Homenajes: Finding Spanish Identity in Falla's Orchestral Suite

Leanny Munoz

Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College

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HOMENAJES: FINDING SPANISH IDENTITY IN FALLA’S ORCHESTRAL SUITE

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
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The School of Music

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Leanny Muñoz
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ABSTRACT

Using biographical criticism, this thesis examines Manuel de Falla’s *Homenajes* (1939) as a reflection of the composer’s views of Spanish identity on regional, national, and international levels. Falla completed *Homenajes*—a four-movement orchestral suite dedicated to Enrique Fernández Arbós, Claude Debussy, Paul Dukas, and Felipe Pedrell—in Argentina. He began the work in Spain in 1938, during a period of great personal and political disturbance. In 1939, Manuel de Falla left Spain following the end of the Spanish Civil War, which cemented the regime of Francisco Franco. The Francoist regime notoriously aimed to homogenize Spanishness within the country, in part by erasing regional identities and forcing Spaniards to identify as Castilian. With regional and national identity becoming increasingly important issues in Spain, Falla’s composition of *Homenajes* signaled his return to the mentors who helped shape his ideologies regarding musical Spanishness. Ultimately, *Homenajes* reflects Falla’s multivalent approach to his national identity, embracing regionalism while also accounting for international influence.
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Using biographical criticism, this thesis examines Manuel de Falla’s Homenajes (1939) as a reflection of the composer’s views of Spanish identity on regional, national, and international levels. Falla completed Homenajes—a four-movement orchestral suite dedicated to Enrique Fernández Arbós, Claude Debussy, Paul Dukas, and Felipe Pedrell—in Argentina. He began the work in Spain in 1938, during a period of great personal and political disturbance. In 1939, Falla left Spain following the end of the Spanish Civil War, which cemented the regime of Francisco Franco. The Francoist regime notoriously aimed to homogenize Spanishness within the country, in part by erasing regional identities and forcing Spaniards to identify as Castilian. With regional and national identity becoming increasingly important issues in Spain, Homenajes reflected Falla’s return to the mentors (both Spanish and French) who helped shape his ideas regarding musical Spanishness.

Born in 1876 in Cadiz, Spain, Manuel de Falla was exposed to the richness of Spain’s musical heritage throughout his childhood. Musician and scholar Nancy Lee Harper quotes Falla’s reflection on his first exposure to his nanny’s music, which occurred “[…] in my early infancy, when I only was two or three [years old]. It was then that the songs, the dances, and the stories of la Morilla opened the doors of a marvelous world to me.” Years later, in 1901, Falla stumbled upon an excerpt of Pedrell’s Los Pirineos in a music journal, exposing the young Falla...

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1 Jorge de Persia, Los Últimos años de Manuel de Falla (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993), 93.
3 Moreda-Rodriguez, 213.
to Pedrell’s musical ideology for the first time.\(^5\) Musicologist and composer Jaime Pahissa quotes Falla describing his impression of Pedrell’s work: “I was overjoyed to find at last something in Spain which I had been longing to find since I began my studies, and I went to Pedrell to ask him to teach me. It is to his teaching […] that I owe the clear and unswerving purposefulness of my works.”\(^6\) I maintain that this “purposefulness,” which Falla found was the appropriation of characteristics of traditional Spanish music, had enthralled Falla since childhood.

Manuel de Falla studied with Pedrell between 1901 and 1904. In 1907, he left to live and study music in Paris, where he met and befriended important French composers such as Dukas, Debussy, Gabriel Fauré, and Maurice Ravel. The professional networks he would develop while in France would help launch Falla onto the international scene. Despite the support he received from his contemporaries in Paris, Falla still encountered problems when trying to publish his works, because publishers such as Ricordi would advise, “You may do as you please and write what you like at other times, but for the theatre you must compose music with a universal appeal like Cavalleria and Puccini’s music.”\(^7\) Falla would therefore aim to address issues of Spanish identity by attempting to meld the musical traditions of Spain with a “universal” technique—that is, a Eurocentric French style, which he had encountered in Paris.\(^8\)

With the onset of World War I in 1914, Manuel de Falla returned to Spain, where he entered what might be considered in retrospect his mature period of composition. Initially, Falla


\(^7\) Pahissa, 40–80.

\(^8\) Ibid., 20.
returned to Madrid; then in 1919, he moved to Granada.\(^9\) During this time, Falla was deeply involved with Spanish traditional music—for example, by organizing with Federico García Lorca the first Cante jondo Competition in 1922, which he introduced via a pamphlet titled *El cante jondo (canto primitive Andaluz)*.\(^{10}\) But the proclamation of the Second Republic in April 1931 marked the beginning of a series of events that would lead to the Spanish Civil War (1936–39), ending with the rise of dictator Francisco Franco.\(^{11}\) In 1939, Falla departed Spain for Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Despite Falla’s uninterest in supporting or living under the Francoist regime, the Francoist leaders recognized that Falla’s international success would bolster their party’s image, both within Spain and around the world. Beginning in 1939, Falla received many honors and accolades from the government in attempts to garner sympathy from the composer, who had already left the country.\(^{12}\) In this context, we might consider *Homenajes* as the composer’s declaration of allegiances—not to Francoist Spain, but to his Andalusian and Castilian (Arbós), Catalan (Pedrell), and French (Debussy, Dukas) influences. This diversity of regional, national, and international perspectives speaks to the complexity of Falla’s personal identity as a Spanish early modernist composer, particularly after the Spanish Civil War.

Falla began his work on the orchestral suite *Homenajes* in 1938.\(^{13}\) The piece premiered in Buenos Aires in 1939 and went through slight changes before being finalized by 1946 (the year of Falla’s death).\(^{14}\) Ricordi published this final version in 1953. The suite’s inception was

\(^{9}\) Pahissa, 114.
\(^{10}\) Ibid., 115.
\(^{12}\) Moreda-Rodríguez, 214.
marked by the political turmoil of Spain, as well as by Falla’s declining health. He accepted an invitation from the Institución Cultural de Española of Buenos Aires to conduct some of his own works in a series of concerts featuring Spanish music. Carol A. Hess refers to Falla’s choice to leave Spain as a “self-imposed exile,” brought about because of the outcome of the Spanish Civil War (1936–39). Hess also aligns *Homenajes* with the act of “seeking the lost continent,” which implies that this work seeks to represent Western Europe.

Using the existing literature on Falla, *Homenajes*, the work’s progenitors, and the work’s dedicatees (Arbós, Debussy, Dukas, and Pedrell), I will analyze this neglected orchestral suite for its connections with Falla’s ideas regarding nationalism and regionalism. Each movement will be placed in its biographical context—first, by introducing the subject of the homage, then by identifying stylistic features and allusions that pertain to him. Further, I will compare *Homenajes* to some of Falla’s earlier compositions (the *Homenaje* to Debussy [1920], *Fanfare sobre el nombre de Arbós* [1934], *Pour le tombeau de Paul Dukas* [1935]) and to Felipe Pedrell’s *La Celestina* (1902–3). These comparisons will demonstrate the ways in which Falla’s musical style is closely tied to those of his mentors.

Falla’s writings on his mentors and on Spanishness will be used to anchor analyses of his music, and to compare and contrast his ideas with those of his mentors. Federico Sopeña’s *On Music and Musicians* provides a collection of Falla’s writings on Pedrell, Debussy, Ravel, Wagner, and other subjects, including *cante jondo*. Sopeña claims to have chosen “writings that, from their subject and their aim, represent months, perhaps years, of

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continued reflection about his own creation.”

Embedded throughout these writings are Falla’s own ideas regarding Spanishness and the influence of French music.

As a late composition, Homenajes has not been written about as frequently as Falla’s early works, perhaps due to its lack of performances outside of Argentina, which contributed to the piece’s obscurity. Analyses of Homenajes from the 1930s and 40s are few and brief, but more accounts exist regarding the progenitors of three of the suite’s four movements. These sources are found in collected editions of Falla’s writings, as well as in early volumes of journals such as The Musical Quarterly and The Musical Times.

The bulk of the research for this thesis has been dependent on sources available through the Louisiana State University and various digital collections. In the future, I hope to extend this project to include resources in the Archivo Manuel de Falla in Granada; however, for the purposes of this thesis, all references to manuscripts or correspondences housed in the Archivo Manuel de Falla will be cited through secondary sources.

There are few secondary sources on Homenajes. Although J. B. Trend’s Manuel de Falla and Spanish Music is a popular early biography, it was published before Homenajes was composed. The first biography of Falla in which Homenajes makes an appearance was published in 1954: biographer and friend Jaime Pahissa’s Manuel de Falla: His Life and Works provides both biographical information and firsthand perspective of Falla and his music. Pahissa had the opportunity to interview Manuel de Falla in Argentina, which provided him details “about [Falla’s] work, his life and his thought, to add to those which [Pahissa] already knew

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through personal experience or from mutual friends.” Pahissa’s work delves only briefly into *Homenajes*, but his observations form the basis for many later studies.

