

# Neoclassicism, Nationalism and Modernism in the Spanish Reception of Manuel de Falla's Works (1915–1939): Hemerography and Archival Sources

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## FOREWORD: HYPOTHESIS AND METHODOLOGY

The terms 'neoclassicism', 'new classicism' and 'modern classicism' have frequently been used in Spain's musical historiography with reference to an important movement that evolved during the so-called Silver Age of Spanish music. This age began in 1900, following the political crisis of the 1898 Generations in the late XIX century, and ended with the dispersal of the main intellectual groups and closure of important publications during the Spanish Civil War. During this period, one can observe a deep change in the country's overall context concerning the modernization of its structures and the search to define modernist tendencies sparked by First World War. This change implied the convergence of two ways of thinking, firstly, a tendency toward Eurocentrism and greater integration with European cultural trajectories due to the feeling of being in the cultural periphery, and secondly, a return to Hispanic cultural traditions. Both were manifested in most of the contemporary ideological and artistic narratives.

In July of 1915, the journal *España*, founded by José Ortega y Gasset, published a manifesto expressing support for the French national cause in WWI. The

composer Manuel de Falla was among the intellectual signees who subscribed to the cause. Historians have included most of those intellectuals as protagonists in a renovation process called *Novecentismo*. They positioned themselves against the doctrine that the nineteenth century had an aristocratic sense of the intellectual, while conversely maintaining that universalism and nationalism were intrinsically linked categories, as demanded by the emerging artistic renovation process.

Furthermore, from 1915, concepts on new art and music constituted a large part of the incipient artistic and philosophical journals, essays and publications that operated within the paradigms of the need to redefine Spain's artistic trajectory. Some concepts began to emerge within discussions, particularly regarding the possibility of a movement based on a synthesis between tradition and renovation. Among the concepts being debated arose the notion of a 'new classicism', which was understood as a way of integrating European modernism and simultaneously reinforcing Spanish identity by paralleling many ideals of French narratives. The recovery of Spanish tradition implied a renewed focus on national and cultural essences. A 'new classicism' was possible as long as it did not support a normative vision but found its *essences* in national cultures. These ideas emerged most significantly with comments on Manuel de Falla's *Retablo de Maese Pedro* and the *Harpsichord Concerto*, which, according to critics, claimed and demonstrated the possibility of encapsulating a new Hispanic construction of universal nationalism through the aesthetics of neoclassicism.

In this article I will analyse the processes and narratives which first set out the concept of neoclassicism, paying special attention to the construction of a modernist self-identity through the analysis of the evolution of *Novecentismo* contrasting Spanish narratives with their French counterparts.

To achieve this objective, I will first explain *Novecentismo* as understood by its main intellectuals and the ideas published in the journal *España*. This journal was a key forum for the germination and understanding of the concept of a Spanish nationalism 'of the essences', the duality between nationalism and universalism, and the intellectual position of the Allies. This context was also the basis for formulating ideas on new art and music movements as many of the '*novecentistas*' were involved in this milieu. Secondly, I will deal with the process by which Spanish criticism adopted many of the French ideas of renovation in music. Moreover, I will demonstrate how Spanish criticism evolved these ideas according to its own interests, and how it projected some Spanish music concepts by constructing an ideological periphery around French and European modernism. I will demonstrate how these ideas were configured around Manuel de Falla's *Retablo de Maese Pedro* and *Harpsichord Concerto*. To some extent, Spanish criticism refused to accept the

French and European modernist influence and sought its own modernism and Spanishness based on national essences which ultimately paralleled many of the French nationalist ideals.

Through a wide range of magazines, newspapers, and other sources, accessible in physical and digital archives (Hemeroteca Digital - Biblioteca Nacional de España, Archivo Manuel de Falla, Fundación Juan March), I will carry out an in-depth prospective on the questions of artistic thought that projected these concepts, especially from the configuration of the concept of musical neoclassicism in the first decades of the twentieth century. The aesthetic, ideological and cultural premises of *Novecentismo* and *Noucentisme*, based on the writings of Ortega and Eugenio d'Ors, are analysed through their main writings, not only essays, but also reviews and articles in the main periodicals such as *España* or *El Imparcial*, which place us in the socio-political and cultural context of *Noucentisme*. From 1914 onwards, there was close collaboration between Madrid, Barcelona and other provinces, between key representatives of all artistic disciplines.

The newspapers that gave most importance to the new artistic trends were *El Sol* and *La Voz*. A survey was also made of the articles devoted to music in these publications, to observe their connection with the thinking present in the art and music magazines. Both are largely digitized in the BNE, which facilitates searches by keywords, dates, authors, and titles.

From a general perspective, publications such as *Alfar*, *Revista de Occidente* or *La Gaceta Literaria*, brought a decisive conceptualization and terminology to essays and criticism. There are also numerous specifically musical publications in which the reflection of artistic thought can be observed. These include *Lira Española*, *Revista Musical Hispanoamericana*, *Harmonía* and *Arte Musical*, which have been consulted physically in the newspaper archives of the National Library of Spain. Most of these periodicals are housed in the Biblioteca Nacional de España, although there are also issues in other institutions, such as the Fundación Juan March or the Biblioteca of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid. They have been consulted partly by digital means, but some older issues are not digitised and have been processed in situ (*Alfar*, for instance).

Other French publications such as *Mercure de France*, *Ménestrel*, *Revue Musicale*, *Nouvelle Revue Française*, among others, were also examined to notice the projection of and interaction with French thought. In addition, some of the journals linked to modernist thought in England and the USA were consulted, like *Modern Music*, *Musical Quarterly* or *The Chesterian*. All of them were consulted in the newspaper library of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, some digital, others in microform.

This research also includes many essays by French and Spanish musicians, artists and intellectuals (Ortega y Gasset, Adolfo Salazar, Henri Collet, Manuel de Falla, Paul Landormy). These essays have not been digitised and have been consulted in situ, physically at the National Library of Spain and the French National Library.

### THE JOURNAL *ESPAÑA*: NOVECENTISMO AND NATIONALISM OF THE 'ESSENCES'

The journal *España* (FIGURE 1) founded by José Ortega y Gasset was first published in 1915. Its principal purpose was to promote intellectual renovation and to support the French cause in WWI. It is considered the most important political newspaper of the Silver Age, the journalistic-doctrinal organ of neo-regeneracionism, of the reformist group made up of liberals, democrats, socialists, and agnostics who harshly criticized the paralyzing institutionalism of the Restoration, the mouthpiece of all national discontent, of socialising republicanism, of left-wing Catalanism and of the workers' movement. Its facsimile edition was published in 1982, with a foreword by Salvador de Madariaga, a preliminary study by Manuel Tuñón de Lara and Enrique Montero, and chronological and onomastic indexes.

Subtitled 'Semanario de la vida nacional' (weekly of national life), it was the publication with the widest repercussion in the so-called 'Silver Age' of Spanish intellectuality, the first journalistic project of José Ortega y Gasset, and in which the reformist liberal-democratic and anti-oligarchic, radical, and anti-monarchist currents of socialism converged. It brought together the leading representatives of the Generation of '98 and the Generation of '14, and some of those who would go on to form part of the Generation of '27.

Although Spain wouldn't take part in the war, intellectual circles and especially those promoting *España*, encouraged a pro-European and pro-French stance. Most of Spain's bourgeois intellectuals wanted an alliance with the European democracies and to confront conservatism, and monarchical and aristocratic powers. Ortega y Gasset, Eugenio d'Ors, Luis Araquistain, Salvador de Madariaga and other critics such as Juan de la Encina (better known as Ricardo Gutiérrez Abascal), José Moreno Villa, and Adolfo Salazar promoted a concept of a new open European nationalism in this journal and other publications. This concept was reminiscent of that of the *Generación del 98* with respect to being spurred by a general frustration with the idea of Spain from a very critical and militant position. On July 3, 1915, a manifesto by Spanish intellectuals appeared in the French magazine *Journal* to rally behind the French cause. The document included the signature of composer Manuel de Falla. On July 9, 1915, the manifesto was



FIGURE 1. Front page of *España* (Madrid), 21, 18 June 1915.



published in *España* signed by José Ortega y Gasset, Fernando de los Ríos, Miguel de Unamuno, Manuel de Falla, Rogelio Villar, Joaquín Turina, Ramón Casas, Julio Romero de Torres, Ignacio Zuloaga, Manuel Azaña, Santiago Rusiñol and Gregorio Martínez Sierra, among others. It shows a change of perspective in what has been ambiguously called *Novecentismo* and constitutes a long evolutionary process until the Spanish Civil War (FIGURE 2).<sup>1</sup>

However, my purpose is to highlight the valuable protagonism of the journal *España* as a manifestation of consciousness of the renovation and the synthesis of early avant-garde art and music. This emerging consciousness interlaced with ideological discourses of nationalism which was fundamental for defining a new Spanish artistic current. The concept of a modern classicism or new classicism would arise as a result of these discourses.<sup>2</sup> The journal included numerous articles devoted to the arts and was related to the *Ateneo científico literario y artístico* (scientific, literary and artistic Athenaeum). This was a crucial institution for the progression of intellectuals, the promotion of literary criticism and the chronicles from Paris, and also the dissemination of information on cultural events. Many critics and intellectuals who wrote in the journal *España* also contributed to other important journals (*El Sol*, *La Voz*, *Alfar*, *Revista de Occidente*) thereby perpetuating the concepts that had emerged in the journal *España* that were already developing *Novecentismo*.<sup>3</sup> According to Mainer, *España* vividly showed the theoretical equivalence between *aliadófilo* (pro-french) with intellectual and liberal, critical and groundbreaking. In his work we frequently find the idea of 'duty' as an ideological commitment to communicate and continually develop to achieve a true Spanish Idiosyncrasy which would reconcile the ideas on the country's modernity and a profound Spanish sensitivity based on national essences. This reveals a concept deeply rooted in Ortega y Gasset's theories and many of the *Novecentismo* intellectuals.

