós sent a grateful reply: 'Received and rehearsed your brilliant *Fanfare* worthy of you and your affection to which I return with gratitude and with all my heart. Best wishes. Arbós'.⁹⁰

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At the end of the following year, on his seventy-second birthday, Arbós received the original manuscript of Falla's piece, and it was Bérengère (Ela) who thanked M%o del Carmen de Falla—Manuel's sister—for sending it: 'Enrique will write to Manolo as

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⁸⁵ 'Pero Arbós ha querido arriesgarse a esa heroicidad, y como es hombre hábil, ha sabido preparar al público convenientemente con unas prudentes palabras, mientras que preparaba sólidamente la ejecución de la obra. "La consagración de la Primavera", se diría, —salvo sus tremendas dificultades técnicas—, es obra para directores jóvenes. ¿Qué habrá de decirse de este maestro veterano, que al borde de sus setenta años se resuelve a un esfuerzo capaz de agotar a un director de veinticinco?

Merece destacarse este hecho en primer lugar. El público lo destacó, evidentemente, con su aplauso. Porque si "La consagración" obtuvo un triunfo franco, plenario, el aplauso más cordial y más afectuoso fue el tributado a Arbós. Y a la Orquesta Sinfónica, que devolvía con sus aplausos la gloria que le tocaba en parte a su maestro veterano y bisoño, ganada ayer, de la mejor y más brillante de sus batallas: lo que más honra puede dar a su historia artística, llena hasta desbordar de triunfos.' Adolfo Salazar, 'La vida musical. "La consagración de la primavera" en la Orquesta Sinfónica', *El Sol*, 24 Dec. 1932, p. 3.

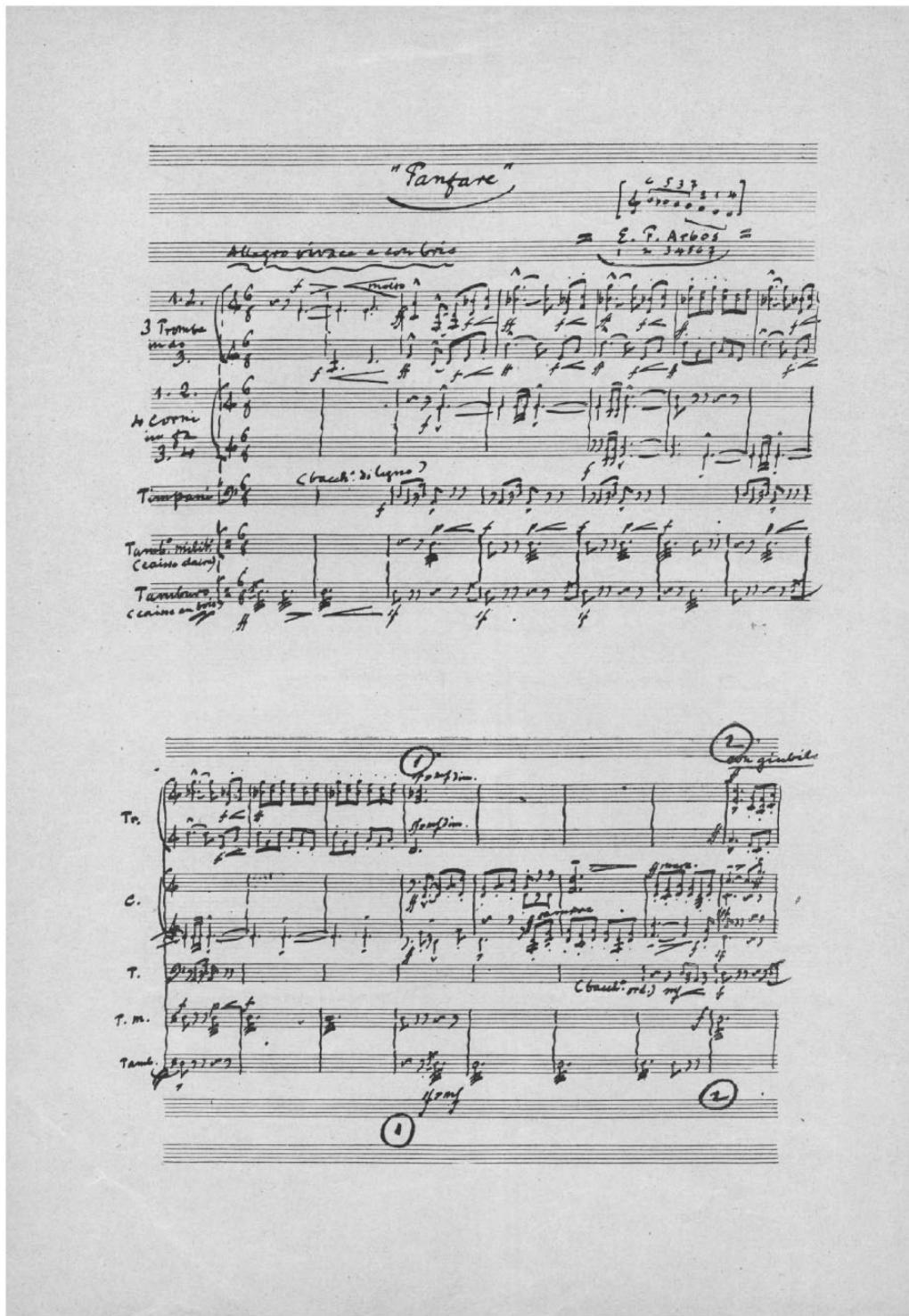
⁸⁶ Letter to Falla dated 18 Feb. 1936 (Madrid)

⁸⁷ 'Y en cuanto a la elección de otra cosa mía, mis preferencias van por el "Retablo", y de no ser posible, por las "Noches".' Letter to Arbós dated 8 Mar. 1936 (Granada) [carbon copy].

⁸⁸ Antonio Gallego, 'Datos para el análisis de la "Fanfare sobre el nombre de Arbós"', *Quodlibet*, 53/2 (2013), 45–67 at 64.

⁸⁹ 'De corazón envíe fanfare para trompeta, trompas, timbales, tambores, sintiendo no acompañarles dia concierto. Gratitud felicitaciones por conciertos París. Abrazos. Manuel.' Telegram to Arbós dated 24 Mar. 1934 (Palma de Mallorca).

⁹⁰ 'Recibida y ensayada brillantísima Fanfara digna de usted y de su cariño al cual correspondo agradecidísimo y con toda el alma. Abrazos. Arbós.' Telegram to Falla dated 27 Mar. 1934 (Madrid).



Pl. 3. Manuel de Falla, Fanfare, MS, 1. Manuel de Falla Archive, Granada

soon as he can to thank him for the original manuscript of his *Fanfare* for which he is immensely grateful.⁹¹ A few days later Arbós himself wrote to Falla:

In my first moment of relative calm I'm writing to personally thank you with all my heart for sending me my *Fanfare*! May God reward you, and I believe that your manuscript will be one of those intimate and precious things that one would want to surround oneself with, especially in the last years of one's life.⁹²

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MUSICAL ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT

Sociedad de Autores Españoles (SAE) (1927-8)

The Sociedad de Autores Españoles (SAE) was created in 1899 to defend the rights of authors against publishers who monopolized the sale of materials for performances. After 1920, however, the SAE lost importance and economic clout due to errors, abuses, and embezzlement on a significant scale in America and in Argentina.⁹³ Spain did not have intellectual property agreements with all the countries in the Americas, so the Society tried to subcontract the collection of rights in countries like Mexico, and thus depended on the solvency and honesty of contractors. This problem was especially pressing in the publication of books and lyric-dramatic performances.⁹⁴

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Falla's economic situation began to improve following the end of the First World War, owing to his deals with publishers, particularly the regularization of his situation with Eschig and the signing of a contract with Chester. He scrupulously watched over his rights, which often caused tensions with publishers who wanted to review a contract for which they thought they were paying too much money. Nevertheless, Falla did not receive his performance rights for *El sombrero*, which Diaghilev continued performing all over the world. The SAE, defending Falla's and its own interests, claimed these rights through its agents in London and Paris, but Falla himself asked the Society several times not to sue Diaghilev, either because of his sense of loyalty to the impresario or in recognition of the Ballets Russes' status. Falla's attitude put the SAE in a difficult situation, as it subsequently had to refuse to collect its percentage of rights. This agreement with Diaghilev, which sidelined the SAE, led to tense relations between Falla and the Society, and in 1925 he was forced to seek the intervention of its president, Miguel Chapí, 'to solve the difficulties over which I have stumbled on for some time in this Society'.⁹⁵ Chapí's efforts were successful and led to an agreement regarding the performances of Falla's most important works, which subsequently received royalties from the Society. Between 1933 and 1935 they accounted for almost 70 per cent of his total income.⁹⁶

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⁹¹ Card to M. Carmen Falla dated 17 Dec. 1935 (Madrid)

⁹² 'Aprovecho el primer momento de relativa calma para darle personalmente las gracias de todo corazón por el inapreciable envío de mi *Fanfarra*! Dios se lo pague y creo que su manuscrito será una de las cosas íntimas y queridas de las que gusta uno rodearse, sobre todo en los últimos años de la vida.' Letter to Falla dated 29 Dec. 1935 (Madrid).