One of the best known life-and-works studies of Manuel de Falla, Suzanne Demarquez’s *Manuel de Falla* (1983), dedicates an entire chapter to *Homenajes*. Her only citations to sources on *Homenajes*, however, are the Ricordi score and Pahissa’s biography. Demarquez expands upon Pahissa’s biography by offering her own technical study of *Homenajes*, focused on issues of orchestration and musical borrowing. Notably, Demarquez refers to *Homenajes* as an interruption to Falla’s composition of *Atlántida*, his incomplete opera and the subject of greater scholarly interest. *Homenajes* received more sustained scrutiny in Jorge de Persia’s *Los Últimos años de Manuel de Falla*, published a decade later in 1993. Persia dedicated an entire chapter to the suite, which includes mainly historical context and a few examples of Falla’s borrowings and allusions. He traces the compositional history of the suite by comparing its movements to existing compositions and by cataloging Falla’s revisions to the suite before its final version appeared in 1946. Persia uses source materials to trace Falla’s compositional motivations and to provide a small glimpse into his contemporaries’ reactions to the suite. Persia places special emphasis on “Pedrelliana,” the fourth and final movement of *Homenajes*. His partiality toward this movement is reflective of the significant role that Pedrell plays in biographical studies of Falla, often to the exclusion of other important mentors.

Ken Murray’s “Manuel de Falla’s *Homenajes* for Orchestra” (1992) briefly places each movement of the suite within its historical context and illuminates the musical characteristics of

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18 Pahissa, vii.
quotations Falla may have used in each piece.\(^{22}\) Although brief, Murray’s article introduces Falla’s orchestral suite in greater technical detail than found in the books by Pahissa, Demarquez, and Persia. Surprisingly, the preeminent Falla scholar Carol A. Hess—well known for her two books, *Manuel de Falla and Modernism in Spain, 1898–1936* and *Sacred Passions: The Life and Music of Manuel de Falla*—has written very little on the suite. In *Sacred Passions*, she briefly describes each individual movement, but mostly as a diversion within a larger study of *Atlántida*.\(^{23}\) Like Demarquez, Hess briefly refers to Falla’s borrowings and allusions, but does not provide an in-depth analysis of the orchestral score.

What Pahissa, Demarquez, Persia, Murray, and Hess neglect is the importance of the composition as a whole. Why did Falla choose Arbós, Pedrell, Dukas, and Debussy for the “homenajes” of *Homenajes*? Is there significance to the manner in which he ordered his movements? And, above all, in what ways does this work reflect Falla’s understanding of his complex Spanish identity, on regional, national, and international levels?

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CHAPTER 2: “PEDRELLIANA”

Manuel de Falla’s final orchestral suite, *Homenajes*, is a collection of pieces dedicated to four musicians and composers who had influenced his compositional career: Enrique Fernández Arbós, Claude Debussy, Paul Dukas, and Felipe Pedrell. As a unit, the score binds together the fragmented identity of Manuel de Falla, who composed this work late in his career and at the end of his life. *Homenajes* is a blend of personal and borrowed styles: each movement contains references to a mentor’s musical style while retaining characteristics of Falla’s own voice. In her book *Manuel de Falla and Modernism in Spain, 1898–1936*, Carol A. Hess reveals that Falla’s struggle with his Spanish identity was lifelong.24 The composer grappled with the expectations of his native and foreign audiences to create music that drew upon but was not limited to or marginalized by his Spanish identity. Falla’s music was often criticized by Spanish audiences for being too closely aligned with foreign compositional styles, namely the French style of Debussy, Ravel, and Dukas. While Spanish audiences castigated his compositions as “postcard music,” French audiences and critics adored his impressions of Spanish cultural life. *Homenajes* binds the individual characters of Falla’s mentors into one musical composition, and each persona is tinged with Falla’s own compositional preferences. *Homenajes* is thus a musical embodiment of Falla’s multifaceted identity, fractured by competing allegiances.

“Pedrelliana,” the final movement of *Homenajes*, is the only newly composed piece of the suite, not including the recycled material of the fanfare for the added reprise.25 This piece is an homage to Manuel de Falla’s mentor Felipe Pedrell, remembered today as a Spanish musicologist who revitalized interest in Spanish polyphonic music and folk song. Falla remained

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25 Murray, 10.
indebted to the Spanish master after receiving his initial lessons in orchestration from Pedrell for a brief period beginning in 1901. In “Pedrelliana,” Falla leans heavily on Felipe Pedrell’s La Celestina to comment on aspects of Spanish history, music, and culture—thereby promoting Pedrell’s nationalistic ideology, which called for a Spanish identity that was inclusive of the state’s regional identities.

Despite his brief time under Pedrell’s tutelage, Falla remained respectful of Pedrell’s musicological and compositional contributions to Spanish music. In 1923, Falla wrote an article for the Revue musicale (Paris) in memory of Pedrell; in it, he writes, “Pedrell was a teacher in the highest sense of the word; through his doctrine, and with his example, he led Spanish musicians towards a profoundly national and noble art […].” Falla would arrange and orchestrate several of Pedrell’s works before finally composing his own homage, “Pedrelliana,” in 1939. Jorge de Persia quotes from a remarkable letter by Falla to Argentinian composer and conductor Juan José Castro. In the letter, Falla describes what Castro hears in the movement and why it brings him satisfaction:

En cuanto a la Pedrelliana, lo que usted siente al oírla no es solo debido al cariño con que ha sido hecha, sino muy principalmente a la pura belleza de esa música que, esencialmente, es toda de Pedrell. Y esto supone mi más íntima satisfacción: la de haber conseguido que esa música antes casi desconocida y torpemente juzgada, empiece a apreciarse ahora, aunque sólo sea muy parcialmente.

(As for the Pedrelliana, what you feel when you hear it is not only due to the love with which it has been made, but primarily to the pure beauty of that music that, essentially, is all Pedrell’s. And this involves my most intimate satisfaction: that of having success in that music that was almost unknown and naively judged, now begins to be appreciated, if only very partially.)

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26 Harper, 28.
27 Falla, On Music and Musicians, 54.
28 Murray, 12.
29 Manuel de Falla, Letter from Manuel de Falla to Juan José Castro (February 8, 1946), quoted in Jorge de Persia, Los Últimos años de Manuel de Falla (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993), 97. English translation are my own.
Indeed, the music that is “essentially” “all Pedrell’s” is taken from Pedrell’s *La Celestina*, an opera meant to be the second installment of a trilogy beginning with *Los Pirineos*.

**Felipe Pedrell and Los Pirineos**

Felipe Pedrell, the “father of the modern Spanish school,” was born in 1841 in the city of Tortosa, located in the Province of Tarragona in the Catalonia region of Spain. As a young boy, Pedrell was involved with the choir at the cathedral in Tortosa, where he was taught by Joan Antoni Nin i Serra, the music director. His mentor instilled in Pedrell an interest in music history and Spain’s sacred polyphonic music, influencing his later scholarship and compositions. Vocal pedagogue and Spanish music advocate Suzanne Draayer writes that Nin i Serra continued to instruct Pedrell in music theory and piano after his voice changed. Other scholars, such as Anthony Clyne, argue that Pedrell was “[e]ntirely self-taught,” linking Pedrell’s deficiency in formal training to his lack of compositional mastery. Clyne goes on to describe Pedrell’s attitude toward music, orienting Pedrell as a prominent musicologist rather than a successful composer: “He lived not so much for [music] as by it,devoting prodigious, indefatigable energy to its study.” Pedrell’s texts served as the foundation for a newly emerging school of Spanish composers, who were heavily influenced by the nationalism that arose in Spain in the late nineteenth century and carried into the early twentieth.

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30 Falla, Letter from Manuel de Falla to Juan José Castro (February 8, 1946).
34 Draayer., 171.
35 Clyne, 266.
36 Ibid., 267.
Felipe Pedrell (1841–1922) published his famous essay *Por nuestra música* to accompany the publication of his national lyrical-drama *Los Pirineos*. Pedrell’s essay was meant to explain his opera and the ways in which it epitomized Spanish national music. This coupling of text (*Por nuestra música*) with music (*Los Pirineos*) reflects the overarching argument throughout his critical work: Spanish national music must be based on national song. This was a radical proposition because it dared Spaniards to view their own artistic culture as equal to that of the artistic centers of Western Europe.

Due to his lack of prominence as a composer, his difficulty in finding financing for the performance of his opera, and the competition his opera faced from the more popular genre of the zarzuela, Pedrell required a “grassroots” approach in order to propagate this new national music. *Por nuestra música* provided a theoretical foundation for Spanish art song, which advocated for Spain’s art song to become solidified in the repertory—outlasting Spanish opera or zarzuela in the Western canon in the process. It was this legacy that Falla would later draw upon when selecting texts and extra-musical influences in his compositions.

Pedrell’s interest in Spain’s musical heritage led to his treatise *Por nuestra música* (1891), which detailed his ideas and analyzed their realization in his opera *Los Pirineos* (1891). Pedrell begins his document with a quote he attributes to eighteenth-century philosopher and music historian Padre Antonio Eximeno, which has been picked over by the majority of scholars who have discussed *Por nuestra música*: “Sobre la base del canto nacional debía construir cada pueblo su sistema.” The interpretation of this single line varies from author to author. The

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38 Felipe Pedrell, *Por nuestra música* (Bellaterra, Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1991), 7. Carol A. Hess notes that in 1946 Gilbert Chase discovered that the quote should actually be attributed to Menéndez Pelayo; see Hess, “Semblanzas de compositors españoles: Felipe Pedrell (1841–1922),” *Revista de la Fundación*
primary point of discrepancy is the word “pueblo.” Often this word is translated as either “nation” or “people,” but it can also mean “town” or “village.” Authors agree that Eximeno argues for the significance of national folk song (“canto nacional”); however, it is unclear by the word “pueblo” where he intends this music to come from—their nation, their region, or their town.