Therefore, the journal *España* also raises the dichotomy between the superficial and the profound as a metaphor for the country's renewal through the possibility of reaching an equilibrium between Spain and Europe, and in the dimensions of nationalism and universalism. Aesthetic values associated with these ideas are also rooted in Ortega's writings, and most pointedly in *Meditaciones del Quijote*. In this essay he follows Husserl's ideas proposing an equilibrium between depth and surface, and essence and appearance, in not only art but also as a general aim for Spanish idiosyncrasy.<sup>4</sup>

Therefore, it is necessary first to assess the significance of *Novecentismo* and the impact of contemporary European tendencies. The intellectual approach to art and the conviction of an ethical and aesthetic change were decisive for



FIGURE 2. 'Manifiesto de Adhesión a las Naciones Aliadas', *España*, I, 1915, p. 82.

NUM. 24.-6.

## MANIFIESTO DE ADHESIÓN A LAS NACIONES ALIADAS

El telégrafo ha transmitido á España el texto de un Manifiesto de adhesión á las naciones aliadas, que ha aparecido en la Prensa extranjera. El documento está suscripto por un núcleo selecto de profesores, escritores y artistas españoles. Es un hecho histórico y trascendental, y ha sugerido comentarios diversos en nuestra Prensa. Algunos firmantes del Manifiesto envían á España el texto original, seguido de algunas notas aclaratorias, que publicamos con suma complacencia.

El manifiesto ha sido primeramente vertido al francés, y del francés ha sido vertido nuevamente al castellano, y así, las líneas que hasta ahora conoce el público son traducción de traducción. He aquí el texto original:

### LA GUERRA EUROPEA

#### PALABRAS DE ALGUNOS ESPAÑOLES

Levantamos la voz para pronunciar nuestra palabra, con modestia y sobriedad, como españoles y como hombres. No sería bien que, en esta coyuntura máxima de la historia del mundo, la historia de España se desarticulase del curso de los tiempos, quedando de lado, á modo de roca estéril, insensible á las inquietudes del porvenir y á los dictados de la razón y de la ética. No sería bien que en estos momentos de gravedad profunda, de intensa religiosidad, cuando la especie humana sufre sin cuento engendrando una más apretada y fraterna solidaridad, España, por el apocamiento de los políticos responsables, apareciera como una nación sin eco en las entrañas del mundo. Y aún fuera peor que sus ecos propagasen la acrimonia de voces encendidas por pasiones ciegas y los denuestos de plumas y gacetas mercenarias!

Nosotros, sin más representación que nuestras vidas calladas, consagradas á las puras actividades del espíritu, sentimos que, para servir á la Patria y ser ciudadanos honrados y de provecho, es fuerza ser hombre honrado y de provecho para todos los pueblos. Y así, estamos ciertos de cumplir un deber de españoles y de hombres declarando que participamos, con plenitud de corazón y de juicio, en el conflicto que trastorna al mundo. Nos hacemos solidarios de la causa de los aliados, en cuanto representa los ideales de la justicia, coincidiendo con los más hondos é ineludibles intereses políticos de la nación. Nuestra conciencia reprueba donde quiera todos aquellos hechos que menoscaban la dignidad humana y los respetos que los hombres se deben, aun en el más enconado trance de la lucha.

Deseamos con fervoroso anhelo que la paz futura sirva á las naciones todas de honrada y provechosa enseñanza, y esperamos que el triunfo de la causa que reputamos justa afirmará los valores esenciales con que cada pueblo, grande ó pequeño, débil ó fuerte, ha dado vida á la cultura humana, destruirá los fermentos de egoísmo, de dominación y de impúdica violencia, generadores de la catástrofe, y afirmará el cimiento de una nueva hermandad internacional, donde la fuerza cumpla su fin: El de garantizar la razón y la justicia.

Profesores: Gumersindo de Azcárate, Nicolás Achúcarro, Adolfo Builla, Américo Castro, Julio Cejador, Manuel B. Cossío, José Goyanes, Luis de Hoyos, G. R. Lafora, Eduardo López Navarro.

Juan Madinaveitia, Gregorio Marañón, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Manuel Morente, José Ortega Gasset, Gustavo Pittaluga, Adolfo Posada, Fernando de los Ríos, J. Eugenio Rivera, Luis Sinarro, Ramón Turro, Miguel de Unamuno, Luis Urrutia y Luis de Zulueta.

Compositores de música: Manuel Falla, J. Turina, Rogelio Villar y Amadeo Vives.

Pintores: Hermen Anglada Camarasa, Ramón Casas, Anselmo de Miguel Nieto, José Rodríguez Acosta, Julio Romero de Torres, Santiago Rusiñol é Ignacio Zuloaga.

Escultores y decoradores: Julio Antonio, Juan Borrel Nicolau, José Clará, Enrique Casanova, Manuel Castaños, Mateo Fernández de Soto, Joaquín Sunyer, Jerónimo Villalba y José Villalba.

Escritores: Mario Aguilar, Gabriel Alomar, Luis Araquistain, Manuel Azaña, «Azorín», José Carrer, Manuel Ciges Aparicio, Francisco Grandmontagne, Amadeo Hurtado, Ignacio Iglesias, Antonio Machado, Ramiro de Maeztu, Gregorio Martínez Sierra, Enrique de Mesa, Armando Palacio Valdés, Benito Pérez Galdós, Ramón Pérez de Ayala y Ramón del Valle-Inclán.

Cuando se publiquen estas líneas, el Manifiesto habrá visto la luz en los principales periódicos ingleses, italianos, suizos y americanos del Norte y del Sur. Gracias á esto, claro y vivo resplandor, los pueblos todos del mundo advierten que España conserva aún aceite en su lámpara. Era ya urgente que nuestra Patria se retrajese de la sombra letárgica y asomase su faz familiar sobre las contiendas de los hombres.

Hasta ahora, han comentado el Manifiesto: *El Liberal*, con frases sonoras é hidalgas, á la buena usanza castellana, y *El País*, poniéndole algunos reparos, á que respondamos en seguida. Como no podía menos de suceder, ciertos periódicos de burda estofa han mostrado hacia el Manifiesto chocarrera animosidad. El resto de los periódicos han convergido unánimemente hacia uno de los dos polos de la vida pública española, el silencio. El otro polo es la entorpecida desenfrenada. No conocemos términos, mellos.

Indica *El País* que entre los firmantes del Manifiesto faltan algunos nombres. Es cierto. Faltan, por lo pronto, los escultores Mateo Inurria y Miguel Blay, el pintor Villegas y el escritor Gómez de Baquero, que, sin duda, por descuido, se han omitido en la transmisión telegráfica. Falta Pío Baroja, cuya ausencia sentimos vivamente. Falta Ramón y Cajal, de quien por razones de delicadeza, y en atención á su cargo de presidente de la Junta para ampliación de estudios en el extranjero, los redactores del Manifiesto juzgaron oportuno no recabar su firma. Y faltan también, es verdad, esos pocos y meritosísimos nombres que *El País* enumera, porque premuras de tiempo estorbaban á solicitar un concurso que sabíamos se nos había de otorgar de muy buen grado. Faltan, pero en puridad no faltan, por cuanto todos ellos ya habían declarado su sentir.

Califica *El País* de ripio esta frase de la traducción española de la traducción francesa: «en estos momentos de intensos sentimientos religiosos». En el texto original. Se habla de intensa religiosidad y de una más apretada y fraterna unión de la raza humana, pero no de sentimientos religiosos intensos. Podrá parecer lo mismo, pero no lo es. El término «sentimiento religioso» tiene un valor psicológico estricto, y se refiere á la comunicación con lo sobrenatural. En cambio la palabra religiosidad tiene un valor tradicional, derivado de su etimología, anterior á la acepción que le dió Lactancio de unión con lo divino, y equivale á concepto serio de la vida, á unión de los hombres por el amor. Religiosidad quiere decir atadura. Los hombres están atados unos á otros, de donde quiera que sean, mal que les pese á los voceros del patriotismo ciego y cabillo. La Historia es una continua aspiración á robustecer esta atadura. Cuando las naciones pelean no es por romper esta atadura, sino por estrecharla. El hombre tiende siempre á la máxima unidad humana, y de aquí nace la idea política. Así, Alemania como los aliados guerrean por la máxima unidad humana. Sólo que Alemania quiere fundarla en la fuerza, los aliados en la buena voluntad, que es el umbral del amor. Y como la unidad por la fuerza, el ideal del Imperio, no podemos aceptarlo si no es por derecho divino, de aquí que en el presente conflicto acaso esté en lo cierto el Sr. Benavente al insinuar que Alemania representa los sentimientos religiosos, esto es, un ripio histórico, como quiere *El País*. Y es no menos cierto que los aliados representan la acción dolorosa y el espíritu de sacrificio por la religiosidad.