⁹³ M% Luz González Peña, 'Sociedad General de Autores y Editores (SGAE)', *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, ix, 1046–65.

⁹⁴ Raquel Sánchez García, 'La Sociedad de Autores Españoles (1899–1932)', *Espacio, tiempo y forma*, 15 (2002), 205–28 at 220–1.

⁹⁵ Letter to Miguel Chapí dated 21 Oct. 1925 (Granada).

⁹⁶ Manuel Titos, *Música y finanzas: Biografía económica de Manuel de Falla* (Granada, 2008), 151–6, 226.

As a result, when a General Meeting of the SAE was convened in December 1927 to amend its statutes,⁹⁷ Falla's concerns focused on improving international rights collection services in the SAE. In November, Falla wrote to Arbós to ask him to add a series of amendments he proposed to those presented by the Symphonic Committee at the General Meeting of the SAE. Falla's proposals referred mainly to the collection of publishing and performing fees abroad. He insisted that these ideas should be set out, even if they were not finally included in the statutes, so that exceptions could be requested at a later date.

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I believe that the amendments I am presenting may be of the greatest interest to everyone, especially in terms of the collection of fees abroad, deposits, custody etc.... This all seems to me to be of the greatest importance for all of us who have (or may have) works published or performed abroad. As I said yesterday to Adolfo Salazar, the insistence on demanding these amendments can be extremely useful to us, even if they were rejected altogether. I say this because we can always refer to them to ask for 'exceptions' or 'interpretations' in the many cases that must surely be presented. I'm sure you agree with me. These questions could hardly have been foreseen when the old Statutes were drafted, as Spanish music rarely crossed borders in those days.⁹⁸

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Arbós immediately understood Falla's wishes and assured him he would defend his amendments:

As for the issue of the Sociedad de Autores, you should know that the meeting has been postponed until 9 December. We have exchanged impressions with Turina, Salazar, and other colleagues and we are willing to defend our rights and we agree with everything you say. Our impression, for the time being, is that there is no animosity with the symphonic section and that we will be able to preserve our autonomy and then be able to draft a symphonic regulation introducing all those amendments to which you refer.⁹⁹

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He warned Falla of the complexity of defending such detailed issues in a general discussion with the SAE, but he believed it was possible for the Symphonic Committee to maintain its autonomy and draft a specific regulation to introduce all the proposals. The discussions at the General Meeting of the SAE, reported in detail by the press of the time, went on for ten days, during which the general terms of the statutes were agreed upon. The only musical issue reflected is the distribution of copyright between librettists and musicians in lyrical works and their instrumental adaptations.¹⁰⁰

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⁹⁷ 'Informaciones y noticias de Madrid: La reforma de los estatutos de la Sociedad de Autores', *ABC*, 10 Dec. 1927, pp. 19–20.

⁹⁸ 'creo que las enmiendas que presento pueden ser del mayor interés para todos, especialmente en lo que se refieren al cobro de derechos en el Extranjero, al depósito, custodia etc... Todo esto me parece de la mayor importancia para cuantos tenemos (o puedan tener) obras editadas y ejecutadas o representadas en el Extranjero. Como dije ayer a Adolfo Salazar, la insistencia en la reclamación de estas "enmiendas" pueden sernos utilísima aunque fuesen rechazadas en absoluto. Digo esto porque a ellas podremos siempre referirnos para solicitar "excepciones" o "interpretaciones" en los muchos casos que han de presentarse frecuentemente. Seguro estoy de que está Vd. de acuerdo conmigo. Estas cuestiones apenas se podían prever cuando se redactaron los viejos Estatutos, puesto que entonces la música española rara vez pasaba las fronteras.' Letter to Arbós dated 22 Nov. 1927 (Granada) [carbon copy].

⁹⁹ 'En cuanto al asunto de la Sociedad de Autores debe Vd saber ya que la Junta se ha aplazado para el día 9 de Diciembre. Hemos cambiado impresiones con Turina, Salazar, y demás compañeros y estamos dispuestos a defender nuestros derechos y atenderle en todo lo que nos dice. Nuestra impresión, por ahora, es que no hay animosidad contra la sección sinfónica y que lograremos conservar nuestra autonomía pudiendo entonces redactar un reglamento sinfónico introduciendo todas aquellas enmiendas a que Vd. alude'. Letter to Falla dated 28 Nov. 1927 (Madrid).

¹⁰⁰ 'La reforma de los Estatutos de la Sociedad de Autores', *El Heraldo de Madrid*, 20 Dec. 1927, p. 11.

In January 1928, Falla had already been informed by Adolfo Salazar of the unsatisfactory outcome of the SAE's meeting and mentioned his disappointment to Arbós: 'I heard from Adolfo Salazar—to whom I'm also writing today—the result of the meeting. It was to be expected! At least something good has been obtained (the Symphonic C.)'.¹⁰¹

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The growing internationalization of Falla's music increased the problematic situation of collecting royalties. Although he was a member of the SAE, he continued to trust and deal with foreign—mainly French—societies, which led to certain complexities. For example, in 1933, Falla had a contract for his world mechanical reproduction rights with Edifo—Société Générale Internationale de l'Édition Phonographique et Cinématographique—which in 1929 had created a Bureau International de l'Édition Méchanique to address the concentration of the global phonographic industry.¹⁰² He was also a member of the French Société de Auteurs et Compositeurs dramatiques and commissioned publishers Eschig and Chester to receive his copyright, with the exception of countries where an authors' society existed. As a consequence, Falla wrote to the SAE to solve this anomalous situation: he was concerned by his 'special case, because it is abroad where my incomes are more significant', and he enquired about the percentage charged by the SAE for collecting mechanical rights abroad and about the organization of the service, especially in America. The SAE allowed Falla to continue as a member of the French and Spanish societies simultaneously on an exceptional basis, the Spanish society being responsible for royalty collection in Spain and Latin America and the French for the rest of the world. The growing income from the SAE and the difficulties he faced in collecting royalties for his works from the publishers abroad even led Falla to propose in 1934 that the SAE take administrative control of all his theatre rights. The situation would soon change dramatically. The Civil War froze Falla's income from the SAE, and shortly after, the outbreak of the Second World War meant that it was difficult for French publishers to collect and pay Falla his rights, even though, ironically, his music was becoming increasingly international.¹⁰³

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III International Musicological Society (IMS) Conference and XIV International Society for Contemporary Music Festival (ISCM) (1935–6)

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In June 1926, during the Fourth ISCM Festival held in Zurich, Falla himself conducted a performance of *El retablo*. This, together with his growing international prestige, led to his appointment as an honorary member of the ISCM and his role in the creation of a Spanish section.¹⁰⁴ Two years later, upon his return from the Sixth ISCM Festival in Siena, Falla proposed the creation of two committees for this section: one in Barce-

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¹⁰¹ 'Ya sé por Adolfo Salazar—a quien también escribo hoy—el resultado de lo de la Sdad. de Autores. Era de esperar!! Y menos mal que algo bueno (lo del C. Sinfónico) se ha podido obtener...'. Letter to Arbós dated 15 Jan. 1928 (Granada) [carbon copy].

¹⁰² Joëlle Farchy, 'La Mise en place du droit d'auteur dans les industries du disque et du cinéma en France', in Jacques Marseille and Patrick Eveno (eds.), *Histoire des industries culturelles en France, XIX^e–XX^e siècles* (Paris, 2002), 157–82 at 166–7.

¹⁰³ Manuel Titos, *Música y finanzas*, 228–33.

¹⁰⁴ José María García Laborda, 'La sociedad internacional para la música contemporánea (SIMC): La recepción de Adolfo Salazar en *El Sol* (1922–1936)', in Celsa Alonso, Carmen J. Gutiérrez, and Javier Suárez (eds.), *Delantera de Paraíso: Estudios en homenaje a Luis G. Iberni* (Madrid, 2008), 451–70 at 457.