Unfortunately, this ambiguity is the crux of the matter. Musicologist Edgar Istel has identified a major issue with Spanish nationalism—its generalization of Spanish music. Istel states, “Certain it is that a traveler from the north finds much that is strange and unusual in Spain; but he soon becomes aware that, while there is a politico-geographical entity known as the Spanish state, there is no culturally unified Spanish people, nor even a universal Spanish language.” Written in 1925, Istel’s observation foreshadows later theoretical work on the development of national identity, especially Benedict Anderson’s 1983 book *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Benedict’s concept of imagined communities, a population of individuals that self-identify under a shared community identity, regards language as one of the most important tools in nationalism. Istel goes on to describe how Spain has often been associated with “Castilian” Spanish; however, Pedrell chose for his Spanish opera the regional language of Catalan, which is “related to the Provençal dialect of southern France, and holds an intermediate position betwixt French, Italian, and Castilian.”

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40 Istel, 164.


42 Ibid.
Rafael Lamas, concert pianist and professor of literature at Fordham University, argues that Spanish nationalism, instituted by Pedrell, was an attempt to homogenize Spanish culture in order to make it fit nicely into the European canon; however, I argue that Pedrell’s decision to use Catalan as the preferred language in his Spanish nationalist opera demonstrates his admiration of this uniquely Spanish dialect destabilizing the general acceptance of Castilian Spanish as being representative of authentic Spanishness. Therefore, authentic Spanishness encompasses the diversity of Spain’s heritage. This was an artistic value that Falla brought into his own compositions—including *Homenajes*.

Pedrell—a Spaniard from Catalonia—chose to write his treatise in the Catalan language. For his libretto, Pedrell selected poetry written by Catalan poet Victor Balaguer, including “El Comte de Foix,” “Raig de Lluna,” “La jornada de Panissars,” and “Pròleg.” Balaguer’s tragic poetry told the story of Spain’s long battle against France for liberation. The nationalistic message within the poetry, along with its “local color,” “seemed to [Pedrell] even more musical than the Italian version.” In the sixth chapter of *Por nuestra música*, Pedrell felt it necessary to defend the use of this authentic Spanish regional language to his readers. He writes,

Fué elegido el catalán, porque el poema, como he dicho, estaba escrito en catalán; porque el catalán, en general, y muchísimo más el catalán que escribe Balaguer, se pega á todos los tonos y se presta á todas las modulaciones; porque el catalán es musical por admirable manera, musical como ninguna lengua, ni aun la que se ha dado llamar lengua oficial ó natural de la música; porque el lirismo peculiar de la poesía catalano-provenzal se adapta como ninguno á la música: porque el catalán, la misma inspiración del poeta y el genio de la lengua lemosina, en una palabra, eran ya una gran parte del medio ambiente en que yo quise colocarme para emprender la composición de la obra.

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45 Istel, 178.
46 Pedrell, *Por nuestra música*, 46, Pedrell makes a note in this passage that the opera also has an Italian translation, expertly prepared by Maestro D. Jose M. de Arteaga.
Catalan was chosen because the poem, as I said, was written in Catalan; because Catalan, in general, and especially the Catalan that Balaguer writes, folds to all tones and lends itself to all modulations; because Catalan is musical in an admirable manner, musical like no other language, not even what has been called the official or natural language of music; because the peculiar lyricism of provincial-Catalan poetry adapts like no other to music, the inspiration of the poet and the genius of the Limousin language, in a word, were already a large part of the environment in which I wanted to set myself to undertake the composition of the work.

Pedrell’s decision to use Catalan as his preferred language demonstrates his admiration of this regional language, bypassing the use of the more popular Castilian Spanish. As Pedrell argues, it is not enough to use literal quotations from folk song to mark music as “Spanish.” The use of distinctive Spanish elements reflects the diversity of Spain’s heritage.

In August 1890, Pedrell became acquainted with musicologist and music critic Rafael Mitjana (1869–1921), and Mitjana identified immediately with Pedrell’s “music and ideas.” Using Mitjana’s collection of letters to Pedrell from 1890 to 1912, compiled and edited by Antonio A. Pardo Cayuela, we can follow the reception of Pedrell’s Spanish opera. This friendship was the catalyst that helped to spread Pedrell’s composition outside Spain. Mitjana’s efforts to have Los Pirineos performed inside and outside of Spain elevated Pedrell’s status as an important figure during his lifetime. Pedrell disdained “snobbishness,” and his pride kept him from asking the Spanish theater to perform his music. Istel, in an article in The Musical Quarterly from 1921 (which he wrote following an interview), quotes Pedrell:

My closest friends know that I never did go, and never shall go, to knock at the door of the theatre with a score under my arm, humbly re-questing admittance. For I know that it would be folly to expect ripe fruit before its season. I know that it would be madness to swim against the stream and to ask that artistic matters should be treated in an exclusively artistic manner, and not merely like affairs of business. The musical business known as "opera" can be carried on as such by publishers and entrepreneurs, to the injury of public taste, only because the majority of people are unfamiliar with the art of hearing them this art does not inspire reflection or elevation, it is simply an amusement.  

47 Antonio A. Pardo Cayuela, introduction to Rafael Mitjana: Cartas a Felipe Pedrell, by Rafael Mitjana, ed. Antonio A. Pardo Cayuela (Málaga, Spain: Universidad de Málaga, 2010), lxxi.

48 Istel, 189.
Fortunately, Mitjana was moved by Pedrell’s ideas, and beginning in 1891 Mitjana took on the responsibility of championing for Pedrell’s ideology and music.

Musicologist Antonio A. Pardo Cayuela describes Mitjana as “comprometido con el pedrellismo” (“committed to Pedrellism”), because he went through every avenue, especially the press, to make Pedrell known to the public.\(^49\) Mitjana spurred support of Pedrell in the press, and this support reached its peak in 1896 with the publication of a set of essays titled *Los Pirineos y la Crítica*, which criticized “the lack of support in Spain for Spanish composers and their works.”\(^50\) Finally, in 1902 *Los Pirineos* received its premiere in Spain, but it was premiered in Italian by an Italian opera company. This situation highlights the efforts by Pedrell’s followers and likeminded colleagues to have Spain acknowledge their own composers. This minor victory in Pedrell’s cultivation of a Spanish national music was undermined by the decision to perform the opera in its Italian translation with foreign performers. If Felipe Pedrell created the path toward Spanish national music, then Rafael Mitjana took the first step down that path.

Combining Pedrell and Mitjana’s output of articles, reviews, and other criticism, we can see how Pedrell’s work and ideas would come to the attention of a young Spanish composer whose music would carry Spanish national music into the twentieth century.

**Cante jondo**

Manuel de Falla brought musical styles with which he was already familiar into his compositions. Primarily using Andalusian folk song, Falla hoped to transform Spanish folk music by applying a new compositional method. In 1917, Falla wrote an essay reminiscent of Pedrell’s treatise in name and ideology—“Nuestra música” (“Our Music”):

\(^{49}\) Cayuela, lxxi–lxxii.  
\(^{50}\) Draayer, 173.
Let us now turn to folk song. Some consider that one of the means to 'nationalize' our own music is the strict use of popular material in a melodic way. In a general sense, I am afraid I do not agree, although in particular cases I think that procedure cannot be bettered. In popular song I think the spirit is more important than the letter. Rhythm, tonality and melodic intervals, which determine undulations and cadences, are the essential constituents of these songs. The people prove it themselves by infinitely varying the purely melodic lines of their songs. The rhythmic or melodic accompaniment is as important as the song itself. Inspiration, therefore, is to be found directly in the people, and those who do not see it so will only achieve a more or less ingenious imitation of what they originally set out to do.  

Falla advocated using “scales, rhythms, modes, cadences, and ornamental figures” to create an abstraction of national style that aimed to represent an eclectic Spanish identity.  

*Flamenco* is a type of modern Andalusian folk music derived from the older practice of Andalusian song known as *cante jondo* (deep song).  

Although Flamenco tradition is closely connected to dance and instrumental music, it is primarily a vocal-melodic style that has developed accompanying instrumental and choreographic forms. Gilbert Chase lists some of the distinguishing traits shared by *cante jondo* and *flamenco*,  

(1) a melodic range that seldom surpasses the interval of a sixth; (2) the reiterated use of one note, almost to the point of obsession, frequently accompanied by *appoggiature* [sic] from above and below; (3) the use of profuse ornamentation, but only at certain prescribed moments and as a means of intensifying the emotional expressivity of the song; (4) frequent use of *portamento*, i.e., “sliding” from one note to another; and (5), most important of all, the use of enharmonic modulation. [...] Together with portamento, which makes the voice pass from one note to another through infinitesimal gradations of pitch, expressive modulation through enharmonic alteration gives *cante jondo* its family affinity with Oriental melody.  

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54 Chase, introduction to *Spain: Flamenco Music of Andalusia*, 1–2.  
55 Ibid.
Furthermore, Chase notes that *cante jondo* features the use of 6/8, 3/4, and 3/8 time-signatures that feature complex rhythms. Yet, Chase writes that “the strategic silences are even more important than the strongly accentuated beats (see Figure 1, below).”

![Figure 1. Example of cante jondo rhythm](image)

Manuel de Falla anonymously published his thoughts on the roots of *cante jondo* in an essay, titled *El “cante jondo” (canto primitive Andaluz)*, which was released in conjunction with the first *cante jondo* competition organized by the Centro Artístico de Granada in 1922. According to him, the history of Spain was greatly influenced by “Church of Byzantine chant, the Arab invasion, and the settlement in Spain of numerous groups of gypsies.” Falla referred to Felipe Pedrell’s statement that Spanish music does not owe anything to the “Arabs” or “Moors,” because he believed that the modal quality of Spanish music was based on Byzantine liturgical chant. Falla wrote that the Arabic and Moorish influence could be found in the “rhythmic and melodic elements that cannot possibly be traced back to the primitive liturgical chant of Spain.” According to Falla the greatest influence came from the immigration of Romani people into Spain during the fifteenth century. In piecing together the origins of the distinctly Spanish *cante jondo*, Falla was unraveling the complexity of the Spanish identity, which revealed multiple cultural influences—including those beyond Spain itself.