Y ahora vamos con uno de esos papeles de burda estofa, de cuyo nombre, por caridad, no queremos acordarnos. He aquí alguno de sus comentarios.

«En el documento se barajan de una manera confusa las palabras *hombres libres, pueblos oprimidos, humanidad, libertad*... Y es lo curioso que ni en el original ni en la traducción hay ninguno de estos términos. La palabra libertad, ni ninguno de sus derivados, aparece una sola vez. Quizá no falte quien piense que esta mixtificación es hija de la mala fe. No es eso. Es que ni siquiera saben leer.

«Hace meses que se viene hablando de este famoso documento, que á fuerza de tanto hablar de él nos parecía que ya estaba publicado, quedando sorprendidos al ver su publicación después de diez meses que se venía anunciando al son de bombo y platillos.» Pues bien, la idea del Manifiesto surgió con ocasión del discurso del Sr. Vázquez de Mella. Que los sorprendió á todos los de esa cuerda... Naturalmente.

«En el Manifiesto de nuestros intelectuales apenas se encuentra una idea clara.» No hay peor tonto que el que quiere entender. Veamos de aclarar más aún los conceptos esenciales.

Primero: que la opinión pública española no puede estar contenida en los denuestos de plumas y gacetas mercenarias.

Segundo: que la neutralidad del Gobierno no puede entenderse como la neutralidad de la nación. Valdría tanto como suponer que España había dejado de existir.

Tercero: que hay un grupo de españoles que participan, por sentimiento y raciocinio, en el conflicto europeo, echándose del lado de los aliados.

Cuarto: que la idea de Patria está subordinada á la idea de humanidad. Sólo hará obra verdaderamente patriótica aquel cuya obra tenga un valor universal para la cultura humana. Por ejemplo, Zuloaga, Falla, Blay, Pérez Galdós es obvio que son más patriotas que Vázquez Mella. Los tres primeros usan en su arte de un lenguaje universal, susceptible de ser entendido por todos los hombres, lo mismo por un cochinchino que por un extremeño. Galdós es susceptible de ser vertido á cualquier idioma, conservando el mismo caudal de emoción, cultura y eficacia. Pero, imaginemos un discurso de Vázquez Mella traducido á un idioma extranjero... ¿Se concibe que lo lea alguien, ó de leerlo, que le interese, ó de interesarle, por razones circunstanciales, que le sirva de provecho espiritual ó práctico? Antes de estallar la guerra, la *Gaceta de Colonia* publicaba una crónica del congreso en Madrid, dando cuenta, con extrema nota y escarnio, de un discurso del Sr. Vázquez de Mella en el Congreso, y el escritor se maravillaba de que en España se cultivase todavía ese género de oratoria, inferior al de los borrachos en las tabernas alemanas.

Y quinto: que siendo la cultura un fenómeno universal,

LOS DOS SOBERANOS DE TURQUÍA: EL SULTÁN Y VON DER GOLZ PACHÁ SALIENDO DE LA INAUGURACIÓN DEL PARLAMENTO

artists, philosophers, writers, and musicians. The statement 'Spain represents the idea of the new Spanish intellectual'<sup>5</sup> expresses the idea of an independent writer demonstrating his social and historical consciousness.<sup>6</sup> There is a sense of the intellectual aristocracy along with a universal humanism that responds to the ideal propagated by the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (Free Institution of Education). The works of intellectuals such as Fernando de los Ríos, Machado, Moreno Villa, Díez Canedo Juan Ramón Jiménez are a result of this context. The above-mentioned identification between intellectual *aliadófilo* and progressive/left minded would lead to a certain intellectual and intelligent vision of art and music creation that produced a plethora of aesthetic values. One relevant aspect of this intellectualism is the idea of universalism, whose most important proponents were José Ortega y Gasset and Eugenio d'Ors. In the journal *España*, universalism and nationalism were equally valued categories which contributed to the processes of liberal democracy and intellectual renewal. Another important conviction was the reaction against the XIX century which was identified with positivism, naturalism and skepticism. This affected the reform movements especially with respect to the new vision of the past as developed in Ortega's essay *Nada moderno y muy siglo XX* ('Nothing modern but very twentieth century'). The essay presents an idea of tradition that would influence the concept of a return to the past and a new classicism in art and music. Ortega asserted that the recovery of the past only exists as part of this new art.

These ideas influenced the French perspective on the idea of new art. Furthermore, it was a necessary ideological connection with the Catalan movement *Noucentisme* which encapsulated the renovation ideas during the first decades of the XX century in a movement lead by philosopher Eugenio D'Ors. The journal *España* was the connection to the *Noucentisme* Catalan writers, Joaquin Torres-García and Eugenio d'Ors, who inherited ideals of the École Française Romaine appropriating the strong political sense promoted by Action Française and based on the ideas of Charles Maurras.<sup>7</sup> The École stated some antithetical categories: local vs. imperialism, North vs. Mediterranean, naturalism vs. idealism, Classicism vs. Romanticism and intelligence vs sentimentality. These categories were reflected in the opposition between Latin and Germanic, Nordic and the Mediterranean which were widely used in the rhetoric accompanying French nationalism in France at the end of the nineteenth century and before and after WWI.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to the medium of its main intellectuals, principally Ortega, D'Ors, Pérez de Ayala and Ramón Gómez de la Serna, *Novecentismo* received the influence of Nietzsche's ideas on Latinism and German decadence. Many essays by Nietzsche were published in *España* and in others promoting the ideas of



*Novecentismo*.<sup>9</sup> The search for an essentialist art based on national essences was one of the key aspects for understanding *Novecentismo*. This aspect was also inherited from French criticism which extolled that art should not only be conceived by intelligence but should also be based on national essences.<sup>10</sup>

The journal *España* clearly shows the link between nationalism seeking a New Spain and the idea of new art forms through discussion regarding the past. It is relevant then, that, from 1914 to 1915, when issues on nationalism were important concerns, criticism began to shape an aesthetic vision of a renewal that would incorporate the notion of a new classicism. It also shows the impact of Jean Aubry's essentialist ideas and the notion of a Latin alliance in which Spain had a pre-eminent cultural place together with Russia. These two countries constituted models for nationalistic essentialism incorporating the ideals of purification, stylized art and essences that originated from the French critical context which emerged after the Franco-Prussian War. Albert Soubies had already introduced an idea of a Latin union, in 1899, in a book on the history of Spanish music.<sup>11</sup> Spain's position among Latin countries was praised by the French hispanists, especially Jean-Aubry<sup>12</sup> and Henri Collet,<sup>13</sup> both of whom had struck a friendship with Manuel de Falla in Paris before WWI.

In 1915, the year of the journal *España's* establishment, Manuel de Falla had just returned from Paris. He had embraced the ideas of Schola Cantorum especially through Henri Collet<sup>14</sup> who had developed and promoted the ideal of race in music.<sup>15</sup> Falla's prologue of *La musique française d'aujourd'hui* supported the ideas of a national essence and race in music also with special concerns for Jean-Aubry.<sup>16</sup> Falla's prologue to Jean Aubry's book showed a notion of musical nationalism which Ortega y Gasset and other writers later reflected in their works. This notion is based on French ideals that propose a rejection of German universalism and formalism, because of France's anti-German sentiment in WWI. Falla later combined the *Novecentismo* ideals of a new universal art with the French ideal of race and national essences. He, therefore, was advocating for the possibility of a national universalism grounded on Spanish musical tradition from the Medieval Age to the XVIII Century.

The year 1915 opened a period of discussion and renewal in Spanish music, with the return of Falla from Paris, his lectures, the creation of the Sociedad Nacional de Música (National Music Society), the première of works by Victoria, Morales, Soler and mostly Scarlatti and the creation of the Madrid Philharmonic Orchestra. A process whose splendor was in the 1920s and whose aesthetic guidance was the critic and composer Adolfo Salazar,<sup>17</sup> founder of Sociedad Nacional de Música and in contact with Europe and different journals and institutions. The historicist

recovery of Spain's musical past via musicological research specially guided by Felipe Pedrell's paradigm,<sup>18</sup> and also the intense activity of institutions, promoted and propitiated the theoretical and aesthetic recovery of Spanish musical tradition from a modern perspective associated with the idea of a modern classicism.

Although the journal *España* did not publish any articles focused on music, it praised ideals of race and essences especially concerning Spanish painters from its first issues in 1915.<sup>19</sup> However, at the same time, some new musical publications such as the important *Revista Musical Hispanoamericana*,<sup>20</sup> *Lira española* and *Arte musical*, in which many of the intellectuals related to *España* wrote, published the arguments in favour of a new Spanish School of Music with a renewed and outstanding role in a Latinist and universalist way of thinking.<sup>21</sup> Manuel Abril stated that musical impressionism, as a model for art based on deep essences (a deep art or '*arte hondo*')<sup>22</sup> contains a very *novecentista* concept in the same way as Ortega and other intellectuals related to *España*. These sought to promulgate a deep renovation in Spain emanating from essence and race.