Iona—for Catalonia, Valencia, and the Balearic Islands—and another in Madrid for the rest of Spain, both under the general presidency of Arbós.¹⁰⁵ Although the creation of two committees may have been Falla's original idea, a confusion between the terms 'section' and 'committee' emerged, revealing tensions right from the beginning. Adolfo Salazar published an article in *El Sol* announcing the new creation of the Spanish Section based on the reality of the country's music scene with two committees—Barcelona and Madrid—that would act jointly, alternating annually in communication with the steering committee in London. Nothing was said about Arbós being the overall president, but the two committees were given the same management capacity. Furthermore, Salazar praised the initiative of the Catalan committee, which had been constituted as a contemporary music association that would collaborate with the International Society, but which would remain absolutely independent.¹⁰⁶

Although the Spanish section seems to have been created in 1928, Salazar was the only member who attended the subsequent festivals. In 1931, he pointed out the first official participation of the Spanish Section in Oxford, with the selection of Ernesto Halffter's *Sinfonietta*, nine years after the foundation of the ISCM. Salazar highlighted that this official representation coincided with the first steps of the Spanish Republic, noting with approval that 'the Republic is now going to pay due attention to music for the first time in our political life'.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, in the 1932 and 1933 festivals the Spanish presence was reduced to two minor works by Roberto Gerhard, without even the secretary attending. By 1934, Salazar regretted that the goal of the ISCM was the dissemination of Central European music among Latin musicians, and not vice versa, as would have been more desirable, and noted the failure of the 'mitropa'—from Mitteleuropa—music, lost in its atonal tendencies.¹⁰⁸ Again, there was no official Spanish representation that year in Florence.

At the 13th ISCM Festival held in Prague in September 1935, Salazar reported on Barcelona's bid to host the 14th Festival, which had been presented in Amsterdam in 1933 and ratified in Florence in 1934 thanks to a commitment made by the Generalitat of Catalonia. He asked the central government:

As for the Catalan authorities that have realized the initiative of the Barcelona Committee—a member of the SIMC Spanish section along with the Madrid Committee—what can one say? Only one thing: that the 1936 festival will be held in Barcelona with or without the support of the central government, modestly in the first instance, and then a more complete version, which will include the performance of our music to twenty nations. Is the significance of this matter understood?¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Jaime Pahissa, *Vida y obra de Manuel de Falla* (Buenos Aires, 1956), 154. Pahissa and, following him, García Laborda use the terms Spanish Committee and sections. However, both Salazar in his articles and Falla in his correspondence call them the Spanish Section and committees, which is the name we follow here.

¹⁰⁶ Adolfo Salazar, 'La vida musical: La representación española en la Asociación Internacional de Música Contemporánea', *El Sol*, 17 Oct. 1928, p. 2.

¹⁰⁷ Adolfo Salazar, 'La vida musical: La novena reunión de la SIMC en Oxford', *El Sol*, 7 Aug. 1931, p. 2.

¹⁰⁸ Adolfo Salazar, 'La vida musical: La XII reunión de la AIMC en Florencia. Los criterios directivos', *El Sol*, 26 Apr. 1934, p. 7.

¹⁰⁹ 'En cuanto a las autoridades catalanas que han dado realidad a la iniciativa del Comité de Barcelona, integrante con el de Madrid de la sección española de la SIMC ¿qué habrá que decir? Tan sólo una cosa: que el festival de 1936 se realizará en Barcelona con el apoyo del Gobierno central o sin él, modestamente en un primer caso, más completo en el otro, y en este otro con la presentación ante veinte naciones de nuestra música actual ¿Se comprende la trascendencia del asunto?' Adolfo Salazar, 'La vida musical: La decimotercera edición de la SIMC en Praga. España en el concierto europeo', *El Sol*, 18 Sep. 1935, p. 2.

In tune with the European political agenda at the time, Salazar reported on the lively discussion prompted by the offer of 'some Soviet musicians' to hold the next festival in Moscow, with the promise of all kinds of facilities. He also noted the dissolution of the German section 'by superior order' and the support Spain attracted from other countries. Paradoxically, in view of his defence of contemporary music, Salazar ends his article with a cliché closely associated with Spain: 'There remains, therefore, a question of honour, and it must be resolved according to our traditions.'

In the international context, the continuity of the ISMC began to be threatened by the political turbulence in the period between the Nazis' rise to power in 1933 and the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. The difficulties in holding the 1935 festival in western Czechoslovakia meant that the ISCM was caught up in a tension between the National Socialist alternative organization and the Permanent Council for the International Cooperation of Composers on the one hand, and the Moscow-based Popular Front on the other.¹¹⁰ Under these circumstances, Edward J. Dent, who had presided over the ISMC and the International Musicological Society (IMS) since 1931, saw in Barcelona 1936 a solution to compensate for the excessive predominance of the Central European bloc—Germany and Austria—by reinforcing the collaboration of the southern countries.¹¹¹ Moreover, the firm support offered by the government of Catalonia, the Barcelona Town Council, and all the relevant musical institutions of the town, responded to the need to promote these two events as an opportunity to turn the city into a centre of international cultural attention in a delicate moment for the city and region arising from the serious events of 6 December 1934 that had resulted in a state of war in Catalonia—a state that lasted until the end of April 1935—and the suspension of democratic guarantees. This initiative, which did not have the support of the central government, tried de facto to place Catalonia among the nations belonging to the ISMC and transferred this conception to the organization and its programme.¹¹²

To this complex situation, one should add the growing social and political instability in Spain resulting from the victory of the Frente Popular in the elections of February 1936, which resulted in some countries voicing their political reservations and the rejection of some invitations. The Spanish political situation was a source of abundant speculation and there was uncertainty regarding the organization of a third IMS conference.¹¹³ Despite the politics, however, the IMS conference and the ISCM Festival were held in Barcelona on 18 April 1936, just three months before the outbreak of the Civil War, under the skilful management of two outstanding Catalan members of the societies: the musicologist Higinio Anglés and the composer Roberto Gerhard. Anglés had Dent's full trust for the planning of the IMS conference and showed an extraordinary ability to reconcile Dent's official position towards Germany with his own

¹¹⁰ Anne C. Shreffler, 'The International Society of Contemporary Music and its Political Context (1935)', in Jessica Gienow-Hecht (ed.), *Music and International History* (New York, 2015), 58–90 at 59.

¹¹¹ César Calmell, 'El III Congreso Internacional de Musicología en Barcelona 1936, a partir de la documentación guardada en el Fondo Higinio Anglés de la Biblioteca de Catalunya', *Anuario Musical*, 70 (2015), 161–78 at 166.

¹¹² María Cáceres-Piñuel, *El hombre del rincón: José Subirá y la historia cultural e intelectual de la musicología en España* (Kassel, 2018), 113–32, at 114. I am sincerely grateful to the author for allowing me to read this chapter in advance of publication.

¹¹³ Bernat Cabero, 'Musicología hispana i musicología internacional: Higinio Anglés com a musicolog i organitzador del III Congres de la Societat Internacional de Musicologia', *Recerca Musicològica*, 9–10 (1989–90), 275–82 at 275–6.

Germanophilic preferences.¹¹⁴ The opinion of John Brande Trend, a Hispanist who had studied with Dent in Cambridge and who maintained a friendly relationship with Manuel de Falla, also proved important in the decision to hold these relevant musical and musicological events in Spain.¹¹⁵ Although Falla, by virtue of his contact with numerous national and international figures, played a decisive role in this conference, I focus here on analysing just those references that appear in Falla's correspondence with Arbós, who at the extraordinary meeting of the ISCM in Prague was appointed director of the Madrid Committee of the society, and who also played an important role in trying to obtain funds from the Ministry.