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59 Ibid.
60 Ibid.
61 Ibid.
In his anonymously published essay, Falla posited that *cante jondo* referred to a group of Andalusian songs, but in that group the *siquiriya gitana* (the basic form of *cante jodo*) remained the most genuine Andalusian folk song. Falla’s focus on the *siquiriya gitana* is especially interesting in the context of his attitudes toward Spanish identity. Falla claimed that the Romani people gave *cante jondo* its defining character, but that *cante jondo* was “the result of all the factors…mentioned, not the product of one of the coalescing tendencies.” Therefore, even the original Andalusian songs were representative of the diverse identity of the Spanish people. Yet, despite *cante jondo*’s diverse history, it is viewed by Falla as showing “so national a character, that it becomes unmistakable.”

“**Pedrelliana**”

Manuel de Falla’s “Pedrelliana” uses quotations from Felipe Pedrell’s second installment to his operatic trilogy *La Celestina* (1902–3). Pedrell had begun work on *La Celestina* during Falla’s time as his student. This unstaged opera, as sourly noted by Falla himself, had little recognition during Pedrell’s lifetime, and remains largely unstudied by musicologists today. Pedrell based his second opera on a work of literature that was beloved by the Spanish people, then as now. The source text Pedrell used is Fernando de Roja’s *La Celestina, tragi-comedia de Calisto y Melibea* (1499), credited as the first Spanish novel.

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63 Ibid., 105.
64 Murray, 12.
65 Falla, *Music and Musicians*, 62. Falla wrote that Pedrell’s music and the composer were so unknown by Spanish audiences that a 1921 performance of excerpts from *La Celestina* were believed to be a posthumous work, but Felipe Pedrell did not pass away until 1922.
66 Joseph Snow, “La Celestina of Felipe Pedrell,” 19–32. In his article “La Celestina of Felipe Pedrell,” literary historian John Snow compares Pedrell’s opera to the literary work from which it was adapted.
Fernando de Rojas was a little-known lawyer of Jewish descent, whose only known work is *La Celestina*, first published in 1499. As literary scholar Joseph Snow writes, “*Celestina* is near-universally acknowledged as a great, compelling work of literature; for many it is a masterpiece in the same league as Cervantes’ *Don Quijote*.“ This view of *La Celestina* is endorsed by Felipe Pedrell in his autobiographical book *Orientaciones musicales*. As Snow explains, Pedrell wrote that he stumbled upon both Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* and Roja’s *La Celestina*, and that he held the two works in the same high esteem. From Pedrell’s first reading *La Celestina* percolated throughout his mind until it reached ideological fruition after the publication of *Los Pirineos*. In fact, this text was so influential to Pedrell and his legacy that he dedicated an entire chapter in his autobiography to discussing the genesis of his *La Celestina*. In this chapter, Pedrell wrote that his *La Celestina* belonged to a National trilogy meant to represent *Patria*, *Amor*, and *Fides*. *Patria* was represented by *Los Pirineos*, *Amor* by *La Celestina*—but as Pedrell wrote, “*Fides* quedaría representada un día, si llegaba la hora […] (If the time came, *Fides* would be represented).”

Pedrell’s use of Roja’s *La Celestina* drew on more than just themes of courtly love. His selection aimed to connect the richness of Spanish literature with his idea of what Spanish opera should be. But Pedrell’s *La Celestina* never achieved a level of success equal to *Los Pirineos*, which itself did not receive its premiere within Spain until 1902. *Los Pirineos*’s success inspired hope in Pedrell and his followers. Manuel de Falla wrote that the Teatro Liceo (or Teatre del

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72 Pedrell, *Orientaciones musicales*, 234.
Liceu in Catalan) in Barcelona had expressed desire to stage the opera following the achievement of *Los Pirineos*. “But these good intentions, never put into effect, were forgotten some time later and so was the very existence of the great musician,” Falla dejectedly comments.73

Unlike many, Falla did not forget Pedrell’s work. In Falla’s 1923 article “Felipe Pedrell” for the *Revue Musicale* (Paris), he quotes Pedrell as having said,

> Justice was never done to me, neither in Catalonia nor in the rest of Spain; they constantly tried to decry my qualities by saying that I was a great critic and a great historian, but not a good composer. It is not true: I am a good composer. I do not claim respect for my age, but for my work. Let them listen to it, let them study and then judge it.”74

Falla concluded his article after Pedrell’s words, adding just one more sentence: “With deep devotion I transcribe his words; with them I close this filial homage that I offer to the memory of the man through whose works Spain has again joined the circle of Europe’s musical nations.”75 Later, Falla would expand his “filial homage” in *Homenajes*—by drawing on elements of Pedrell’s *La Celestina*.

Musicologist Jamie Pahissa has noted that the themes Falla drew from *La Celestina* were “those of old court songs or popular songs and some symphonic fragments, as in the case of the hunt scene.”76 The hunt scene fragment used predominantly throughout “Pedrelliana” is the first theme introduced in the opera.77 According to Pahissa, Falla’s homage aimed to “evoke” the image of the fifteenth-century, where “the men are hunting” and “the ladies are gracefully singing and playing instruments.”78 Suzanne Demarquez proposes that the hunting theme’s

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74 Ibid., 63.
75 Ibid.
76 Pahissa, 146.
78 Pahissa, 146.
rhythm “short-long” alludes to a zarabanda, a triple-meter dance of Jewish or Arabic influence popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth century (see Figure 2, below). Demarquez notes that the use of the zarabanda by Pedrell was a sort of anachronism, because the dance dates from the sixteenth century. But Pedrell’s goal was not historical accuracy, but cultural diversity, incorporating various regional or political identities into an operatic mosaic of Spanish culture. Through these and other quotations, the mosaic-like quality of Pedrell’s opera transferred into Falla’s homage.

Jorge de Persia’s Los últimos años de Manuel de Falla expands on Falla’s borrowings from La Celestina. Persia himself described “Pedrelliana” as an “especie de mosaico” or a “sort of mosaic,” due to Falla’s “copying and pasting” of Pedrell’s composition into his own. This artistic process imbibes “Pedrelliana” with rich intertextual meanings, which reference the narrative created by Pedrell. For Persia, “Pedrelliana” and La Celestina’s close connection calls for analytical comparison, which supported Falla’s claim that this movement was essentially Pedrell’s. As Persia wrote, “From the comparative analysis of both scores it is clear, at least at first sight, that the solid orchestral treatment on Falla’s part allows the themes expressed by Pedrell to be reduced to ‘ideas’ on which [Falla] works his great craft.”

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79 Demarquez, 129–130.
80 Ibid.
82 Ibid.
83 Ibid. “Del análisis comparativo de ambas partituras quedo claro, a primera vista al menos, la solidez del tratamiento orquestal por parte de Falla, que deja los temas expuestos por Pedrell reducidos a “ideas” sobre las que ejerce su gran oficio” (translation mine).
Manuel de Falla’s orchestration for “Pedrelliana” uses flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, trumpet, horn, violin, viola, cello, bass, trombone, timpani, cymbals, and harp. The trumpet introduces the main melodic material, as it does in La Celestina—the zarabanda “short-long, short-long” theme (Figure 2), an almost direct quotation of Pedrell’s hunting-theme (Figure 3).\(^\text{84}\)

![Figure 2. Manuel de Falla, Homenajes, mvt. IV “Pedrelliana,” opening measures](image)

![Figure 3. Felipe Pedrell, La Celestina, Act I, scene 1: the hunt scene fragment](image)

La Celestina begins with the trumpet fanfare marked *moderatamente*, followed by a choir that sings, “¡Ah del monte! buen halconero, ¡suso! la caza á cazar” (“Ah, from the mountain! Falconer, suso [hurry?]! The hunter to hunting”).\(^\text{85}\) Pedrell’s text likely alludes to the Pyrenees Mountains, which were the subject of Los Pirineos.

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\(^{84}\) Persia, 98.

\(^{85}\) Pedrell, La Celestina, 2.
Then, at rehearsal 2 (Figure 4), Falla introduces the *cantabile* as found in Pedrell’s score (Figure 5). Falling in line with Pahissa’s description of Falla’s intended imagery, the vocal melody given to the violin, viola, and cello represents the women singing as they pluck their instruments (the gently arpeggiating harps).

Figure 4. Manuel de Falla, *Homenajes*, mvt. IV “Pedrelliana,” rehearsal 2

Figure 5. Felipe Pedrell, *La Celestina*, Act I, scene 1
Jorge de Persia also noted that Falla quoted the third scene from the second tableau of Act 3. In Pedrell’s *La Celestina*, this borrowed material appears before and during the sung dialogue of the characters Sempronio and Parmeno. Sempronio sings, “Abre, abre que somos tus hijos” (“Open, open for we are your children”) (Figure 6). Falla assigns the melodic material that accompanies these words to the woodwinds; he opts for a reduced texture at this moment, with only the cellos playing *pizzicato* (Figure 7). This isolation of the melody seems to infuse this passage with a hidden message. It is a message to the careful listener, the future followers of Pedrell’s ideology, which asks them to embrace the music of Spain’s people, regardless of their regional difference: “open, for we are your children.” Perhaps Falla here is calling for Spain’s musical culture to open its theaters and venues to its own composers, so that they would not meet the same professional fate as Felipe Pedrell.