Furthermore, Adolfo Salazar proposed some Spanish composers as a paradigm of new Latinism: Falla, Granados, Esplá, Turina.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, in 1916, Manuel de Falla published his essay entitled '*Introducción a la música nueva*' ('Introduction to New Music') in which he postulated that new Spanish music should not only return to traditional roots but also renew national essences in a new sense of simplicity, order and proportion.<sup>24</sup> Jean-Aubry himself was using those terms to describe Falla's work as an example of perfect meaning of proportion, national essences and a new modern Spanishness.<sup>25</sup>

Paradoxically, the same values that Falla introduced for the new Spanish School of Music were used by French criticism to describe his works. Both based their descriptions on earlier French ideals about a new Spain that would be evolved through elements of essence and race. This ideal of embracing Spanish musical tradition and new ideas of order in French music was the basis for formulating the concept of a new classicism for Spanish music.

Beginning in 1917 a plethora of articles published in the journal *España* described art and music tendencies in Russia as a model for new art and avant-garde in Europe.<sup>26</sup> In all these texts nationalism and universalism were presented as intrinsically linked categories. This aspect was not a coincidence as many other political articles in *España* argued in favor of the idea of a democratic army fighting for universal freedom, following the model of the French Revolution of 1789, and that of Russia, in 1917. The implicit underlying argument was that new hands both 'pure and free' should hold power.

Russia was presented as the model of a nationalist and universalist modernism. Miguel Salvador, who was related to Sociedad Nacional de Música, *Ateneo*, and *Novecentismo* intellectuals, and who was also friend of Adolfo Salazar, described the Russian music of Stravinsky – *Firebird* and *Petruška* – and of the Russian Five Composers as a ‘model of national art’, ‘race’, and ‘Latin ideals’.<sup>27</sup> The music for Ballets Russes was interpreted as the most appropriate source for the search for a new universal and Latin identity because of its uses of XVIII century classical music and stylization of folklore. Furthermore, they were described as a model for the essential and eternal meaning of art, and an intelligent, pure, and synthetic art.<sup>28</sup>

In 1917, the journal *España* published an article by Joaquín Torres-García<sup>29</sup> who was one of the main intellectuals of Catalanian *Noucentisme*. The text, which was entitled ‘Modern classicism’, proposed uniting different Latin countries under a classical ideal based on freedom, on race, but nevertheless defined only by the classical structural or architectural qualities whose aesthetic values were serenity, order, balance, beauty, weight, and prevalence of line. According to García, this was abstraction as intellectual synthesis of the deep essences. The search for national essences was fully related to the concept of classicism as an eternal and spiritual value. In his article, Torres García was referring to the ideas of *Action française* (Maurras) and *Ligue por la defense de la musique française*. However, their inclusion in a new intellectual and critical context, such as the one of *España* which was linked to progressive and left minded intellectuals, deprived those statements of the original context. In the same year, 1917, Manuel de Falla used the same concepts and meanings in his *Prólogo a la enciclopedia de Joaquín Turina*:

From this effort to free itself from old routines, the new music has been born, the music free from the shackles and tutelage of others, which lives by itself and for itself and aspires to realize that ideal, which was the unconscious cause of the primitive manifestations of the art of sound [...] I modestly believe that the study of the classical forms of our art should only serve to learn in them the order, the balance, the often-perfect realization of a method. It must serve us to stimulate the creation of other new forms, in which those same qualities shine, but never to make of them what a cook with his molds and recipes would make of them.<sup>30</sup>

From 1918 onwards, Adolfo Salazar’s writings identified the idea of a nationalism of the essences<sup>31</sup> from which the possibility of developing new Spanish Art and Music existed. This was to be grounded on a classic Latin past and against German tradition. The idea of new music encompassed French Impressionist music. The Ballet Russes,<sup>32</sup> the Russian Five composers and New Spanish Music all focused on Falla’s theatric works *El amor brujo* y *La vida breve*.

Therefore, the notion of new art and new music were shaped based on the union of the essentialist ideals with the French notion of new classicism, and the inherent possibility of a new Spanish School of Music that was to be defined upon its relation to past and tradition.

#### FROM DEBUSSY AND STRAVINSKY TO FALLA: THE NEW CLASSICISM

From 1919, the journal *España* constituted a key publication for the relation with *Nouvelle Revue Française* (NRF), which specifically influenced Spanish poetic and musical ideas. Originally established by André Gide, the publication was subsequently directed by Jacques Rivière and Jean Paulhan.<sup>33</sup> The NRF positioned itself as the opposition to the French Right Wing and argued for a new classicism directly related to critical intelligence, autonomy and universalism. Rivière called this classicism ‘revolutionary’ and linked it to an evolution of human unity, progress, and universalism.<sup>34</sup>

In 1918, the journal *España* published an article by Jacques Rivière in which the director of the NRF identified classicism as being intelligent, and within this terminology, furthermore defined the music of Debussy at the time of his death as demonstrating balanced melody, clarity and emotion entwined together, purification derived from intelligence, essential features and possessing incisive musical shapes. To further emphasize classicism’s purity he identified a certain ‘Refraction of music by the intelligence that enables a safer and straighter continuity’.<sup>35</sup> In addition to these comments, he also referred to a deep art in Debussy’s music, which was a concept reflected in one of Manuel de Falla’s main lectures<sup>36</sup> and related to the sense of depth extolled by *Novecentismo* intellectuals. Similarly, other French critics identified the last of Debussy’s sonatas as well as Ravel’s *Le Tombeau de Couperin* as being included among new artistic tendencies. Jean-Aubry stated that just Debussy could rescue French tradition with a sense of new classicism.<sup>37</sup>

French publications referred to the Société Musicale Indépendante, the NRF, *Revue Musicale*, and also specifically to articles by Prunières, Roland-Manuel, Rivière and Schloezer whereby they defined Debussy, Ravel,<sup>38</sup> Stravinsky and the new French school of the Six as a paradigm of new Classicist music.<sup>39</sup> In *La Musique Française Moderne* André Coeuroy stated impressionism as being the origin of a pure and stylized art, characterized by clarity, intelligence and form purity.<sup>40</sup> In his writings Émile Vuillermoz further pointed out measure, simplicity and purity in French music extending from Debussy to Stravinsky and Ravel.<sup>41</sup> Adolfo Salazar, who had read and learnt from these publications, wrote in the



journal *España* about the new French composers being the models for a new art and classicism<sup>42</sup> by noting their equilibrium and order. Russian music was another reference for the search of national essences,<sup>43</sup> a new equilibrium between content and form, essence and appearance. These aspects are particularly analyzed in Stravinsky's works.<sup>44</sup>

The *Revue Musicale*, founded by Henry Prunières in 1920, continued the course of the *NRF*. When Prunières gave one of his lectures in Madrid, in 1921,<sup>45</sup> he associated Debussy to 'French and Latin' classical music, defined by balance and ordered beauty. Also, *La Revue Musicale* published Paul Landormy's 1921 essay 'Le déclin de l'Impressionisme', where he argued for a 'return to tradition, meeting the demands of the spirit and of the reason, searching for permanent and universal aspects of reality'.<sup>46</sup> The main revelation of this essay is that the same ideals of a depth in art, intelligence and order were equally applied to Stravinsky's works associated to new classicism.<sup>47</sup> In 1923, 'neoclassicism' meant 'new classicism' but also 'classical', 'objectivity' and 'realism' were commonly employed terms. The words came from an earlier aesthetic program of the *NRF* which centered on objectivity, construction, pure music and simplicity. Words such as 'contrapuntal' or 'linear' appeared constantly. Later in 1921, Salazar made use of the specific reference and background espoused by Prunières when he identified Debussy's music as a necessary precedent for modern music:

Henri Prunières, the intelligent director of the *Revue Musicale de Paris* [...] had a high and noble thought of reviving the old custom of offering to a deceased friend and teacher a tribute composed of the intellectual results of people who loved him [...]. Ten musicians, the models of the 'new beautiful sound', wove in *La Revue Musicale* a rich garland for the tomb of the dead master. [...] Five French musicians: Paul Dukas, Albert Roussel, Florent Schmitt, Maurice Ravel and Erik Satie. An Italian, Francisco [*sic*] Malipiero, an Englishman, Eugène Goossens, a Hungarian, Béla Bartók, a Russian, Igor Stravinsky, and a Spaniard, no less than Manuel de Falla.<sup>48</sup>

He furthermore included Manuel de Falla among Latin and new universal composers. By doing so he was recovering previous opinions by French hispanists such as Aubry and Roland Manuel and applying the new ideals of new classicism to his works. Manuel de Falla's *El sombrero de tres picos* (*The Three-Cornered Hat*) was premiered during these years. Falla experimented with a synthesis of folk and historical material infused with the stylized austerity of Stravinsky's contemporary folk-inspired offerings alongside Picasso's tempered cubist designs.