In February 1935, Falla wrote to Arbós to inform him that Lamote de Grignon had told him about the conference and festival in Barcelona the following year. Falla requested the appointment of two members of the Madrid Committee so that—together with two others from the Barcelona Committee—they could be part of the executive committee. Falla asked Arbós, in his capacity as president of the Spanish Section, to contact the Madrid Committee in order to deal with a matter 'of such interest to all', since the lack of activity of this Madrid Committee 'would be regrettable now more than ever'.¹¹⁶ But first and foremost, what he needed from Arbós was his mediation in a matter of great concern:

But that's not all; there is another issue I must speak to you about confidentially, although you, with your excellent judgement, should discreetly use this 'confidence' when you deem it necessary. I refer to the official title of the Spanish General Section, as stated in the Statutes and which is as follows: Barcelona (or Madrid) Committee of the Spanish Section of the S. I. M. C. I draw your attention to this because the name has been altered on the Barcelona Committee's forms in an unacceptable way, and although, as I said earlier, I have already referred to it in my letter to Lamote, I trust you very much and above all I trust the fine diplomatic skills that you possess in order to restore things to their correct state.¹¹⁷

In his reply, Arbós informed him of the inactivity of the Madrid Committee, which he was unaware he now chaired, and of a forthcoming meeting they were to have to address all of the Conference's organizational matters.¹¹⁸ Months later, the Madrid Committee had not yet met and Arbós saw the difficulty of the task entrusted to him by Falla:

In any case, I must anticipate that I do not find my mission as President of the Madrid Committee an easy one, despite all my good wishes and in spite of the fact that I believe I can be useful, and above all, of being in complete agreement with you. But in the only interview I had with Esplá, he told me that I was nothing more than the Honorary President, and that he was the Vice-President, who as I knew was the one who did everything. Naturally, I was

¹¹⁴ Igor Contreras Zubillaga, 'Ciencia e ideología en el III Congreso de la Sociedad Internacional de Musicología (Barcelona, 18–25 abril de 1936)', in Nagore (ed.), *Música y cultura en la Edad de Plata*, 143–56 at 151–4.

¹¹⁵ Tess Knighton, John Brande Trend (1887–1958) and his Musical "Iter Hispanicum", *Music & Letters*, 95 (2014), 550–83 at 569.

¹¹⁶ Letter to Arbós dated 5 Feb. 1935 (Granada) [carbon copy].

¹¹⁷ 'Pero esto no es todo; hay otra cuestión de la que debo hablarle confidencialmente, aunque de esta "confidencia" usted, con su excelente criterio use discretamente cuando así lo juzgue necesario. Me refiero al título oficial de la Sección general española, según consta en los Estatutos y que es el siguiente: Comité de Barcelona (o de Madrid) de la Sección Española de la S.I.M.C. Llamo a usted la atención sobre esto porque en los impresos del Comité de Barcelona aparece alterada esta denominación en forma no admisible, y aunque, como antes digo, ya me he referido a ello en mi carta a Lamote, confío muchísimo y sobre todo en las tan finas dotes diplomáticas que, entre tantas otras, usted posee, para restablecer las cosas en su punto exacto.' Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Letter to Falla dated 17 Feb. 1935 (Madrid).

very puzzled by this. I think I have already told you that I went to see the previous Minister who was very much in favour of the government contributing, so that the Madrid Committee could duly express itself in the future Conference.¹¹⁹

Arbós asked Falla to intervene so that they could ratify him in his position if he considered it appropriate, and announced that at the beginning of June he was going to Barcelona to have a meeting with Lamote de Grignon and Pau Casals, members of the Barcelona Committee. As time went by, Falla became even more worried about the name of this committee and explained to Arbós the arguments he should use in a meeting with Lamote de Grignon:

As an INTERNATIONAL society, the Spanish Section can only 'divide' its activities into different committees created by common agreement (such as MADRID and BARCELONA) but the SECTION, which is unique and represents the whole of Spain, can never be 'divided' into two different sections: one from SPAIN and another one from CATALONIA, since from an INTERNATIONAL point of view, and as long as CATALONIA does not separate from SPAIN, the official 'legal' representation of Catalonia abroad is always—and cannot be anything other than—the Spanish Nation (as is the case for the Embassies and Legations), since Catalonia does not constitute an INDEPENDENT NATION.... It should also be borne in mind that the Barcelona Committee represents not only Catalonia, but also the Valencian region and the Balearic Islands; this is even more reason why it cannot be called 'Secció de Catalunya', as it appears on their letterheads. The exact title should be as follows: Barcelona Committee of the Spanish Section of the S. I. M. C. (Catalonia, Valencia, and Balearic Islands).¹²⁰

Seeing in Arbós a valid interlocutor to clarify this issue, he justified his concern: 'The lively interest in this matter is due, among other reasons, to the fact that it was I myself who, with the best will in the world, initiated the constitution of our Section with the two Committees. Hence my responsibility in such a delicate matter.'

After a meeting with Falla in Granada in June where they had the opportunity to exchange opinions on the organization of the Conference, and once ratified as President, Arbós began to make arrangements to raise funds. Faced with the passivity of the Ministry, it was Arbós himself who asked Falla to intervene as Honorary President

¹¹⁹ 'De todos modos debo anticiparle que no veo fácil mi misión como Presidente del Comité de Madrid a pesar de todos mis buenos deseos y de creer que puedo ser útil, y sobre todo, marchar completamente de acuerdo con VD. Pero en la única entrevista que he tenido con Esplá ya éste me dijo que yo no era más que el Presidente honorario, y que él era el Vicepresidente que como yo sabía era el que lo hacía todo. Esto como es natural me ha desconcertado mucho. Creo haberle ya dicho, que fui a ver al Ministro anterior que se mostró muy propicio a que el Gobierno contribuyera para que el Comité de Madrid pudiera manifestarse como debe en el futuro congreso.' Letter to Falla dated 28 Apr. 1935 (Madrid).

¹²⁰ 'Tratándose de una sociedad INTERNACIONAL, la Sección Española solo puede "dividir" sus actividades en distinto comités creados de un común acuerdo (como son el de MADRID y el de BARCELONA) pero nunca podrá "dividirse" la SECCIÓN, que es única y que representa a toda España, en dos distintas secciones: una llamada de ESPAÑA y otra de CATALUÑA, puesto que desde el punto de vista INTERNACIONAL, y mientras CATALUÑA no se separe de ESPAÑA, la representación oficial, "legal", de Cataluña en el extranjero es siempre—y no puede ser otra—que la Nación española (como es el caso para las Embajadas y Legaciones), puesto que Cataluña no constituye una NACIÓN INDEPENDIENTE.... Además ha de tenerse en cuenta que el Comité de Barcelona no rige solamente para Cataluña, sino también en la región de Valencia y en las Islas Baleares; razón de más para que no pueda titularse "Secció de Catalunya", como aparece en los membretes de su papel de cartas. El título exacto debe de ser el siguiente: Comité de Barcelona de la Sección Española de la S.I.M.C. (Cataluña, Valencia y Baleares).' Letter to Arbós dated 21 May 1935 (Granada) [carbon copy].

¹²¹ 'El vivo interés en este asunto obedece, entre otras razones, a haber sido yo mismo quien, con la mejor voluntad, inicié la constitución de nuestra Sección con los dos Comités. De ahí mi responsabilidad en cuestión tan delicada.' Letter to Arbós dated 21 May 1935 (Granada).

of the ISCM before the Minister of Public Instruction to obtain the funding requested by the Madrid Committee.¹²² The Barcelona Committee had already obtained funding from the Generalitat, ‘and I do not need to tell you the shame it would be for the Conference to be held in Barcelona without Madrid and the rest of Spain being represented and taking part in it’. In this letter, Arbós also discouraged the simultaneous holding of the musicological conference as Dent and Anglés were planning. Falla agreed to intervene even though he clarified that he was not Honorary President of the ISCM but only an honorary member.¹²³ As for the conference, he confessed to Arbós to be in a ‘sea of confusion’ after having received a letter from Higinio Anglés.

Arbós immediately wrote back informing him of his interview with the Undersecretary of the President of the Government, who not only offered funding for the ISCM Festival in Barcelona, but also for the IMS Conference provided that it was held in Madrid.¹²⁴ However, Falla was not sure about committing himself personally to the latter because he acknowledged that it was the Barcelona Committee that had initiated the organization of both events.¹²⁵ Only a few days later—had their letters crossed in the post?—Arbós informed him that Salazar and he himself were leaving for the ISCM Conference in Prague, as he had only heard about the resolution the day before. At the end of a typed letter written in haste and full of deletions, he hand writes: ‘You can’t [imagine] my state of mind and how hard I’ve worked to get support from the government for this damned Conference’¹²⁶

The information on the organization of the Conference in the correspondence between Falla and Arbós is interrupted here until the beginning of 1936, when Falla saw an advertisement for the Conference and Festival in *Orfeo* magazine,¹²⁷ and wrote to Arbós: ‘There are things that satisfy me very much in this advertisement, but others, on the other hand, cause me deep bitterness, such as the Secció de Catalunya name given to the Committee of Barcelona, and the “national” reference to Catalan composers, to separate them from Spanish ones.’¹²⁸

Thus, Falla informed him that he had written to Anglés to propose:

First, that they use denominations such as GROUP, SECTOR, or other analogous words that do not break the unity of the Spanish Section (as is the case of Secció); and second, that they do not separate Spain from Catalonia when referring to the nationality of Catalan and non-Catalan Spanish composers in the Festival programme Now, since this is an ‘autonomous’ region, I have proposed as a possible solution that, in such cases, Spain’s name be given precedence over the regional one. For example: Spain: Catalonia.¹²⁹

¹²² Letter to Falla dated 8 Aug. 1935 (San Sebastián).