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87 Pedrell, *La Celestina*, 188.
Figure 7. Manuel de Falla, *Homenajes*, mvt. IV “Pedrelliana”

Serving as the monumental finale of *Homenajes*, “Pedrelliana” is an amalgamation of early twentieth-century Western European musical trends, such as the use of a large orchestra and standard instrumentation, imbued with Spanish idioms. This unified national identity was one that could stand beside the other major countries of Europe. By the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939, however, Falla returned to the unified national identity professed by Pedrell despite the political, religious, and cultural differences that had already fragmented the identities of the Spanish people.

By 1923, Spanish audiences had forgotten Felipe Pedrell and his ideologies. Yet in 1939, Falla chose not just to honor the composer with a movement in *Homenajes*, but also to quote from his long-forgotten *La Celestina*. Suzanne Demarquez acknowledged the bitterness in Falla’s choice to use *La Celestina*: “Would not the best homage to [Pedrell] be to cite some extracts from one of his works, disdained by his contemporaries as well as posterity, for example, *La Celestina*, which was never performed on stage? Would not the listener sense an unspoken reproach for the indifference and ingratitude that was shown to this apostle of the renaissance in Spanish music? Falla did not fail to perceive this.”

Falla left Spain in 1939 in self-imposed exile from the fascist government of Francisco Franco, but he continued to reflect

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90 Demarquez, 191.
on his home country. In fact, his unfinished opera *Atlántida* follows his mentor’s adaptation of Spanish by including a Catalan poem: here, again, is a “mosaic” of Spanish regional identities—first imagined by Pedrell, and echoed years later by Falla.
CHAPTER 3: “Á CLAUDE DEBUSSY” AND “Á PAUL DUKAS”

Manuel de Falla studied in Paris from 1907 until the onset of World War I in 1914.91 Although Falla briefly returned to Spain on a short tour, he would not return to live in Spain for another seven years.92 At this time, other important Spanish musicians such as Isaac Albéniz, Ricardo Viñes, and Joaquín Turina were already studying in Paris, but Spanish musicians had been immigrating to France in search of musical education and professional opportunities since the late nineteenth century.93 Unlike many of the Spaniards before him, Falla did not study at a conservatory outside of Spain, and his exposure to the musical culture of France during his stay came from working alongside musicians such as Claude Debussy and Paul Dukas. “Of all his Parisian associations,” Carol Hess writes, “it was Dukas and Debussy who made the greatest impression on Falla.”94

Musicologists have extensively studied Falla’s relationship with Debussy and the musical culture of Paris in the early twentieth century. Debussy’s impressionist style influenced Falla’s ideas regarding the use of Spanish idioms in his later works. In fact, on his return from Paris, Falla wrote on the “doctrine” accompanying the “new music” he encountered there: “The spirit of that doctrine, modified by Debussy’s followers according to their individual and national characteristics, has generated works of such expression and evocative power, of such variety of feeling, as could never have been predicted.”95 As a follower of Debussy, Falla fused the styles he encountered in Paris with the music of his Andalusian background, as well as other Spanish idioms representative of a generalized Spanish character.

91 Hess, Manuel de Falla and Modernism in Spain, 31; Pahissa, 40.
92 Hess, Manuel de Falla and Modernism in Spain, 31.
93 Ibid., 29.
94 Ibid., 32.
95 Falla, On Music and Musicians, 18.
Prior to 1907, Debussy had completed works on Spanish topics that Falla greatly admired, such as the chanson “Mandoline” and “La Soirée dans Grenade” from Estampes.  

Debussy’s interest in Spain was a westward variation of orientalism of the late nineteenth century, which provoked composers to cast their exoticizing gaze to the East. In the Spanish-language edition of his famous book Orientalism, Edward Said addresses the complexity of orientalism in regard to Spain. Due to the Islamic occupation, Spain’s “oriental” characteristics are a “substantial part of Spanish culture, not an external and distant force.” Therefore, as art historians Anna McSweeney and Claudia Hopkins propose, other European countries such as France framed Spain as “oriental,” and their outside perceptions were interwoven with Spain’s national identity. Because of Spain’s geographical proximity to France, French artists aimed to explore the gap between the “indigenous ‘folk’ culture” of Spain and urban Paris.

Debussy’s initial exploration of Spanish idioms came from his interest in engaging with Parisian society’s growing obsession with the “mysterious […] and sensual world that stood ‘outside’ normal life,” as Matthew Brown writes. Debussy was attracted to the mystery of Spanish music, and “mystery,” as Stravinsky allegedly said to Michel Georges-Michel, “belongs to Impressionism.” Specifically, Debussy was attracted to the idyllic “folk” culture of Andalusia. He captured his impression of the region in his well-known Iberia, which uses cante jondo and other dance melodies of southern Spain. On the intent of Debussy’s authenticity,
Brown writes, “Debussy’s remarks about folk music in general suggest that he saw more to composing *Iberia* than recreating a realistic image of Spain.”

While Debussy described his music using terminology reminiscent of impressionist artists, he also claimed to promote music that was simple, spontaneous, and free of the “little rituals with which the conservatories insist on encumbering it.” Manuel de Falla connected with Debussy’s musical aesthetics of simple and spontaneous music, and later wrote (in language strikingly similar to Debussy’s) that he aspired to compose music that moved “[t]owards a strong and simple art, free from vanity and egoism […].” To obtain this simplicity in music, Falla suggested that “one must start from the natural living fountainheads, and use the substance of sonority and rhythm, not their outward appearance.” Falla also seemed moved by the impression of Spain found in Debussy’s *Iberia*. He described it as “truth without the authenticity,” due to Debussy’s use of *cante jondo* elements that moved beyond literal transcriptions of popular and liturgical music, but instead focused on the sonorities and rhythms that Spain had to offer.

Part of Falla’s style of composition in *Homenajes* could also be indebted to the theoretical text *L’Acoustique nouvelle, ou Essai d’application d’une méthode philosophique aux questions élevées de l’Acoustique, de la Musique et de la Composition musicale*, written by Luis Lucas. Musicologist Chris Collins summarizes Lucas’s treatise as “a plea for the abandonment

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103 Brown, 61.
106 Ibid., 71
107 Ibid., 42.
of the artificial rules of contemporary Western music in favour of a much more natural art form.\footnote{Collins, 71.} This “natural art form” is based on the use of ancient Greek modes, non-Western scales such as the Indian sriraga, and enharmonics.\footnote{Ibid., 73.} The importance of Collins’s article lies in his unraveling of the erroneous belief that Lucas’s treatise was the sole basis of Falla’s musical style. Collins proposes that Falla and his biographers exaggerated the importance of Lucas’s treatise in the development of his style. Still, Lucas’s treatise made an impression on Falla; its appeal lay in its scientific approach to the ideas already espoused by Falla’s mentor Felipe Pedrell. As Collins writes, “[Falla] found vindication in L’acoustique nouvelle for elements both of the cante jondo style and of Debussy’s musical language.”\footnote{Ibid., 95.}

Bolstered by his prior correspondence with Debussy, Falla had the opportunity to meet with the composer in person in 1907, after accepting a modest position as a pianist for a small touring orchestra.\footnote{Pahissa, 40.} Despite his intention to meet with Debussy upon his arrival in Paris, a conflict in timing led Falla to meet with Paul Dukas first. According to Pahissa, at their first meeting, Dukas was impressed with the young Spanish composer’s talent after listening to portions of Falla’s La vida breve.\footnote{Ibid., 42.} Overjoyed with Dukas’s reaction, Falla asked to study instrumentation under Dukas, telling Dukas of his interest in studying at the Schola Cantorum—to which Dukas responded, “There is no need to go there […]. Work on your own, and come to me for advice.”\footnote{Ibid., 42.} With Dukas’s support, Falla would go on to meet and befriend Debussy, as


109 Collins, 71.
110 Ibid., 73.
111 Ibid., 95.
112 Pahissa, 40.
113 Ibid., 42.
114 Ibid., 42.
well as other important musicians of the early twentieth century residing or visiting Paris from 1907 to 1914.

Dukas was influential in cultivating Falla’s personal voice and his ear for instrumentation. Despite taking a position as Professor of Composition at the Paris Conservatory in 1927, Dukas held anti-conservatory views much like Debussy.\(^{115}\) For Dukas, instructing budding new composers was a responsibility he undertook seriously. In a rare interview, Dukas stated that he aspired “to help young musicians to express themselves in accordance with their own natures,” and that “[m]usic necessarily has to express something; it is also obliged to express somebody, namely, its composer.”\(^{116}\) Therefore, following Debussy’s example and Dukas’s mentorship, it could be surmised that Falla developed a mature style of composition “in accordance with his own nature,” using Spanish idioms to express aspects of his personal and national identity.

Falla would later write two solo works memorializing his French mentors after their deaths. Falla later orchestrated these two pieces for *Homenajes*, thereby demonstrating the importance of his Parisian mentors on the development of his music. He believed that the musical culture in Paris could provide Spanish composers with the tools to break Spanish music free from the Romantic trends that he believed were stifling musical progress.\(^{117}\) Just as he promoted an inclusivity of Spanish regions, Falla also called on Spaniards to embrace their musical past and future; he writes, “It is my humble opinion that the classical forms of our art should only be studied to learn order, equilibrium, and an often exemplary technique. Their help

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\(^{116}\) Ibid., 410.

should consist in stimulating the creation of new forms in which those same qualities appear, never in being copied (unless some other special formula is pursued) [...]"118 In Homenajes, Falla pays homage to the techniques of Debussy and Dukas, and he uses Spanish idioms, primarily Andalusian characteristics, to demonstrate how “old music” from Andalusia and “new music” from Paris might combine.