While this new classicism in French music was being consolidated, its possible projection in Spain, based on French ideals, was also being debated. Adolfo Salazar and many other critics tried to define *El sombrero de tres picos* as a step towards

a new classicism permeating Spanish music. By doing that, they were trying to apply French ideals and previous statements regarding Debussy's and Stravinsky's works.<sup>49</sup> Falla's work was praised as the possible renovation of Spanish Music<sup>50</sup> through the idea of a universalism based on essences.<sup>51</sup> Salazar defined the work as an archetype of a true Spanishness, which rejected superficial folklorist tendencies, sensuality and a superficial representation of Spain. He instead saw features reminiscent of profound essences, stylization, order, classicism and modernity. Additionally, he identified in the new classicism a sense of universal Spanishness<sup>52</sup> which was associated with the uses of Scarlatti's old music in Falla's works. Salazar compared *El sombrero de tres picos* with *Daphnis et Chloé* and *Petruška*, due to common features such as clarity, pure sound, and the construction of the work based upon essentialist values, but conversely, also following modern and new criteria.<sup>53</sup>

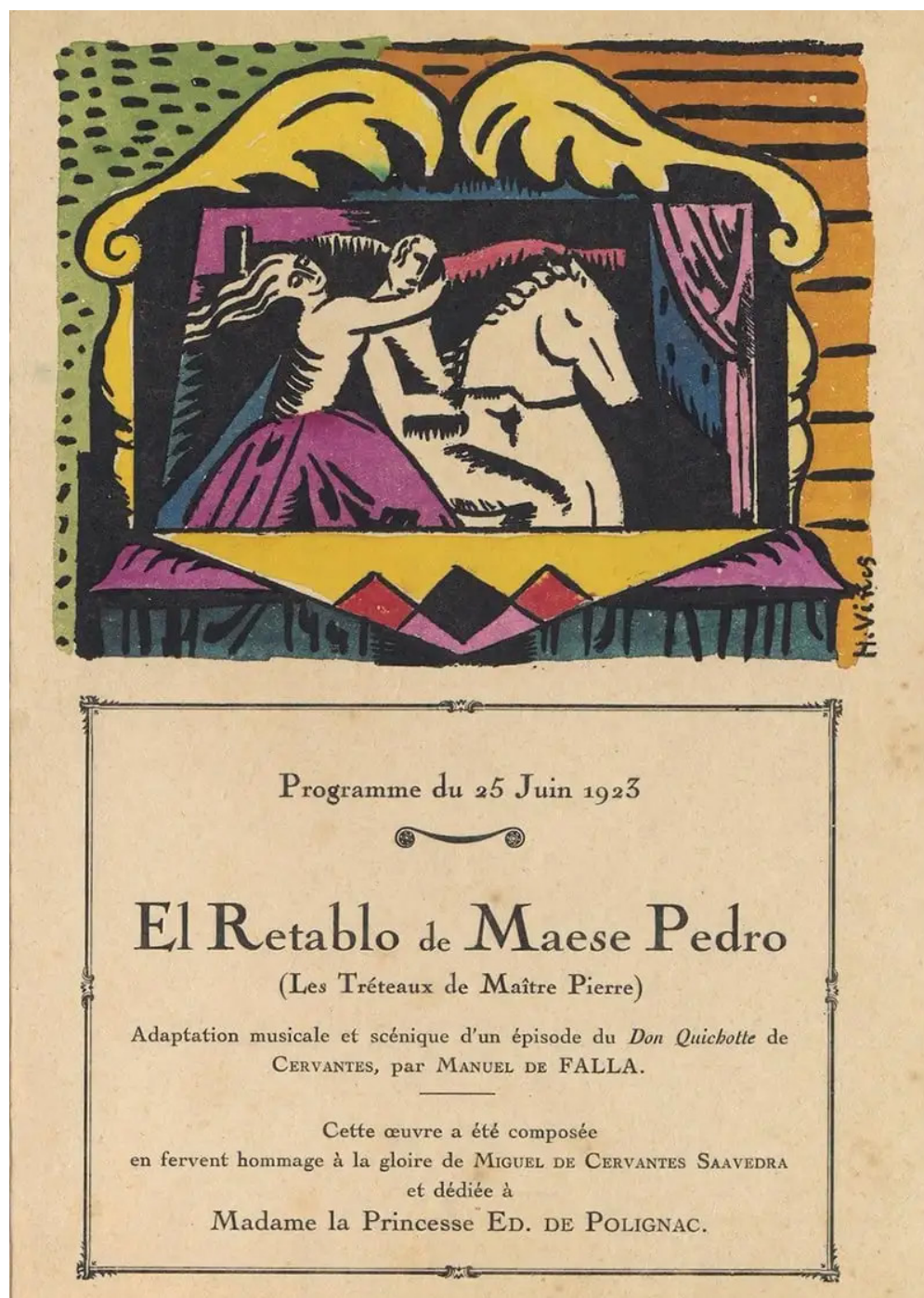
#### FROM *PULCINELLA* TO *RETABLO DE MAESE PEDRO* AND *HARPSICHORD CONCERTO*: CUBISM, OBJECTIVITY AND SPANISH NEOCLASSICISM

Critics commented on the premières of Falla's works in the Twenties focusing on the idea of an evolutionary process from *El sombrero de tres picos* (1919) to Falla's neoclassical works, *El Retablo de Maese Pedro* and the *Harpsichord Concerto*, produced between 1923 and 1926. These works purportedly related neoclassicism directly with universalism. The idea of the 'national becoming international'<sup>54</sup> was as common as the statement that *El Retablo* and the *Concerto* had achieved the demystification of 'Spanishness' as folklore ('desmitificar el *españolismo*')<sup>55</sup> and as the transcendence of 'Spanish art becoming universal'.<sup>56</sup> These ideas were based on the notion of a 'whitened' use of folklore and the intensification of Castilian tradition and music in the evocation of the past.

Falla was a founding member of the League of Composers who, along with Jean Wiener and the International Society for Contemporary Music, sponsored his work *El Retablo de Maese Pedro* (FIGURE 3). The fact that Falla's work was being considered by European critics (especially by *Revue Musicale* and *The Chesterian*) as a paradigm of new Spanish music laid a platform for future critics, thereby placing Falla's work alongside new European music. This influenced Spanish criticism which was trying to emulate European criticism.

Falla's neoclassical works, *El Retablo de Maese Pedro* and the *Harpsichord Concerto*, as already exhibited in this article, would later be associated with a renovation inspired in a universal transcendence of Spanish Music throughout the 1920s and beyond. These ideas were indeed parallel to musicological research and

FIGURE 3. Program of *El Retablo de Maese Pedro*'s première in Paris, 1923. Archivo Manuel de Falla.



the recovery of music of the past, especially with respect to *Siglos de Oro*, keyboard music and Castilian music of the XVI and XVII Centuries.<sup>57</sup>

In 1923, in a letter to Jean-Aubry, Manuel de Falla expressed his interest for Castilian tradition and the novel *El Quijote* by Miguel de Cervantes, regarding the composition of his new work *Retablo de Maese Pedro*.<sup>58</sup> He stated that 'Andalusian popular melody is absent in the music of the *Retablo*. It is just old music, both high and popular, from other regions, particularly Castilla.'<sup>59</sup>

To some extent, Jean-Aubry understood these Castilian overtones in a grandiloquent way with the aim of satisfying the French discourse about a serious and depurated new Spanish music, devoid of Andalusian exoticism and therefore bringing the old exotic idea of Spain to a new Castilian paradigm. According to him, 'everything is Castilla in *Retablo*, except a little fragment at the end of the work which was based on a Catalan song'.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, there are many reminiscences of Andalusian sound, guitar and folklore in *El Retablo* even though Falla had pointed out his interest in old Castilian music. The French journalists that spread the idea of neoclassicism in Stravinsky's works were mostly linked to *Revue Musicale*, which promoted this Castilian perspective. Aloys-Mooser emphasized that in *El Retablo* any Andalusian sign had disappeared.<sup>61</sup> Similarly, John B. Trend pointed out in *The Times* the Castilian character of the score,<sup>62</sup> which was an idea that would be reinforced through several critical comments in France and in Spain.<sup>63</sup> André Schaeffner described it as a 'passionate classicism'.<sup>64</sup>

We cannot, however, forget that the première of the *Retablo* coincided with the impact of Stravinsky's neoclassical works and its European critical identification of the uses of musical tradition with avant-garde, post-cubism, objectivity and neoclassicism. To some extent, this influence gave rise to comments on *Retablo de Maese Pedro*: 'the traditional topic dissolves, new reality, creatures recently formed of a matter that, this time, is purely sonorous [...] Neither Don Gayferos, nor Don Quijote, nor *Maese Pedro*, are anymore than pegs in a new instrument, whose music is inside [...] pegs... popular song and old romances, old vihuela and keyword'.<sup>65</sup>

In France, Stravinsky's works, especially the *Octet for Wind Instruments* had been associated to cubist ideas, to collage and to a 'plastic' way of composition. Critiques on the *Retablo* also emphasized the plastic qualities of the work comparing it with Picasso due to elements of a modern classicism made of clear counterpoint, a strong sense of construction, a cubist perspective, the joining of planes and lines and, of composition.<sup>66</sup>

Furthermore, the première of Stravinsky's *Pulcinella* in Spain, in 1924, caused the emergence of many articles discussing a musical *retour* to the eighteenth



century. In May of 1924, *Revista de Occidente*, established by Ortega y Gasset in 1923, published an article by Adolfo Salazar, which was entitled 'Polichinela y Maese Pedro' (FIGURE 4).<sup>67</sup> The main purpose of comparing both works was to emphasize the idea of a unique Spanish neoclassicism. Salazar described an ironic representation in Stravinsky similar to a method of distorting musical tradition, whilst in Falla's work he emphasized a serious recovery of Spanish tradition, based on a poetical and lyrical evocation of Cervantes' milieu.