¹²³ Letter to Arbós dated 12 Aug. 1935 (Granada) [carbon copy].

¹²⁴ Letter to Falla dated 16 Aug. 1935 (San Sebastián).

¹²⁵ Letter to Arbós dated 29 Aug. 1935 (Granada) [carbon copy].

¹²⁶ ‘No se puede VD [imaginar] como tengo la cabeza y lo que he trabajado en el dichoso Congreso hasta obtener el apoyo del Gobierno’ Letter to Falla dated 30 Aug. 1935 (San Sebastián).

¹²⁷ ‘El III Congrés de la Societat Internacional de Musicologia i el XIV Festival de la Societat Internacional per a la Música Contemporània’, *Revista musical catalana: Butlletí mensual de l’Orfeó Català*, 385 (Jan. 1936), 16–20.

¹²⁸ ‘En el tal anuncio hay cosas que me satisfacen mucho, pero otras, en cambio, que me causan profunda amargura, como son la denominación de “Secció de Catalunya” que se da al Comité de Barcelona, y la designación “nacional” de los compositores catalanes, separándolos de los de España.’ Letter to Arbós dated 9 Feb. 1936 (Granada) [carbon copy].

¹²⁹ ‘1º, que empleen la denominación de GRUPO, SECTOR u otra análoga que no rompa (como ocurre con la de “Secció”) la unidad de la Sección Española; y 2º, que no separen a España de Cataluña al determinar la nacionalidad de los compositores catalanes y españoles no catalanes, en el programa del Festival Ahora bien: como se trata de una región “autéonoma”, he propuesto como solución posible que, en esos casos, antepongan el nombre de España al regional. Así por ejemplo: Espanya: Catalunya.’ Ibid.

The letter ends with a purely musical consideration, because he believed it was paradoxical that *zarzuelas* were programmed at the Liceu Theatre for the final concert of the International Society for Contemporary Music Festival, 'I found it strange that *zarzuelas* were used to close the Liceo festival. I believe that it would be better for these companies that will be performing in Barcelona at the festival to present a brilliant selection of *zarzuelas* "in their theatres" and keep the Liceo for something of greater significance in the current production of our musicians.'¹³⁰

It is not surprising that Falla might have been perplexed by nineteenth-century *zarzuelas* being scheduled to close the festival of the International Society of Contemporary Music. The programming of what was described in advertising as 'the most characteristic' aspect of 'this typically Spanish form of music' in a festival of this kind held in Barcelona was probably a result of the requirement to link the programme to Spanish tradition in order to obtain the necessary government funds.¹³¹ It could also be seen as a way of trying to compensate for the fact that the Festival and the Conference would eventually take place in Barcelona, rather than moving the Congress to Madrid, as required by the Ministry as a condition to grant funding. Finally, the growing nationalist polarity caused the managers of the Liceu—a temple to Wagnerian and Catalan music—to refuse to schedule popular music from Madrid. This, along with the use of Catalan as the official language in the programme, was strongly criticized by the Madrid press, Adolfo Salazar included.¹³²

The last communication in the correspondence referring to the Conference and Festival is the official invitation from Arbós—President of the Spanish Section—who invited Falla to be a member of the Honorary Board of Trustees of the ISCM Congress.¹³³ Sometime later, in the biography that Falla had the opportunity to review in his last years in Argentina, Jaime Pahissa gave his impressions:

The two sections of the Spanish committee worked normally. But in the Festival that the Society held in Barcelona in 1936, two months before the outbreak of the war in Spain, there were some excessively obstinate individuals who were discourteous to the president of the committee, Maestro Arbós, and which produced deep sorrow for Falla, who with such good will, then as always, had tried to avoid all rivalry between the two main musical centres in Spain. This was the last performance of the Spanish committee and its two sections: the war in Spain first, and the world war that followed, ended their lives, as with so many others.¹³⁴

The musicological internationalism attempted by the SIMC and the SIM after the First World War had reached boiling point at the 1936 Barcelona festival and confer-

¹³⁰ 'Me ha extrañado eso de las zarzuelas en el Liceo como terminación de las fiestas. Creo en cambio que, aprovechando las compañías del "género" que actúen para entonces en Barcelona, debieran utilizarse para presentar "en sus teatros" una brillante selección de zarzuelas, reservando lo del Liceo para algo que tuviese una mayor significación dentro de la producción actual de nuestros músicos.' Ibid.

¹³¹ 'L'aspecte més característic de la producció del segle passat en aquesta forma típicament espanyola del teatre musical.' 'Societat Internacional per la Música Contemporània', *Revista* (Orfeó Gracienc), 182 (Mar. 1936), 944–5.

¹³² María Cáceres-Piñuel, *El hombre del rincón*, 127–30.

¹³³ Letter to Falla dated 20 Feb. 1936 (Madrid).

¹³⁴ 'Las dos secciones del comité español funcionaron normalmente. Pero en el Festival que la Sociedad celebró en Barcelona el año 1936, dos meses antes de estallar la guerra de España, algunos elementos, exageradamente intransigentes, trataron con desatención molesta al presidente general del comité, maestro Arbós, lo que produjo profunda pena en el ánimo de Falla, que con tan buena voluntad, entonces como siempre, había procurado, con su proyecto, evitar todo tipo de rivalidad entre los dos principales núcleos musicales de España. Esta fue la última actuación del comité español y sus dos secciones: la guerra de España primero, y la mundial que le siguió acabaron con su vida como con tantas otras.' Pahissa, *Vida y obra de Manuel de Falla*, 154.

ence, which reflected political polarities in Spain and the rest of Europe, foreshadowing the Civil War and the Second World War.¹³⁵

THE INTERNATIONAL REACH OF FALLA'S MUSIC

From the time he first encountered Manuel de Falla's music in 1916, Arbós became a great defender of his work as a representation of modern Spanish music throughout Europe and the USA. Using Falla's compositions, he attempted to dispel the stereotypical image of Spain and its music, an image that was still very much in vogue. In the international sphere, musicological writings of the time characterized Spanish music as a rich popular tradition, emphasizing gypsy traits, but which lacked serious composers.¹³⁶ Marking the occasion of a Spanish concert by the composer Rafael Benedito in Berlin, for instance, Arbós wrote to Falla:

The serious composers and musicians here naturally want Berlin to find out that we have better works than the *Fantasía Morisca*, [the] *Preludio de la Boda de Luis Alonso* and others that are perhaps of more interest elsewhere than in a symphonic concert of the Berlin Philharmonic. Yesterday, however, I was told about the desire to organize (the composers' society) two or three concerts in Berlin with its Philharmonic Orchestra, taking advantage of my stay abroad to direct as much of the best Spanish music we have as possible. Naturally we have to bring *Nocturnos*, *El amor brujo* and other pieces by you if available ...

I believe that if the composers' society decides to do something like this to highlight Spanish Art and to somewhat undermine the *españolada* presented in Berlin by Benedito, we cannot refuse. However, he keeps asking for pieces from all the composers, and if they oblige the Spanish school will die out there, and there will be no way of fixing it. For my part (if this is not fixed), the Queen has already talked to me about doing these concerts in Berlin in the spring, but I think the association of composers' project is more practical, and that it is a preliminary draft of what they are planning to do in Madrid for the International Conference that is going to be held in May.¹³⁷

Indeed, in November 1921, Rafael Benedito had conducted a concert of Spanish music with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra which was considered 'a celebration with

¹³⁵ María Cáceres-Piñuel, *El hombre del rincón*, 132.

¹³⁶ See e.g. Camille Mauclair, *Histoire de la musique européenne, 1850–1914* (Paris, 1914), 283–4; Carl Van Vechten, *The Music of Spain* (New York, 1918), 21. Even Gilbert Chase in *The Music of Spain* (New York, 1941), the most consulted book about Spanish music in an international context, written some decades later, pointed out the importance of popular music in the configuration of what he calls 'Spanish national music' and attributes its late incorporation in the symphonic and operatic repertory to the lack of orchestral technique of composers. See esp. Chase, 'The Spell of Spanish Music', in *The Music of Spain*, 289–305. This view of the 'Spanish musical idiom' in North American musicology is studied in Stein, 'Before the Latin', 200–20.