“á Claude Debussy”

The second movement of Homenajes, “á Claude Debussy (Elegia de la guitarra)” is an orchestral arrangement of an earlier guitar composition titled—confusingly—Homenaje. Falla composed the guitar piece in tandem with his article “Claude Debussy and Spain,” published on December 1, 1920, in the journal Revue Musicale.119 The manuscript for the guitar piece is lost, but the score survives as an engraving in the 1920 publication.120 The guitar piece begins with a footnote: “Les sons marqués du signe x doivent être accentués, d’après les nuances, et très légèrement retenus (The sounds marked with the sign x should be accentuated, before adding nuance, and very slightly retained).”121 These “x” signs appear in the first measure (after an upbeat) as a part of the habañera rhythm, a prominent motif of the work (Figure 8).

119 Murray, 10.
Later, this motif is altered: an eighth-note triplet followed by two eighth notes, still marked with x’s. The habañera is a slow dance in duple meter imported from Cuba that was nevertheless believed to be authentically Spanish due its use in popular works such as Bizet’s *Carmen*. Before Falla orchestrated this work for *Homenajes*, he arranged the guitar piece for piano in 1920. Even more than in the earlier version, *Homenaje* for piano accentuates the chords and sonorities associated with habañera rhythm.

Despite the motif’s foreign origins, the piece contains many elements reflective of *cante jondo*. It remains rooted in the “harmonic phenomenon” (as Falla referred to it), which he heard in both Spanish guitar music and Debussy’s music. The Spanish guitar, which prominently features in Andalusian *cante jondo*, is referred to by Falla as being played using the *toque jondo*, a stylistic technique for the accompanying guitar that is based on strumming techniques for the right hand. According to Falla, *toque jondo* was first used by Castilian guitarists and not Moorish-Andalusian musicians—further exemplifying his embrace of the diversity of Spanish cultural history. Falla describes the differences in his pamphlet for the 1922 *cante jondo* competition:

Pedrell affirms in his *Organografía musical Antigua española* that the Moorish guitar is still in use in Algeria and in Morocco; that it is called kitra […] and that the strings are

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122 Brown, 50-51.
plucked. The primitive way of playing the guitar is to strum it, and this is still often heard among the people. That is why the use of the Moorish instrument was and is melodic, [...] whereas the Spanish-Latin guitar was harmonic, because if one strums the strings, only chords come out. Many will say that those chords are barbarian. We affirm instead, that they are a marvelous revelation of unsuspected possibilities of sounds.¹²⁵

These *toque jondo* elements are implied in the 1920 publication, but they are notated in John Duarte’s revised edition of *Homenaje* that provides articulations based on performance practice, specifically those of Falla’s contemporary Miguel Llobet (Figure 9).¹²⁶

![Figure 9](image)

Figure 9. Manuel de Falla, *Homenaje: Le Tombeau de Claude Debussy* for Guitar Solo, rev. ed. John Duarte

Composer and classical guitarist Dušan Bogdanović argues that Debussy, unlike his predecessors who hid elements of *cante jondo* in classical form, used the Spanish folk idiom most effectively, even if he dressed it in “Impressionist clothing.”¹²⁷ Indeed, Falla would link French and Spanish traditions explicitly in his 1920 essay: “Debussy has taken to new lengths our knowledge of the modal possibilities in our music already revealed by our teacher Felipe Pedrell.”¹²⁸ In addition to the aforementioned use of *cante jondo* and *toque jondo*, along with the habanera rhythm, some well-known Spanish idioms found in *Homenaje* include sustained notes ornamented by melisma (often chromatic), ostinato, and a strong modal inflections (suggestive of the “modal possibilities” Falla found in both Debussy and Pedrell).¹²⁹ According to Falla, “It was

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¹²⁵ Ibid.
¹²⁸ Ibid.
¹²⁹ Brown, 43–53.
Claude Debussy who incorporated those values in artistic music. His harmonic writing, his texture, prove it in many cases.” These seem to be some of the values that Falla aimed to develop in his guitar and piano arrangement of *Homenaje*.

As an orchestral work, “á Claude Debussy: Elegia de la guitarra” (*Homenajes*, mvt. 2) expands upon the capabilities of a solo guitar or piano. The orchestral arrangement lacks the plucked crispness present in the guitar and piano arrangements, but it has the added range of an orchestra, using instrumentation and dynamics to emphasize the pseudo-Spanish habañera rhythm. The orchestration for the “Elegia de la guitarra” includes traditional instruments (flute, clarinet, horn, timpani, harp, violin, viola, cello, and bass), but also celesta. The celesta alongside the harp provides the piece with the arpeggiation, ostinatos, and melismatic ornaments that are reminiscent of the Spanish guitar and the *toque jondo* technique. The celesta was patented in France in 1886, and it was not used outside of France until 1892. The celesta was used in other French compositions featuring Spanish themes, such as Ravel’s *Bolero* and *L’heure espagnole*, and Debussy’s *Iberia*. The use of celesta is therefore yet another example of the influence of French composers—and their impressions of Spanish music—on Falla’s compositional style.

“á Claude Debussy (Elegia de la guitarra)” begins with the habañera rhythm in the flute and clarinet, and this rhythm is passed along the instruments, appearing in both the upper and lower registers of the orchestra (Figure 10).

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130 Ibid.
Figure 10. Manuel de Falla, *Homenajes*, mvt. II “á Claude Debussy (Elegia de la guitarra)”

Upon the first appearance of the habañera’s rhythmic variations (three measures before reh. 1), the violins and violas are *divisi* and *pianissimo*, so as not to overpower the introduction of a new motif, unique to this orchestral arrangement (Figure 11). This new motif starts in the second horns, and then the flute plays the motif in reversed rhythms. The motif is marked *dolce* in its first appearance and has the same articulation marking in its second and final appearance (two
measures before reh. 9). This new motif is possibly a variation of the habañera rhythm, breaking the dirge-like march with the brief interjection of a bittersweet melodic line.

Figure 11. Manuel de Falla, Homenajes, mvt. II “à Claude Debussy (Elegia de la guitarra),” new motif

In fact, the appearance of the new motif in the second horns (one measure before reh. 1) gracefully leads into the first horn’s reiteration of the habañera rhythm; however, this time the rhythm is marked *dolce*. The return of the habañera rhythm is marked *dolce*, possibly a reminder of the solemnity behind the piece written in honor of Debussy who himself worked with the habañera rhythm most famously in his *Iberia*. 

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Elements of *cante jondo* are scattered throughout the second movement, such as in the ornamental appoggiaturas in upper and lower registers, but the Andalusian idiom is most apparent in reh. 6. Here the harp, celesta, and viola play ostinatos while the cello and bass play chords in open fifths in a rhythm of dotted-quarter plus eighth notes; this is similar to a *cante jondo* transcription provided by Gilbert Chase’s *The Music of Spain*, which features transcriptions of Spanish folk song from various regions (Figures 12 and 13).\(^{132}\) This section marks the moment of greatest intensity in the movement.

Figure 12. Manuel de Falla, *Homenajes*, mvt. II “á Claude Debussy (Elegia de la guitarra),” rehearsal 6

\(^{132}\) Chase, 226.
Then, in reh. 7, the Spanish idioms disintegrate into fragments of the original rhythm, interspersed with increasing numbers of rests and appoggiaturas before the return of the motif unique to the orchestral arrangement in reh. 9 (Figure 14). This return of the “new” motif reintroduces the habañera rhythm and begins the finale of the second movement (Figure 15).
Finally, the movement ends with the habanera motif in the violas which slowly expands in duration, while simultaneously decreasing in volume from a pianissimo (pp) to pianississimo (ppp); it is marked perdendosi (Figure 16).

Falla’s choice of the Andalusian cante jondo in his homage to Debussy was an apt one. Debussy’s use of Spanish idioms influenced development of Spanish music in the early twentieth century, including composers like Falla who sought to revitalize Spanish music. “á Claude Debussy (Elegia de la guitarra) ” represents the melding of Debussy’s music—which Falla called
“one of the most important events in contemporary history”—with the folk music of Andalusia, thereby encompassing both national and international aspects of Spanishness.\textsuperscript{133}

\textit{“á Paul Dukas”}

The third movement of \textit{Homenajes}, “á Paul Dukas (Spes vitae)” is an orchestration of Falla’s \textit{Le tombeau de Paul Dukas} for piano. Carol Hess posits that the challenge presented to the pianist in Falla’s original work is “to find the most convincing way—out of seemingly infinite possibilities—to voice each chord while ensuring that each leads inexorably to one of the six main cadence points in this contained, hieratic work.”\textsuperscript{134} The rich sonic possibilities in this piece reflects the significance of tonal color for the French impressionists. This movement does not demonstrate overt connections to Spanishness, but the original piano composition includes some faint traces. Falla’s piano score features blocked chordal movement, rolled chords, and ascending arpeggiated chords that are reminiscent of the style of the Castilian guitar. Falla wrote that the Castilian guitar is different from the Moorish-Andalusian guitar because of the preferred use of strumming; as Falla wrote, “only chords come out,” and to him these chords, like the “new music” of Paris, were the “marvelous revelation of unsuspected possibilities of sounds.” He continues:

The use of the guitar made by the [Spanish] people represents two clearly determined musical values: the rhythmic value, external and immediately perceptible, and the purely tonal-harmonic value. The first of these, together with some cadential phrases of easy assimilation, was the only one to be used over a long period by more or less artistic music, whereas the importance of the second, the purely tonal-harmonic value, was hardly recognized until relatively recently […].\textsuperscript{135}

\textsuperscript{133} Falla, \textit{On Music and Musicians}, 25.
\textsuperscript{134} Hess, \textit{Sacred Passions: The Life and Music of Manuel de Falla}, 209.
\textsuperscript{135} Falla, \textit{On Music and Musicians}, 110–111.
Just like a Castilian guitar exploring “unsuspected possibilities of sounds,” the piano in Falla’s tribute to Dukas succeeds in embracing the tonal richness of Dukas’s compositional style. Dukas’s compositions, such as the Symphony in C and his own tombeau for Debussy, feature rich chords spread across staves and (in orchestral works) divided among many instruments. Often, Dukas’s music does not permit moments of silence; instead, sound saturates the composition.