The texts differed between two criteria describing their utilization of the past: fashionable and evocative. In Stravinsky, Salazar assesses an ironic distance, whereas Falla, being Spanish, evokes history. Other authors praised the same ideas. For instance, in the newspaper *El Debate* Vicente Arregui stressed the archaic overtone in Falla's work and it being full of musicality,<sup>68</sup> while Stravinsky's *Pulcinella* was described in cold and unemotional terms.<sup>69</sup> Juan José Mantecón (better known as Juan del Brezo) followed these ideas and proclaimed Falla as the most Spanish of

FIGURE 4. Adolfo Salazar, 'Polichinela y maese Pedro', *Revista de Occidente*, 11, May 1924.

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Antonio Espina

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El poema—reconciliémonos con esos pobres poemas que no han hecho ningún mal a nadie—se complementaba así. Absurdo, medio sensacional, medio humoso. Realizando lo que no pudieran, ni Bi, ni los demás inquilinos. Esa alegría que no puede ser.

El edificio en humo.

Antonio Espina



## Notas

## Polichinela y maese Pedro

Las almas sonoras de Polichinela y maese Pedro, traducidas al idioma del siglo que vamos andando, han tenido una fugaz corporeidad, a pocos días de distancia, en auditorios madrileños. La más ligera información sobre los artífices que les han dado realidad acústica parece superflua. Stravinsky y Manuel de Falla son dos motivos de vivo interés en Europa; y sus actividades presentes y futuras preocupan semejantemente; más fuera de España que aquí mismo, a buen seguro, por lo que al autor español, de entrambos, se refiere.

«Pulcinella» y «maese Pedro» han tenido, probablemente, una idéntica razón de existencia. Causa, mejor dicho, porque, quizás, ambas obras fueron escritas con un propósito análogo: el de producirse en un principesco salón parisien. Sea así o no, la proximidad de su audición aquí ha hecho notar el paralelismo que conduce a ambas en sus vidas exteriores y la divergencia de sus internos modos de ser. Creo que la crítica paralela, la que gusta de descubrir las cualidades de las cosas no por el puro análisis y definición individual, sino estimando

the Spanish musicians and ‘more universal’.<sup>70</sup> The trending topic of universalism associated to Falla and Spanishness was just as visible in Catalan criticism after *Retablo*’s première.<sup>71</sup>

This perspective would simultaneously be projected in European criticism. Joaquín Turina published ‘Musique espagnole moderne’ in 1926, in *Le Courier de Paris*, espousing Falla as the starting point of the modern Spanish School of Music based on the conciliation of nationalism and universalism.<sup>72</sup>

Cesar M. Arconada, an important critic who wrote several articles in various journals about new art and music concerning the notion of avant-garde, defined Falla’s work as a paradigm of ‘post-classicism’. He also mentioned the ‘ethnography’ of this music comparing it with Russian composers and their uses of folklore to achieve universalism. The concepts of stylization and depuration of folklore were also present (FIGURE 5).<sup>73</sup>

When Falla premiered his *Harpsichord Concerto* (1926), it was described as the consolidation of a progressive process of depuration of folklore and the achievement of a new Spanish classicism that had been evolving since his first works.<sup>74</sup> Ideas about essences were emphasized, understood as a sign of Spanishness.

The *Concerto* is like an evolutionary fruit of the *Retablo de Maese Pedro*. On the way, its criterion is purified until it becomes quintessential, it intensifies until it reaches the last degree of concentration, it loses everything that could be considered as accessory and circumstantial to keep only the indispensable, the strict, in a way that could be considered schematic by force of elimination, to give as a result a clarity of matter and a precision in the language that today are the highest point of Spanish music. Unique qualities in our current music after having been imperative and constant in the apex of classicism.<sup>75</sup>

In addition, the reference to Scarlatti and Spanish music of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries in Falla’s *Harpsichord Concerto* was described as a deeper sign of Spanishness. This feature was defined as the perfect union of Spanishness and classicism. Also, the idea I previously explained about a Castilian influence in *Retablo de Maese Pedro* was present in the descriptions of the *Concerto* being related to the ‘natural values’ of Hispanic music as the words of Adolfo Salazar expressed (FIGURE 6):

The ‘natural values’ of Hispanic music persist throughout Falla’s work [...] more Castilianist already in the *Retablo* and in the *Concerto de Clavicembalo* [...] As Falla refined the elements of his style, his idiom became more concentrated in expression, synthesizing its general features and detaching itself from perfects that can be found in Domenico Scarlatti and Mozart. But in Scarlatti there is a kind of virginity of form that goes hand in hand with an unmistakable Spanish accent.<sup>76</sup>

FIGURE 5. César María Muñoz Arconada, 'La música moderna en España', *Alfar*, II/42, March 1924, p. 81.



# LA MÚSICA MODERNA EN ESPAÑA

La velocidad—agrimensura moderna—de nuestro vehículo musical no ha registrado aún en su cuenta-kilómetros las distancias vírgenes y desconocidas que separan, aisladamente, las últimas estribaciones funestas del XIX de las nuevas montañas surgidas después de la conmoción estética del XX, y cuya orografía comenzó a hacer, tan prometedoramente exacta y valiosa, Ortega y Gasset, lamentando que el estudio no haya proseguido, tanto para goce nuestro como para espanto de los representantes de la ecuanimidad, que ya comenzaban a inquietarse.

Esta parsimonia del avance a través del área divisoria de dos siglos no tiene, quizá, justificación, pero sí explicación. Ningún arte tan arraigado en los terrenos de la transcendencia como la música. Y esta adherencia, tan firme y tan sólida, no es originaria sino que es obra del fos-clasicismo, no ya germánico sino universal. Hacer una preparación de cultivo en este terreno tan compacto y apelmazado necesariamente había de constituir un historial de esfuerzos, no terminados aun porque la obra por hacer no es reducida y pequeña, sino que tiene una horizontalidad dilatada.

Y por hacer estaba, en España, hasta hace poco, todo, que era mucho, por cierto. Nuestro vehículo musical aún no había comenzado la carrera. Estaba en una actitud expectativa, transitoria y provisional, esperando que surgiera el conductor atrevido que le pusiera en movimiento, iniciando la marcha, incluso metiendo el acelerador. Falla fué, por fin, el primer choffer de ese vehículo. Falla, que tenía sus raíces inspiradoras en Andalucía y su fronda orquestal en Francia. Falla, por esto mismo, sabía bien el camino a recorrer o la distancia a vencer, pero su labor ha sido una labor demasiado aislada, personal y particular que no

ha dado el rendimiento apetecido, no ya en cuanto a calidad, sino más bien, en cuanto a ejemplaridad. En lo futuro la personalidad de M. de Falla dentro de la historia de la música moderna en España ha de agrandarse, de seguro, hasta adquirir esa ejemplaridad que ahora le falta. Como en otro orden Debussy, Falla ha de ser considerado en España como el precursor—más bien como el iniciador—de nuestra música moderna. Pero mientras se hace histórica esa perspectiva, Falla pensará nuestros gustos más recientes con la idea que tenemos, probablemente, equivocada, de que él es, un poco, el Zuloaga de la música.

Sin embargo, reconozcamos que, si con esta gobernación direccional, el vehículo no iba directo, al menos iba ya enrollando parte de la distancia que separaba las fronteras estéticas del siglo pasado y las del presente. El transcendentalismo que, después de todo, era el mal mayor, el mal envolvente y fundamental, entraba en posibilidades de esterilizarse. Esta libertad de la música de lo fisiológico; esta reintegración de la música a la música nunca lo celebraremos bastante en nuestras cardinales satisfacciones. Bien que no fué una conquista musical exclusivamente, sino una conquista general, que afectaba a todo el arte, ya entonces tan encorvado y paralítico, tan Lázaro necesitado de una resurrección. Pero, particularmente, la música era más difícil de libentar de la tutela romántica porque estaba más encadenada a ella, más encarcelada y sujeta, tanto, que el romanticismo parecía una consecuencia de aquella música, y no aquella música una consecuencia del romanticismo, es decir, que hasta tal punto había llegado la adaptación que el efecto se confundía con la causa y la definición con la explicación. Demostrativamente, basta comparar la situación actual de las otras artes









FIGURE 7. Sketches for *Concerto* MS M21. A7. Archivo Manuel de Falla.