¹³⁷ 'Los compositores y músicos serios de aquí, desean naturalmente que en Berlín se enteren de que tenemos obras mejores que la *Fantasía Morisca*, [el] *Preludio de la Boda de Luis Alonso* y otras que han tocado que quizás en otro lugar interesan más que en un concierto sinfónico de la Filarmónica de Berlín. Ahora bien, ayer me han hablado del deseo de organizar (la sociedad de compositores) dos o tres conciertos en Berlín con la orquesta Filarmónica de allí, aprovechando mi estancia en el extranjero para dirigir allí todo lo que podamos de la mejor música española que tengamos. Naturalmente tienen que ir los *Nocturnos*, *el Amor brujo* y alguna otra cosa de Vd. si la tiene

Yo creo que si la Sociedad de compositores se decide a hacer una cosa así en prestigio del Arte español y para desautorizar en parte la españolada que se haya podido hacer en Berlín por Benedito, no nos podemos negar. Por otro lado este no cesa de pedir obras a todos los compositores y si los buenos se las envían, va a fenercer allí la escuela española, y luego no habrá medio de enderezarla.

Por parte mía (si esto no se arreglase) ya me han hablado a mí (la Reina) de hacer en primavera esos conciertos en Berlín, pero creo más práctico lo que proyecta la asociación de compositores, y que es un anteproyecto de lo que se piensa hacen en Madrid para el Congreso Internacional que se piensa celebrar en Mayo.' Letter to Falla dated 3 Dec. 1921 (Madrid).

highly positive results for Spanish art'.¹³⁸ However, an article in *El Sol* quoted reviews in the German press which offered a more guarded account of the artistic result:

The *Deutsche Tageszeitung* critic is somewhat more severe: 'The aim—he writes—of awakening broad sympathy for Spain's cultural production was indisputably achieved. The artistic result was, however, and in spite of the programme that seemed so promising, limited and modest. Surely a *zarzuela* or popular dance can be pleasant to listen to and entertains an audience, but the overall picture does not go far enough. Spanish art is too valuable and rich for one to be content with entertainment music, however comfortable and light it may be.'¹³⁹

5

Such sentiments are in line with what Arbós had written in his letter to Falla. For Arbós, the *Fantasia morisca* by Ruperto Chapí or the *Preludio* by Gerónimo Giménez may have been of interest in other places, but they were not suitable for the Berlin Philharmonic as they perpetuated the stereotype image (*españolada*) of Spanish music. Instead, Arbós wanted to give concerts offering 'the best Spanish music we have', including *El amor brujo* and *Nocturnos*.

10

Arbós finally wrote to Falla in March informing him that the Composers Association had decided to hold the Berlin concerts in April, therefore inviting him to play *Noches*. However, there is another revealing issue that may have conditioned the reception of Falla's music:

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The Composers Association has decided that the Berlin concerts will be held between 15 and 30 April, and we are waiting for the final dates. They always have you in mind, but they have received news (I do not know if this matters or not) that you are known there for having shown anti-German political and artistic feelings (I believe that a German journalist mentioned this). I regret to have to tell you about this. I repeat that it may be of no importance and it may not be true, but I think it would be against the affection that I have for you if I were to not let you know before you go there, so that you can make an informed decision. If you decide to go, we will all be delighted (how could we not be?). Otherwise, Iturbi, who will be in Germany in April, will perform your music, which (despite what you may think) is no at risk at all.¹⁴⁰

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Although, as we have seen, the Frenchified Falla recently arrived from Paris at the end of 1914 was positioned aesthetically and politically as pro-Allies and anti-Germany, his relationship with German music and culture was always ambiguous and variable. He had great respect for Beethoven's and Wagner's music and even for some aspects of Schoenberg's *Pierrot Lunaire*, despite his aversion to atonality. Like his maestro Felipe

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¹³⁸ 'Un concierto de música española en Berlín', *La Voz*, 11 Nov. 1921, p. 6.

¹³⁹ 'El crítico de la "Deutsche Tageszeitung" es algo más severo: "La finalidad que se perseguía —escribe—de despertar en un núcleo amplio simpatía por las manifestaciones culturales de España, fue, indiscutiblemente, lograda. El resultado artístico fue, sin embargo, y a pesar del programa que tanto parecía prometer, limitado y modesto. Seguramente se puede conseguir con un trozo de zarzuela o de baile popular, agradable al oído, divertir al público; pero el cuadro de conjunto no llega a orientar lo suficiente. El arte español es demasiado valioso y abundante para que uno llegue a contentarse con música de entretenimiento, por cómoda y ligera que sea." Julio Álvarez del Vayo, 'Notas de Alemania: Música y músicos españoles en Berlín', *El Sol*, 1 Dec. 1921, p. 5.

¹⁴⁰ 'La Asociación de Compositores decide que se celebren los conciertos de Berlín del 15 al 30 de Abril, y esperamos las fechas definitivas. Cuentan siempre con VD, pero han recibido noticias de allí (yo no sé si esto tiene importancia o no) de si acaso VD es conocido allí por haber exteriorizado sentimientos antiguermanos, políticos y artísticos (creo que esto lo ha dicho allí un periodista alemán). Me contraría tener que decirle esto, que repito después de todo, puede no tener ninguna importancia y no ser cierto, pero creo sería faltar al cariño que yo le tengo no poniéndole en antecedentes, antes de ir allí, para que VD decida con conocimiento de causa. Si Vd decide ir, todos estamos (como no?) encantados. De lo contrario, Iturbi, que se hallará en el mes de Abril en Alemania, ejecutará sus obras, que esas (a pesar de lo que VD pueda pensar) no corren el menor riesgo.' Letter to Falla dated 19 Mar. 1922 (Madrid).

Pedrell, he valued German influence for its own sake, but rejected its artistic and political domination over other cultures, particularly over Spain.¹⁴¹ However, some of Falla's earlier writings and published interviews may have spread the image of the composer as somehow anti-German, which conditioned the reception of his music more than he would have wished.

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Undoubtedly, the performance and reception of Falla's music was strongly conditioned by Arbós's preferences too. Just one month before the *Retablo* premiere, at a time when Falla had turned his interest towards neoclassical Castilian aesthetics, Arbós confessed to him his admiration for *El amor brujo* and *Nocturnos*:

Having conducted once more your *El amor brujo* and *Nocturnos*, my admiration grows more and more with each concert as I believe that they are perfect pieces. In *Nocturnos*, it isn't possible to go any further in terms of composition, form, colour, firmness, emotion, and poetry. This is my opinion, and in this spirit I conducted your work with pleasure and honour; I introduced these two pieces in Paris, with perfect performances to which the audience and critics have responded with truly triumphant enthusiasm.¹⁴²

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During this time, Arbós presented *El amor brujo* and *Nocturnos* all over Europe to great acclaim, together with other works by modern Spanish composers. In fact, Arbós maintained that tone of admiration for Falla's work when, ten years after his correspondence began, on the occasion of the premiere of *El sombrero*—the other 'Spanish popular' piece to be included in his repertory—he reminded him of the early admiration he professed for his work since premiering *Noches* in 1916: 'I need not tell you of my joy at your well-deserved triumph and the pleasure I had in listening to your work again, because I am someone who has admired and loved you when you were not yet as universally known as you are now for the glory and happiness of our beloved Spain.'¹⁴³

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By the end of the 1920s when Arbós began touring the USA, Falla's 'popular' music featured prominently and was, according to Arbós, fantastically played, thanks to the extraordinary quality of American orchestras:

In all these places I have been accompanied by the most pleasant people and to great acclaim. The same happened in Boston with Koussevitzky's splendid orchestra (truly admirable!), in Detroit with Gabrilowitz's (also excellent) and finally in Saint Louis (Missouri) where I conducted 16 concerts. Of course, in all these towns I've had the pleasure of playing your music: *Amor Brujo*, *Tricornio dances*, *Noches en los jardines de España*, etc. and everywhere these pieces were a wonderful success (exactly as it sounds). Halffter's *Sinfonietta*, which I presented eleven times (beautiful performances) to enthusiastic reception from audiences and critics, was also very much appreciated. You just can't imagine the perfection and beauty of American orchestras. This is something we do not know of in Europe. Of course, we would also be able to have [such quality] ourselves if we could find the money that they spend on

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¹⁴¹ Samuel Llano, *Whose Spain? Negotiating "Spanish Music" in Paris, 1908–1929* (New York and Oxford, 2013), 229.