Similarly, Falla’s Le tombeau de Paul Dukas contains only three other moments of silence—the first, at the very beginning, and the final two, near the end. The second rest occurs near the end of the piece in the second measure after the tempo change to common time (m. 36), marked tempo ma sostenuto, where beats 1 and 2 hold a stacked chord (marked tenuto) (Figure 17). This chord is followed by a quarter rest, and the music resumes on beat 4 of the same measure. The music continues for another two measures (mm. 38–39) before coming to another complete silence on beat 4 of m. 39. The final four measures (mm. 40–43) contain no rests, and the music does not end until the performer releases the pedal on the final chord marked fermata.\footnote{Manuel de Falla, “Pour le Tombeau de Paul Dukas,” La Revue Musicale (1935): 7–9.} This lack of silence lies in opposition to the cante jondo style that relies on the interplay of silence and sound to create the rhythmic patterns associated with Spanish music.
As in the homage to Debussy, this movement elaborates on the stylistic characteristics of Dukas’s music that Falla admired most. This movement has the largest orchestration found in *Homenajes*. The orchestra includes flute, oboe, bass clarinet, contrabassoon, English horn, four horns, three trumpets, three trombones, timpani, strings, harp, timpani, and kettledrums.\(^{137}\) The large ensemble may serve as an extra layer of homage—in this case, for the teacher with whom Falla had studied orchestration and whose own works featured large orchestras.\(^{138}\) Further, Dukas, like Debussy, was influenced by the orientalism of the twentieth century. As Falla, who was impressed with Dukas’s and Debussy’s incorporation of foreign music, wrote,

During the last World Fair at the Champ de Mars two young French musicians [Dukas and Debussy] were to be seen going about together listening to exotic music from more or less distant countries. *Unobtrusively mixing with the crowd, they absorbed the magic of sound and rhythm the strange music contained.* […] These young musicians later on became two of the most famous names in contemporary music—Paul Dukas and Claude Debussy.\(^{139}\)

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\(^{137}\) Demarquez, 190.

\(^{138}\) Murray, 12.

The rich sonorities of Dukas’s music are examples of the “magic of sound” that Falla admired. Indeed, in 1916, Falla described Dukas’s L’Apprenti sorcier as a “fantasy of sounds”—another allusion to that ineffable sonic “magic” that the Spanish found in French music.\textsuperscript{140}

Falla’s “á Paul Dukas (Spes vitae)” is itself a “fantasy of sound” with rich sonorities that go unbroken, especially in the strings. (Mirroring the piano work, the orchestral arrangement also features only three moments of complete silence; see Figure 18.)

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure18.png}
\caption{Manuel de Falla, Homenajes, mvt. 3, “á Paul Dukas (Spes vitae),” rehearsal 6}
\end{figure}

The harp uses rolled chords and appoggiaturas that resemble guitar performance, but (as Falla himself had predicted) these features are no longer the driving momentum of the piece. Instead, the arrangement seems to be propelled by the ever-shifting timbre of the orchestra.

The movement is subtitled Spes Vitae, or “Hope of Life.”\textsuperscript{141} In the orchestral arrangement, the continuous sound may allude to the lifespan of Dukas. Starting from the first moment of silence (first breath) and continuing uninterrupted, the full texture and rich sonorities

\textsuperscript{140} Falla, \textit{On Music and Musicians}, 25.
\textsuperscript{141} Demarquez, 190.
are reminiscent of a life well lived. Yet, despite the search for resolution the movement ends without one, reflective of a life ended too soon. Falla’s respect and admiration for his mentor is evident in his words recorded by Pahissa: “Dukas was, until his death, one of my best and most trusted friends. And this was because I was grateful to him and showed my gratitude whenever I could.”¹⁴² The grandness of the third movement of Homenajes is a sign of Falla’s gratitude toward Dukas, especially for his instrumental role in helping Falla develop his own compositional voice. Falla’s personal and national identity remained central to his development as a mature composer thanks to the pedagogical philosophy of Paul Dukas, which emphasized the development of the composer’s “own nature.” Dukas is quoted as saying, “Teaching should not exaggerate tradition; neither should it lose sight of the fact that tradition exists.”¹⁴³

To Falla, perhaps Debussy and Dukas belonged in Homenajes because they were, in his mind, essential to the revitalization he sought to spark in Spain, using the “new music” he encountered in Paris. Falla was greatly inspired by Debussy’s work with Spanish idioms, and fittingly, he chose to work with those idioms in his homage to the late composer. But whereas Debussy approached Spanish music as a foreigner, Falla—in “á Claude Debussy: Elegia de la guitarra”—approaches Spanish music as a native, albeit one with an international perspective. While, “á Paul Dukas (Spes vitæ)” does not have a strong connection to Spanish idioms, the technical skill demonstrated in the composition demonstrates the importance of Dukas’s instruction, which allowed Falla to come into his own compositional maturity without being beholden to the “traditional” pedagogy of the conservatory.

In 1914 after the start of World War I, Falla was forced to return to Spain; however, thanks to Paris, Falla had reached compositional maturity and his prospects in Spain were no

¹⁴² Pahissa, 44.
¹⁴³ Schwerké, 412.
longer dismal. Later, Falla would reflect on the importance of his time in Paris: “Without Paris, I would have remained buried in Madrid, submerged and forgotten, dragging out an obscure existence, living miserably by giving a few lessons, with the prize certificate framed as a family memento and the core of my opera on a cupboard.”144 It was because of Paris that Falla was able to rise to international prominence and bring Spanish music to concert halls outside of Spain (although even in Spain composers had difficulty having their works performed and published). More importantly, Paris introduced Falla to composers leading the way in “new” music, which led to his later incorporation of neoclassicism. In this manner, Falla was given the compositional education necessary to engage with the leading trends of the early twentieth century, allowing him to create “universal” music that defied being regarded as lesser than due to his nationality or the presence of Spanish themes or idioms.

144 Pahissa, 38.
CHAPTER 4: “FANFARE SOBRE EL NOMBRE DE E. F. ARBÓS”

Homenajes opens with a fanfare titled “Fanfare sobre el nombre de E. F. Arbós (Fanfare on the Name of E. F. Arbós).” As the title indicates, the suite uses the seven letters of the dedicatee’s name as the basis of a soggetto cavato, using solmization syllables to spell out the name of the subject: E – F – A – D (re) – B – flat – C (do) – G (sol).¹⁴⁵ What could be the reason for Falla’s choice to include an homage to E. F. Arbós in his orchestral suite, and more importantly, why would he begin the suite with such a prominent placement? The fanfare—aptly described by Burnett James as “a token of gratitude on behalf of Spanish music as a whole”—provides the guiding and binding perspective for the entire suite, announcing from its outset that Homenajes is a celebration of Spanishness.¹⁴⁶

Most Western musicians are unfamiliar with the composer E. F. Arbós (1863–1939); however, in the early twentieth century Enrique Fernández Arbós was well known as the conductor of the Madrid Symphony Orchestra.¹⁴⁷ As a conductor he was a strong ally of modern music and conducted performances of several contemporary pieces, such as Stravinsky’s Rite of Spring and the Firebird Suite.¹⁴⁸ Arbós’s support of modern music did not exclude the music of Spanish composers, as demonstrated by his advocacy of Falla’s compositions. On April 9, 1916, Arbós conducted the premiere of Noches en las jardines de España (Nights in the Gardens of Spain), one of Falla’s earliest orchestral pieces. In 1927, Arbós included selections from Falla’s El sombrero de tres picos and El amor brujo in a guest performance for the Colonne Concerts in

¹⁴⁷ Murray, 9–10.
¹⁴⁸ Pahissa, 145; Murray, 10.
Arbós’s influence even extended across the Atlantic to the United States. Between 1928 and 1931, Arbós conducted orchestras across the United States, visiting many of the nation’s major cities: New York, Buffalo, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Hollywood. The success of this tour granted Arbós and the Madrid Symphony Orchestra the opportunity to release their first American record, which featured dances from Falla’s *El sombrero de tres picos*. Arbós continued to support Falla’s works well into the end of his career; for example, he included Falla’s *Noches en las jardines de España* in his program for the 1932 Chopin Festival on the island of Mallorca. Falla’s biographer Jaime Pahissa notes that Falla “deeply admired and respected” Arbós, and that the admiration was mutual between the two musicians. As noted by musicologist Ken Murray, their professional relationship and personal friendship is supported by a correspondence of roughly 135 letters, now housed in the Manuel de Falla Archive in Granada.