Concerto per clavicembalo (o pianoforte), Flauto,  
Oboe, clarinetto, Violino e Violoncello.

— I —

Manuel de Falla

Allegro

Flauto

Oboe

clarinetto  
in La

Violino

Violoncello

clavicembalo  
(o Pianoforte)

Fl.

cl.

v.

va.

1

The neoclassical language, whose vocabulary is analogous to that used by Falla in *El Retablo de Maese Pedro* and in the *Concerto*, is employed with boldness and singular precision [...] it has nothing to do with eighteenth-century European evocations; the accent is ours [...] Due to lack of material, I cannot demonstrate here why the idiosyncratic neoclassical formulas set in motion by Falla are authentically Spanish.<sup>79</sup>

This comparison, Stravinsky vs. Falla, *Pulcinella* vs. *Retablo de Maese Pedro*, continued after the 1920s and 1930s in Spanish musical historiography.<sup>80</sup>

## SOME CONCLUSIONS

The discourses on modern classicism in the Spanish School of Music encapsulated some dualities. For instance, the tension between present and past, the polarity between being pro-European and urban and being regionalist and rural, the dichotomy between the new and the old, and the modern and the traditional.

Modern classicism was understood as the ideal synthesis of Orteguian Spanish essence and appearance made true. Furthermore, the idea of modern classicism itself was a construction due to the anxiety of presenting Falla's works as an ideal synthesis of nationalism and universalism, Spanishness and Europeanism. The Spanish discourses on modern classicism discarded the alleged coldness of French neoclassicism with the aim of enhancing its own tradition in national discourse and rejecting foreign influences.

Despite these attempts to try and stave off French influences and seek a unique modern classicism, in truth, it reflected the old French idea in the new Spanish School of Music. Spain maintained the union between the national and the universal which was developed in the writings of the main Hispanists, especially Collet and Jean-Aubry. It is thus clear that a process of feedback between France and Spain configured Spanish discourses about modern classicism.

## Notes

- 1 Guillermo Díaz-Plaja, *Estructura y sentido del novecentismo español*, Madrid: Alianza Universidad, 1975.
- 2 See Ruth Piquer, *Clasicismo Moderno, Neoclasicismo y Retornos en el pensamiento musical español (1915–1939)*, Sevilla: Doble J, 2010.
- 3 Victor Morales Lezcano, 'Revista España, semanario de la vida nacional (1915–1924)', *Hispania, Revista Española de Historia*, 141, 1979, pp. 201–220.
- 4 José Ortega y Gasset, *Meditaciones del Quijote e ideas sobre la novela*, Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1956, p. 43.
- 5 E. Inman Fox, *La crisis intelectual del 98*, Madrid: Cuadernos para el diálogo, 1976.
- 6 José Carlos Mainer, 'Contra el marasmo. Las revistas culturales en España (1900–1936)' in: *Arte moderno y revistas españolas 1898–1936*, eds. Eugenio Carmona y Juan José Lahuerta, Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía/Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, 1977, pp. 103–116.
- 7 Ernst Raynaud, 'L'école romaine française', *Mercure de France*, 1895, pp. 131–143.
- 8 Delfour Abbe, *La culture Latine*, Paris ; Nouvelle librairie nationale, p. 191; Paul Rougnon, 'Latinisme et germanisme', *Le Ménestrel*, September 1920.
- 9 Gonzalo Sobejano, *Nietzsche en España (1890–1970)*, Madrid: Gredos, 2004, p. 489.
- 10 José Ortega y Gasset, *Meditaciones del Quijote e ideas sobre la novela*, p. 43.
- 11 Albert Soubies, *Histoire de la Musique. Espagne*, Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1899; Henri Collet, 'L'internationalisme musical', *Le Courrier musical*, 21, n° 20, 15 décembre 1919, pp. 307–308.
- 12 Georges Jean-Aubry, *La musique française d'aujourd'hui*, Paris: Perrin et Cie, 1916, pp. 3–4
- 13 Henri Collet, *Albéniz et Granados*, Paris: Librairie Felix Alcan, 1926. See also Henri Collet, *L'essor de la musique espagnole au XX.ème. Siècle*, Paris: Editions Max Eschig, 1929).
- 14 Henri Collet, *Le mysticisme musical espagnol au XVIe siècle*, Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1913, pp. 380–381.
- 15 Contact between Henri Collet and Manuel de Falla is proved by correspondence, as well as Collet's ideological influence in Falla, to whom he sent his book *Le mysticisme musical espagnol au XVI siècle*. Falla's following interest in the sixteenth-century Spanish composers, is, among other circumstances, a consequence of this relation. Jane F. Fulcher, *French cultural politics & music, from the Dreyfuss Affair to the first World war*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- 16 This prologue is also published as: Manuel de Falla. 'La música francesa contemporánea, prólogo al libro de Jean-Aubry', *Revista Musical Hispanoamericana*, July 1916, in: Manuel de Falla, *Escritos sobre Música y Músicos*, Madrid: Espasa, 2003, pp. 43–50.
- 17 Salazar was the leader of the Spanish Sociedad Nacional de Música from 1914 on, and secretary and president of the musical association of *Ateneo de Madrid* between 1914 and 1922.
- 18 Juan José Carreras, 'Hijos de Pedrell: la historiografía musical española y sus orígenes nacionalistas. 1780–1980', *Il Saggiatore Musicale*, 1, 2001, pp. 121–151.
- 19 Juan de la Encina, 'Exposición Maeztu. Un pintor de raza', *España*, I, 14, 1915, p. 7.
- 20 *Revista Musical Hispanoamericana* was a result of the recently established Sociedad Nacional de Música, promoted by Adolfo Salazar. See: Consuelo Carredano, 'Adolfo Salazar en España. Primeras incursiones en la crítica musical: la *Revista Musical Hispanoamericana* (1914–1918)',

- Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, 26 (84), pp. 119–144: <https://www.scielo.org.mx/pdf/aiie/v26n84/v26n84a4.pdf> (last accessed 26 May 2025]
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  - 22 Manuel Abril, 'El Impresionismo musical', *Revista Musical Hispanoamericana*, 12, 1915, pp. 2–3. Id., 'Teorías comparadas', *Revista Musical Hispanoamericana*, 16, 1915, p. 5.
  - 23 Adolfo Salazar, 'Madrid musical. De pasada', *Arte Musical*, April 1915, pp. 3–4.
  - 24 Manuel de Falla, 'Introducción a la Música nueva', *Revista Musical Hispanoamericana*, December 1916.
  - 25 Georges Jean-Aubry, 'Manuel de Falla', *Revista Musical Hispanoamericana*, April 1917, pp. 1–5.
  - 26 Cipriano Rivas Cherif, 'Más de los bailes rusos', *España*, 72, 1916.
  - 27 Miguel Salvador, 'La música rusa', *España*, 113, 1917, p. 8.
  - 28 Miguel Salvador, 'La semana teatral', *España*, 116, 1917, pp. 11–12.
  - 29 Joaquín Torres García, 'Notas de Arte, Clasicismo moderno', *España*, 117, 1917, p. 14.
  - 30 'De este esfuerzo por liberarse de viejas rutinas ha nacido la música nueva, la música libre de trabas y tutelas ajenas, que vive por sí y para sí y que aspira a realizar aquel ideal, que fue causa inconsciente de las primitivas manifestaciones del arte sonoro. [...] Creo, modestamente, que el estudio de las formas clásicas de nuestro arte sólo debe servir para aprender en ellas el orden, el equilibrio, la realización frecuentemente perfecta de un método. Ha de servirnos para estimular la creación de otras nuevas formas, en que resplandezcan aquellas mismas cualidades, pero nunca para hacer de ellas lo que un cocinero con sus moldes y recetas' (Manuel de Falla, Prólogo a la *Enciclopedia abreviada de la música* de Joaquín Turina, Madrid: Renacimiento, 1917).
  - 31 Adolfo Salazar, 'El Nacionalismo musical en España', *El Sol*, 1 December 1918; *Harmonía*, 36, December 1918, p. 6; Adolfo Salazar, 'El maestro Pedrell y sus obras en Alemania', *Harmonía*, 57, September 1920.
  - 32 Adolfo Salazar, 'Algo más sobre los bailes rusos', *Revista Musical Hispanoamericana*, August 1916.
  - 33 Laurence Brisset, *La NRF de Paulhan*, Paris: Gallimard, 2003, p. 62.
  - 34 Jacques Rivière, 'La Nouvelle Revue française', *NRF*, 69, June 1919, p. 1.
  - 35 Jacques Rivière, 'Los poemas sinfónicos de Claudio Debussy', *España*, 156, 1918, p. 191.
  - 36 Manuel de Falla, 'Profundidad en el arte de Claude Debussy', *El Universo*, April 1918.
  - 37 George Jean-Aubry, 'Claude Debussy', *The Musical Quarterly*, April 1918, pp. 542–554.
  - 38 Roland-Manuel, 'Ravel and the new French school', *Modern Music*, 2, 1925, pp. 17–23.
  - 39 David Bancroft, 'Stravinsky and the NRF, 1910–20', *Music and Letters*, 53, 1972, p. 283.
  - 40 André Coeuroy, *La musique française moderne. Quinze musiciens français*, Paris: Delagrave, 1922.
  - 41 Émile Vuillermoz, *Musiques d'aujourd'hui*, Paris: Les éditions G. Crès et Cie, 1923, pp. 51–52.
  - 42 Adolfo Salazar: 'Los nuevos músicos de Francia, los centros artísticos, las afinidades literarias', *España*, 239, 1919, pp. 11–12. See also Adolfo Salazar, 'Folletón de El Sol, La última generación musical francesa', *El Sol*, 22 January 1919.
  - 43 Adolfo Salazar, 'Rusia y la revolución musical', *España*, 251, 1920, p. 15.
  - 44 Adolfo Salazar, 'Apuntes para una geografía musical de Europa: Rusia', *La Pluma*, I, 1920, pp. 207–212.