¹⁴² 'Volviendo a ejecutar su Amor Brujo y sus Nocturnos mi admiración crece más y más a cada audición y son obras que encuentro perfectas cada una en su género. En los Nocturnos no se puede llegar a más como construcción, forma, color, seguridad y emoción y poesía. Esta es mi opinión y con ese entusiasmo he dirigido sus obras cabiéndome el placer y el honor, que las dos las he dado yo a conocer en París, y esta última vez con ejecuciones perfectas a las cuales ha respondido el público y la crítica con entusiasmo realmente triunfal.' Letter to Falla dated 7 Feb. 1923 (Madrid).

¹⁴³ 'De lo que yo me alegré de su merecido triunfo y del placer que tuve en escuchar de nuevo sus obras no necesito decírselo pues yo soy de los que le admiraron y quisieron cuando no era todavía tan universalmente conocido como felizmente lo es ahora para gloria y contento nuestro y de nuestra querida España.' Letter to Falla dated 28 Nov. 1927 (Madrid).

it, because then we could offer an annual salary to performers, select the staff, and have all the necessary rehearsals... but unfortunately this is unthinkable in Latin countries... The Boston orchestra, for example, has a 700,000 dollars [sic] budget for a six-month season! And it's pretty much the same in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Cincinnati (sic) etc. etc....

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Arbós ended his conducting career on 17 June 1936 with a concert of European music at the Alhambra Palace of Charles V, the programme including Mozart, Dukas, Franck and Wagner. But in fact, he played two concerts on the same day, as the concert of Spanish music scheduled for 14 June had been postponed owing to bad weather. Therefore, on 17 June at 6 p.m., Arbós bid farewell to conducting with performances of Albéniz, Turina, Halffter, Arbós, Bretón, Giménez, and, of course, Manuel de Falla, conducting the 'Danza del molinero' and the 'Danza final' of *El sombrero de tres picos*.¹⁴⁴ In fact, these two concerts were nothing more than a synthesis of what he had done throughout his career as a conductor: introducing the European repertory to Spain, and combining it with works by Spanish composers, showing a preference for those who created a modern image of Spanish music, one that moved away from *españolada* but still possessed recognizably Spanish traits that would ensure a successful reception abroad.

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From the account above, we can observe how Arbós tempered his efforts on behalf of national music with a lifelong cosmopolitanism. He lived for significant periods in Brussels, Berlin, Hamburg, London and Boston, and married a French harpist. As a violinist, he defended his Belgian-German training against criticism from Sarasate, who continually reproached him for the alleged Germanization of his spirit.¹⁴⁶ And as a conductor, he was responsible for introducing German repertory hardly known in Spain, while also including French, Russian, and Spanish works. Premiering *Le Sacre* in Spain in 1932, for instance, was a challenge both to the capabilities of Spanish orchestras and to the tastes of Spanish audiences. Arbós may perhaps be defined as a reactive modernist, funded by the monarchy for his training, but being part of the republican Junta Nacional de Música in 1932 and the latter Francoist Junta Nacional de Teatros y Conciertos in 1938.¹⁴⁷ Over a twenty-year period, Arbós conducted Falla's music throughout Europe and the USA, from the first large-scale symphonic work—the impressionistic *Noches*—to the neo-classical modernity of *El Retablo*. From 1916 onwards, Arbós internationalized Falla's orchestral music, but he remained localist in

¹⁴⁴ 'En todos estos sitios me ha acompañado la gente más grata, teniendo verdaderos triunfos. Igualmente los he tenido en Boston con la espléndida orquesta de Kussewitsky (algo admirable!) en Detroit con la de Gabrilowitz (también excelente) y finalmente en Saint Luis (Missouri) donde he dirigido 16 conciertos. Excuso decirle que en todas estas poblaciones he tenido el gusto de tocar sus obras: *Amor Brujo*, Danzas del *Tricornio*, *Noches en los Jardines de España*, etc. y que en todos los sitios todas estas obras han alcanzado éxitos estupendos. (así como suena). También ha gustado sobremanera la *Sinfonietta* de Halffter que he tocado once veces con acogida entusiasta (y bellísimas ejecuciones) del público y la crítica. No puede VD figurarse la perfección y belleza de las orquestas de América. Es algo que no conocemos en Europa. Claro es, que también podríamos tenerlo nosotros si pudiéramos encontrar el dinero que allí gastan en ello, pues entonces se podría dar un sueldo anual a los profesores, escoger al personal, y tener todos los ensayos necesarios... pero desgraciadamente en los países latinos no hay que pensar en ello... Orquestas como la de Boston que cuentan con 700000 dollars [sic] por una temporada de 6 meses!... y poco más o menos es Nueva York, Filadelfia, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Cincinnati (sic) etc. etc....'. Letter to Falla dated 17 Mar. 1929 (On board the steamboat 'Magallanes').

¹⁴⁵ Rafael del Pino, *Los conciertos en la Alhambra*, 324.

¹⁴⁶ Arbós, *Arbós*, 192.

¹⁴⁷ Gemma Pérez Zalduondo, 'Ideología y política en las instituciones musicales españolas durante la Segunda República y primer franquismo', *Quintana: Revista de Estudios do Departamento de Historia da Arte*, 5 (2006), 145–56 at 147–8.

his view that *andalucismo* was the most exportable Spanish orchestral idiom. In fact, it took him ten years to assimilate ‘universalist’ neoclassicism, the central paradigm shift in Spanish musical modernism during these years.¹⁴⁸

Ultimately, the correspondence between Arbós and Falla sheds light on Spanish perceptions of European music between the two World Wars. At the heart of these perceptions lay various tensions between nationalism and internationalism: Arbós’s international repertory tended to emphasize *españolismo*, while at the same time he was able to premiere modern works in Spain. Falla’s aesthetic assumptions, however, distanced him from *andalucismo* and he saw neoclassicism as his true international language. Yet Spanish audiences treated Falla’s Andalusian works harshly, while at the same time he was recognized abroad as truly Spanish. Falla’s music was branded as Frenchified in Spain, while it was conceived as purely Spanish and acquired anti-German connotations abroad. His outright internationalization occurred when he adopted the cosmopolitan and modernist idiom of neoclassicism, whose rhetoric was related to Castilian ‘purity’. Finally, the Catalan position in the 1936 ISCM Festival revealed the existing tensions in Spain at the outbreak of the Civil War, but also the international attempt to create a Mediterranean axis to counteract encroaching German hegemony in the lead-up to the Second World War.

Regarding the relationship between these two musicians, the letters reveal Arbós’s concerns for achieving the best possible renditions of Falla’s work, for bringing his music to international attention, his respect for the Maestro, and his involvement in Spanish musical life. It is not surprising, therefore, that in 1939, in a letter of condolence to Arbós’s widow, Falla acknowledged the importance of Arbós in his life and his influence on Spanish music in a crucial period:

Now more than ever I see how much I have loved him, thinking that I will never see him again in this life and remembering all the moments we have spent together, the three of us, and how, for me, his memory is linked to my music in an unforgettable way and I feel nothing but gratitude. Moreover, he will always be linked to the history of our music for what it represents and for his admirable work in the period of its rebirth.¹⁴⁹

APPENDIX I

30

Musical Aesthetics in the Arbós-Falla Correspondence: An Example

Mayor, 91

ESTUDIO

Madrid,

[Rs. 14-2-23],

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¹⁴⁸ Hess, *Manuel de Falla*, 298.

¹⁴⁹ ‘Ahora mejor que nunca veo cuánto le he querido, pensando que no he de volver a verle en esta vida y recordando cuántos momentos de ella hemos pasado juntos los tres, y de cómo su memoria va unida a mis trabajos de modo para mí inolvidable y lleno de gratitud. Del mismo modo irá siempre unida a la historia de nuestra música por lo que para ella representa y por su labor admirable en el período de su renacimiento.’ Draft letter to Ela Arbós dated 3 Jun. 1939 (Granada).

7 February 1923.

My dear Manuel,

My desire to write to you at length and give you details (all of them beautiful) of my happy trip have delayed this letter, and I'm sorry, because since I left Paris I have had this letter from Pierné (which I attach) that he asked me to send to you. You just can't imagine the acclaim we have received. Especially you as a composer and myself as orchestral conductor and promoter of Spanish music. Words cannot express it. I have twenty or thirty newspapers from Paris, all of them unanimous. They all speak of you as one of the most interesting maestros of the present day, perhaps in possession of the most perfect technique but gifted also with a level of emotion, which we all seek to find elsewhere in vain. And that's the truth, dear Manuel. I've presented your *Amor Brujo* and your *Nocturnos* again and my admiration grows ever greater each time, to me they are just perfect examples of their genre. The *Nocturnos* are the best you can get in composition, form, colour, firmness and emotion, and poetry. This is my opinion, and in that spirit I have conducted your music with pleasure and honour, I've taken both of them to Paris, with perfect performances to which the audience and critics have responded with truly triumphant enthusiasm. You'll see the reviews when we meet. The same goes for Winterthur and everywhere else. Viñes played admirably and so did the Colonne orchestra. All of Paris was there and I still continue to receive congratulations from everyone. All the musicians in Paris were so warm and friendly, I'm mad with joy.