Arbós’s concerts for the Madrid Symphony included the works of the established Western canon alongside works of Falla and his Spanish contemporaries, such as Joaquín Turina, Isaac Albéniz, and Enrique Granados. Musicologist Roland J. Vázquez attests to Arbós’s influence as a conductor who popularized classical music by Spanish composers not only among Spanish audiences, but also among international audiences. Vázquez aptly describes Arbós as a “musical emissary” who was influential in “shaping the image of Spain’s music and

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153 Pahissa, 145.
154 Murray, 10.
155 Vázquez, 1222–1223.
musicians.” Arbós’s legacy as an emissary for contemporary music, Spanish or non-Spanish, supports Falla’s decision to feature his homage as the opening piece in his orchestral suite.

The “Fanfare sobre el nombre de E. F. Arbós” launches Homenajes with a triumphant blast of sound; its music also returns as an interlude between the second and third movements, as if to further link Debussy and Dukas to the Spanish tradition. In these brief movements (fanfare and interlude), Falla seems to honor Arbós (who had recently died) as a conductor who rarely performed his own music, but rather showcased the work of his contemporaries.

On January 4, 1934, Falla received an invitation to compose a fanfare in honor of Arbós. This commission came from the Madrid Symphony Orchestra as a part of one of two concerts in honor of Arbós’s seventieth birthday. It was a tumultuous time. Growing tensions between political factions sparked revolutionary insurrections beginning as early as 1930. By 1934, the polarization of the political climate reached its height after the socialist insurrection, which spanned across multiple provinces and seized control of the Asturias region. Yet Falla telegrammed Arbós on March 24, 1934, to let the conductor know that the piece was on its way. According to Jorge de Persia, when Arbós received the fanfare he claimed that the piece had the “mark of Falla.” When he remarked on the “mark of Falla” in the fanfare, Arbós may have been thinking of Falla’s use of harmonics, the natural minor mode, the strongly delineated rhythms, and the colorful orchestration. All are possible “marks of Falla,” who, as we have seen, drew influences from diverse sources.

156 Vázquez, 1223.
159 Murray, 10.
160 Persia, 94.
Fourteen other composers had submitted fanfares for Arbós’s celebration, but what made Falla’s composition unique was his inclusion of the E and F of Arbós’s name; other composers had only used A, D (re), B, C (do), and G (sol) in their submissions. With a notable absence of leading tones, the fanfare is in D natural minor; its modal qualities have been analyzed as Hypodorian (Suzanne Demarquez) and Aeolian (Ken Murray). Spanish music is often associated with modal inflections, most often derived from Phrygian (E, F, G, A B, C, D). As Harold Powers has noted, the Phrygian mode is closely related to the Aeolian mode (A, B, C, D, E, F, G), which Falla used in the Fanfare. The difference between the Aeolian mode and the Phrygian mode pertains to the second scale degree (raised or lowered). Notably, while the fanfare’s tonic is D (yielding the D-Aeolian scale of D, E, F, G, A, B-flat, C), another important center is A (yielding a Phrygian-inflected scale of A, B-flat, C, D, E, F, G). (Figure 19)

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161 Hess, Sacred Passions: The Life and Music of Manuel de Falla, 206.
162 Demarquez, 188.
Falla referred to both flamenco and *cante jondo* as the “songs of the common people” that lent music a “Spanish character.”\(^\text{164}\) The use of a dotted rhythm within 6/8 meter recalls the Spanish character of the traditional flamenco and *cante jondo* styles (see Figure 1). The piece reaches its greatest rhythmic complexity at reh. 3–4, through the overlay of compound and duple

meters. Beginning in reh. 3, the horns begin to alter the compound duple meter 6/8 by using the simple duple (dotted quarter), the localized triple meter (grouped eighths), and finally, subdividing the triple meter (pair of dotted eighths) (Figure 20). It is not surprising that Falla wrote the inherently Spanish idiom of *cante jondo* into Arbós’s homage, because the style acknowledges the Spanish conductor’s national identity, while also engaging with a musical style that had become increasingly popular outside of Spain.165

![Figure 20. Manuel de Falla, Homenajes, mvt. I “Fanfare sobre el nombre de E. F. Arbós”, rehearsal 3, horns and trumpets](image)

Adolfo Salazar offers an interesting interpretation of what a fanfare could represent when he writes about the fanfare at the beginning of Falla’s *El sombrero de tres picos*, he wrote, “A fanfare lets us know, like in the medieval ‘mystery’ [plays], that the show is about to begin.”166

The opening movement of *Homenajes*, “Fanfare sobre el nombre de E. F. Arbós” serves the suite

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165 Gallego, 53.
166 Adolfo Salazar, “El Corregidor y la Molinera (El sombrero de tres picos),” Revista Musical Hispano-Americana, 4 época, no. 4 (1917): 8–12, quoted in Antonio Gallego, “Datos para el análisis de la Fanfare sobre el nombre de Arbós, de Manuel de Falla,” *Quodlibet: revista de especialización musical* 53 (2013): 53; “Una fanfare nos avisa, como en los ‘misterios’ medievales, que la acción va a comenzar.”
as a heralding call for the future. Arbós, like the fanfare, is the herald who announced the future of Spanish music by supporting its composers on national and international stages. Unfortunately, after the composition of Arbós’s birthday fanfare, the political climate of Spain rapidly declined, and progress was stilted due to the Spanish Civil War that began only two years later. At the end of the Civil War, Falla resurrected the fanfare, repurposing it as the opening movement of *Homenajes*. Here, it seems to use the name of Arbós to celebrate the musical past alongside its future, and to cherish Spanish music while drawing upon the styles of foreign composers.
Manuel de Falla’s orchestral suite *Homenajes* merges regional, national, and international aspects of Falla’s identity—from Pedrell’s regionalism to Debussy’s exoticism. The complexity and nuances of national and personal identity are demonstrated in Falla’s piecing together of four different compositions that span vastly different styles, composed over the course of nineteen years. Like Falla, Spanish culture was influenced by indigenous and foreign influences, interweaving in such a way that they became inseparable. Manuel de Falla’s *Homenajes* is subversive in its portrayal of “unity through diversity,” particularly in the context of the exclusionary regime of Francisco Franco, whose political ideologies supported the hegemonic control of Castilian culture and the distrust of modernist music.\(^\text{167}\)

This thesis began with the fourth movement of *Homenajes*, “Pedrelliana,” because it represents the ideological foundation of the suite. In it we see how Falla followed Felipe Pedrell’s view of nationalism, which was inclusive of the various regions of the Spanish state. This ecumenical vision of Spanish culture is in line with Falla’s aversion to “mean-spirited nationalism,” which was creating an insurmountable divide between the citizens of Spain.\(^\text{168}\) Falla’s personal experiences in Paris provided the composer the opportunity to learn from the leaders of contemporary music in the early twentieth century, including Claude Debussy and Paul Dukas. From his experiences there, Falla would begin to see links between French music and Spanish music, recognizing aspects of Spanish style that lay beyond Spain’s borders. With the support of Spanish conductor Enrique Fernandez Arbós, Falla achieved success nationally and internationally; his music was praised not just for its use of Andalusian musical elements, but also its neoclassical, modernist gestures toward “universalty.”

\(^{167}\) Moreda-Rodríguez, 219–221.
\(^{168}\) Falla, *On Music and Musicians*, 73.
In 1939, the Franco government began construing Falla’s image in a manner that suited their ideologies. Often, Falla’s Andalusian identity and use of folk music were suppressed by Francoist music critics who sought to emphasize Falla’s associations with Castilian Spain; similarly, these critics chose to ignore Falla’s connection to European (especially French) modernism. Instead, music critics aimed to label Falla as a “Spanish modernist” whose music was “fully human.” The isolationism of the Francoist regime was ultimately at odds with the musical possibilities that Falla saw in his diverse, inclusive vision of Spain.

Homenajes might at first seem to be a hodgepodge of unrelated pieces; but when placed together, they forge new meanings. Essayist Cynthia Cruz has recently argued that archives and collections are tools artists use to cope with trauma; similarly, Falla’s collection of different parts of his past could have given him a moment to process the ramifications of the outcome of the Spanish Civil War. One such ramification was the state of Spanish identity, especially as constructed by the Francoist government.

As an alternative to corrosive (“mean-spirited”) nationalism, Falla suggested a “mosaic” Spanish national identity, inclusive of the varied cultural regions within the Spanish state; however, as Carol Hess writes, “questions of identity—national, regional, racial, religious—are both fragile and volatile.” Falla’s obscure orchestral suite optimistically called for an idealistic Spain that exists in contrast to the reality of Spain’s current political climate—where issues of nationalism and regionalism continue to divide the Spanish people to this very day.  

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169 Moreda-Rodríguez, 222–223.
Scores


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VITA

Leanny Muñoz was born in Miami, Florida and raised in Abbeville, Louisiana, where she graduated from Abbeville High School in 2012. She then attended the Louisiana Scholars’ College at Northwestern State University of Louisiana, pursuing a Bachelor of Arts in Liberal Arts and graduating *cum laude* in 2016. She entered the master’s program in musicology at Louisiana State University that same year. In 2017, Leanny was awarded an Eileen Southern Travel Grant by the American Musicological Society. Dr. Blake Howe supervised her thesis, from which she has presented at the 2018 American Musicological Society – Southern Chapter. Upon completion of her master’s degree, she will begin work on her doctorate at the University of California, Davis.