- 45 Adolfo Salazar, 'En la Residencia de Estudiantes. La evolución de la música francesa actual', *El Sol*, April 1921.
- 46 Paul Landormy, 'Le Déclin de l'Impressionnisme', *La Revue Musicale*, 4 February 1921, pp. 97–114.
- 47 Boris de Schloezer, 'La musique', *Revue Contemporaine*, February 1923, p. 257.
- 48 'Henri Prunières, el inteligente director de la Revue Musicale de París [...] tuvo el pensamiento alto y noble de resucitar la vieja costumbre de ofrecer al amigo y maestro muerto un homenaje compuesto por los frutos intelectuales de quienes le amaban [...] Diez músicos, los portaestandartes de la "nueva belleza sonora", tejen en la *Revue Musicale* una rica guirnalda que posan en la tumba del maestro muerto. [...] Cinco músicos franceses: Paul Dukas, Albert Roussel, Florent Schmitt, Maurice Ravel y Erik Satie. Un italiano, Francisco [*sic*] Malipiero, un inglés, Eugène Goossens, un húngaro, Béla Bartók, un ruso, Igor Strawinsky, un español, no menos, Manuel de Falla' (Adolfo Salazar, 'Crónicas musicales. *Le tombeau de Debussy, Iberia*, y la Orquesta Filarmónica', *El Sol*, 25 January 1921).
- 49 Adolfo Salazar, 'Los bailes rusos. El sombrero de tres picos. Un gran éxito en el Real', *El Sol*, 5 April 1921. Adolfo Salazar, 'Orquesta filarmónica. Enrique Iniesta. Obras nuevas', *El Sol*, 12 March 1921.
- 50 Adolfo Salazar, 'Triunfo del arte español. Manuel de Falla y el *Sombrero de tres picos*. Éxitos y duelos', *El Sol*, 25 July 1919, p. 111.
- 51 Adolfo Salazar, 'Los bailes rusos'.
- 52 Juan de la Encina, 'Crítica de arte. "El sombrero de tres picos"', *La Voz*, 6 April 1921.
- 53 Andrew Budwig, 'The evolution of Manuel de Falla's "The Three-Cornered Hat", 1916–1920', *Journal of musicological research*, 5, 1984, pp. 191–192.
- 54 L. Rodríguez Alonso de Carbon, 'La música española, lo nacional convirtiéndose en internacional', *El Defensor de Granada*, 24, February 1927.
- 55 C.M. Arconada, 'El Festival Falla', *La Gaceta Literaria*, 15 November 1927.
- 56 José Bergamín, 'El idealismo andaluz', *La Gaceta Literaria*, 11 June 1927.
- 57 Adolfo Salazar, 'El *Concerto* de Manuel de Falla, idioma y estilo, clasicismo y modernidad', *El Sol*, 30 November 1927.
- 58 Georges Jean-Aubry, 'De Falla talks of his new work based on a Don Quixote theme', *Christian Science Monitor*, 1 September 1923, p. 17.
- 59 Letter from Manuel de Falla to André Schaeffner, Granada, 6 January 1924 (AMF).
- 60 Georges Jean-Aubry, 'El Retablo de Manuel de Falla', *The Chesterian*, 34, October 1923.
- 61 R. Aloys-Mooser, 'Manuel de Falla. *Retablo de Maese Pedro*, pour orchestre de chambre (Genève, 15 de février 1931)', in *Regards sur la musique contemporaine (1921–1946)*. Lausanne: Librairie F. Rouge & Cie, 1946, pp. 129–133.
- 62 John B. Trend, 'A new opera by De Falla. Don Quixote and the puppets. Performance at Seville' *Times*, 3 April 1923.
- 63 Among others: Eduardo Torres, 'La última obra de Falla: "*El Retablo de Maese Pedro*"', *Cultura Musical*, 6 april 1923. See also Rafael Moragas, 'El Retablo', *La Noche*, 10 February 1925.
- 64 Quoted in Adolfo Salazar, 'La vida musical. "El Retablo de Maese Pedro" y las opiniones extranjeras', *El Sol*, 10 April 1924.
- 65 Adolfo Salazar, 'Arte español. Estreno de "El Retablo de Maese Pedro" de Manuel de Falla', *El Sol*, 29 March 1924.
- 66 Jesús Bal y Gay, 'Crisol: música, trilateral', *Ronsel*, 2, 1925, pp. 17–18.

- 67 Adolfo Salazar, 'Polchinela y Maese Pedro', *Revista de Occidente*, 11, May 1924.
- 68 Vicente Arregui, 'Sociedad Filarmónica. "El Retablo de Maese Pedro" de Falla', *El Debate*, 30 March 1924.
- 69 Víctor Espinós, 'En la Comedia. "El Retablo de Maese Pedro". Un importante acontecimiento musical', *La Época*, 29 March 1924.
- 70 Juan del Brezo, "'El Retablo de Maese Pedro'", *La Voz*, 29 March 1924.
- 71 Salvatore, 'Musicales: Manuel de Falla', *Las Noticias*, 14 February 1925.
- 72 Joaquín Turina, 'Musique espagnole moderne', *Le Courier*, 4, 28, 15 February 1926.
- 73 César Muñoz Arconada, 'Música. Conciertos de Primavera: Obras de Turina, Esplá y Halffter', *La Gaceta Literaria*, 15 April 1927. See also Id., 'La música moderna en España', *Alfar*, 42, 2, March 1924, p. 81.
- 74 Juan del Brezo, 'Concierto en honor de Falla en el Palacio de la Música', *La Voz*, 7 November 1927.
- 75 'El *Concerto de Cámara* es como un fruto de evolución del *Retablo de Maese Pedro*. En el camino su criterio se *depura* hasta *quintaesenciarse*, se intensifica hasta llegar al último grado de concentración, pierde cuanto pueda considerarse como accesorio y circunstancial para no conservar sino lo indispensable, lo estricto, de un modo que pudiera considerar esquemático a fuerza de eliminación, para dar como resultado una claridad de materia y una precisión en el lenguaje que hoy son el más alto punto de la música española. Cualidades únicas en nuestra música actual después de haber sido imperativas y constantes en el ápice del clasicismo' (Adolfo Salazar, *La Música contemporánea en España*, Madrid: Ediciones La Nave, 1930, p. 183).
- 76 'Los "valores naturales" de la música hispánica persisten a través de toda la obra de Falla [...] más castellanista ya en el *Retablo* y en el *Concerto de Clavicembalo* [...]. Conforme Falla depuraba los elementos de su estilo, su idioma iba concentrándose en expresión, sintetizando sus rasgos generales y desprendiéndose de perfectos que puedan encontrarse sean Domenico Scarlatti y Mozart. Mas en Scarlatti hay como una virginidad de la forma que va unida a un acento español inconfundible' (Adolfo Salazar, 'El *Concerto* de Manuel de Falla', *El Sol*, 30 November 1927).
- 77 'Et cela ajoutait encore au caractère synthétique d'une œuvre ou il semble que Falla ait voulu mettre le essentiel de son art propre, de sa conception actuelle d'une musique spécifiquement espagnole [...] Dans l'œuvre entière de Falla comme dans toute l'école espagnole, ce *Concerto* s'offre comme une pointe extrême, comme une quintessence des efforts, soit particuliers à ce seul compositeur, soit communs à presque toute une race de musiciens' (André Schaeffner, 'Concerts divers. Concert Manuel de Falla', *Le Ménestrel*, 20, 20 May 1927, p. 229).
- 78 Andrew A. Fraser, 'Manuel de Falla', *The Chesterian*, 67, December 1927, pp. 69–74. Georges Jean-Aubry, 'The Glory of Manuel de Falla', *The Chesterian*, 71, 1928, pp. 214–217.
- 79 'El lenguaje *neoclásico*, cuyo vocabulario es análogo al usado por Falla en el *Retablo de Maese Pedro* y en el *Concerto*, está empleado con audacia y singular precisión [...] nada tiene que ver con las evocaciones europeas dieciochescas, el acento es nuestro [...] Por falta de material no puedo demostrar aquí por qué las *fórmulas idiosincráticas neoclásicas*, puestas en circulación por Falla son auténticamente españolas.' (Rodolfo Halffter, 'Julián Bautista', *Revista Música*, 1, January 1938).
- 80 Ramón J. Sender, 'Falla y la ciudad esencial', *Davar*, 38–39, 1952, pp. 47–48.