Congratulations and keep on working on more beautiful things. I'd like to say that you should take no notice of any trend or influence. You are above all that and should write what you feel and follow the path of *Amor* and the *Nocturnos*.

I also met a very interesting girl in Paris who sings your songs beautifully. Her name is Alicia Felice. She's a true artist.

Regards to M% del Carmen and you from Ela and me, and a big hug to you from me, your good friend and admirer.

Arbós

Eschig your publisher has only one copy of *Nocturnos* with only 6 first violins! And the score is missing two or three pages, please tell him. I had another 1st violin copied!¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ : Mayor, 91
ESTUDIO
Madrid, 7. Febrero 1923
[Rs. 14-2-23]
Mi querido Manuel:

el deseo de escribir a VD largamente y darle detalles (todos a cual más hermosos!], de mi feliz excursión, han ido retrasando esta carta, y lo siento, pues desde que salí de París tengo esta carta de Pierné (que va adjunta) que me encargó le enviarla. VD no se puede figurar el triumfo que hemos alcanzado. Sobre todo VD, como compositor y yo como director de orquesta y propagador de la música española. Todo lo que le diga a VD es poco. Tengo veinte o treinta periódicos de París todos unánimes. Hablan todos de VD como uno de los más interesantes maestros de la época actual, quizás en posesión de una técnica más perfecta que ninguno pero dotado además de una emoción, que inútilmente se busca ahora por ninguna parte. Y es verdad querido Manuel. Volviendo a ejecutar su *Amor Brujo* y sus *Nocturnos* mi admiración crece más y más a cada audición y son obras que encuentro perfectas cada una en su género. En los *Nocturnos* no se puede llegar a más como construcción, forma, color, seguridad y emoción y poesía.

Arbós—Granada 14-2-23

My dear Enrique, I have read your letter with deep joy and emotion, and not only because of the wonderful news that you give me, but mainly because of the friendship that I feel in it—to which I heartily correspond, as you know—and also because of what you have the goodness to tell me about my work, which honours me so much coming from the great artist that you are.

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All my congratulations for your triumph with my gratitude for having so splendidly promoted Amor Brujo in Paris as you previously promoted Nocturnos. Madame Debussy's exact words to me were, *Arbós a été maravilleuse!*

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I have read Excelsior, L'intransigeant, Écho and Gaulois, which were sent to me from Paris (the 2nd by our good friend Bret with a very affectionate and expressive letter). If among the other cuttings that you have, there is anyone that you think I should thank directly, I would ask you to let me know, so that Pierné may know that I am aware of them.

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What a joy it would be if some of your tours in Andalusia—as in other years—coincided with the days when the Seville Sociedad Filarmónica will hold its first auditions in concert of *El retablo de Maese Pedro* and you could therefore honour them with your conducting! These auditions will take place on the 23 and 24 March. We could also spend Holy Week in Seville and this would make up for not having been with you in Paris.

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I haven't heard from Miss Felice, who you tell me sings my songs so well. How much I want to meet her and hear her when I go to Paris, which I hope will be in April or May.

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Do not fear, I will never follow any trend contrary to my way of feeling in music. I am and always have been absolutely impervious to this.

I'm sorry about what you said regarding Eschig, but very soon the missing score will be published, I'm correcting the second proofs, as well as those of the orchestral parts.

My affectionate regards to Ela and also to you from M% del Carmen and me.

A warm and heartfelt embrace for you in true friendship, admiration, and gratitude.

Esta es mi opinión y con ese entusiasmo he dirigido sus obras cabiéndome el placer y el honor, que las dos las he dado yo a conocer en París, y esta última vez con ejecuciones perfectas a las cuales ha respondido el público y la crítica con entusiasmo realmente triunfal. Ya verá VD las críticas cuando nos encontremos. Lo mismo en Winterthur y en todos los países. Viñes tocó admirablemente y la orquesta Colonne también. Estaba allí todo París y todavía continúo a recibir felicitaciones de todos. Todos los músicos de París se mostraron admirables conmigo de cariño y confraternidad. Estoy loco de contento.

Que sea enhorabuena y adelante, a producir alguna otra cosa hermosa. Yo me atrevería a decirle que no se preocupe de ninguna tendencia ni de ninguna influencia. VD está por encima de eso y debe escribir lo que sienta siguiendo así el camino del Amor y de los Nocturnos.

También conocí en París a una chica muy interesante que canta sus canciones de un modo estupendo. Se llama Alicia Felice. Es una artista.

Mi recuerdo para M% del Carmen y para VD de Ela y míos y yo añado un fuerte abrazo que le envía de todo corazón su buen amigo y entusiasta admirador

Arbós

Su editor Eschig no tiene más que un solo material de los Nocturnos con solo 6^{1^{os}} violines! y a la partitura le faltan dos ó tres páginas, puede UD decírselo. Yo hice copiar otro 1^{er} violín! Letter to Falla dated 7 Feb. 1923 (Madrid)

Manuel

[In the margin: When we see each other, I'll sign the first copy of the *Nocturnos* that you say Eschig is sending.]¹⁵¹

ABSTRACT

The correspondence between Manuel de Falla and the conductor Enrique Fernández Arbós, which went on for more than twenty years and includes more than two hundred unpublished documents, reveals important exchanges of aesthetic conception, which bridge the divide between traditionalism and modernism, and reveal previously unknown information about the international reach of Falla's music and the creation of an image around the quintessential Spanish composer of the time. This article analyses Arbós's biography in relation to his aesthetics and cosmopolitan outlook before moving to a discussion of his correspondence with Falla, which sheds valuable new light on Falla's move towards modernism. By focusing on key institutions and events at the time (such as the Sociedad de Autores and the 1936 ISCM Festival in Barcelona), I interrogate the dialectic between nationalism and internationalism in European music during the first decades of the twentieth century.

¹⁵¹ Arbós—Granada 14-2-23

Mi querido Enrique: he leído su carta con alegría y emoción profundas, y no solo por las magníficas noticias que me da Vd., sino muy principalmente por la amistad que en ella encuentro —a la que correspondo de corazón como Vd. sabe— así como por cuanto tiene Vd. la bondad de decirme sobre mis trabajos, lo que tanto me honra viiniendo del gran artista que es Vd.

Todas mis felicitaciones por su triunfo con mi agradecimiento por haber apadrinado en París tan espléndidamente el Amor Brujo como ya apadrinó Vd. los *Nocturnos*. Madame Debussy me dice textualmente: Arbós a été maravilleuse! He leído Excelsior, L'intransigeant, Écho y Gaulois que me han mandado de París (el 2% por nuestro tan buen amigo Bret con una carta muy afectuosa y expresiva). Si entre los demás recortes que Vd. tiene hubiera alguno al que estime Vd. necesario que yo agradeciese directamente, le ruego me lo indique, puesto que por Pierné puede saber que yo tengo conocimiento de ellos.

; Cuánto celebraría que alguna tournée de Vd por Andalucía —como en otros años— coincidiera con los días en que la S^{dad.} Filar^{ca} de Sevilla hará las primeras audiciones en concierto de Retablo de Maese Pedro, y que por consiguiente pudiera Vd. honrarles con su dirección! Estas audiciones tendrán lugar en los días 23 y 24 de Marzo. Además pasariámos reunidos la Semana Santa en Sevilla y esto me compensaría de no haber estado con ustedes en París.

No tenía noticias de la Srta. Felice que me dice Vd. canta tan bien mis canciones. Cuanto deseo conocerla y oirla cuando vaya a París que espero sea para Abril o Mayo.

Nada tema VD de que pueda yo seguir ninguna tendencia que fuera contraria a mi manera de sentir en música. Es cosa a la que soy y he sido siempre absolutamente refractario.

Lamento lo que me dice Ud. de Eschig, pero muy pronto se publicará la partitura que falta, cuyas 2^{as} pruebas estoy corrigiendo, así como las de las partes de orquesta.

Mis recuerdos cariñosos para Ela y también para Vd. de M% del Carmen y míos.

Un fuerte y cordialísimo abrazo para Vd. con mi amistad, mi admiración y mi gratitud más verdaderas.

Manuel

[En el margen: Cuando nos veamos firmaré el primer ejemplar de los *Nocturnos* cuyo envío por Eschig anuncia Vd.]