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Outreach, entertainment, innovation: exiled Spanish composers and European radio

Eva Moreda Rodríguez

This essay takes as its starting point the involvement of exiled Spanish composers Salvador Bacarisse and Roberto Gerhard with the public radio broadcasters of the countries to which they were exiled. It examines the music (both incidental and autonomous) they composed and arranged, as well as features on music they wrote, presented or contributed to. In doing so, it articulates a critique of the dominant historiographical narratives that understand Spanish twentieth-century music as a continuous, monolithic advance toward a single ideal of modernity. Such narratives were first introduced by Federico Sopena and Tomás Marco under Francoism, yet they continue to be influential in the present day. I examine how the music for radio of Bacarisse and Gerhard forces us to consider key components of these narratives, such as the understanding of exile as either assimilation or resistance to the host culture, the role of artistic collaboration in the careers of many exiles, and the dichotomy of commercialism and absolute music.

Keywords: *exile, historiography, avant-garde, Spain, Salvador Bacarisse (1898–1963), Roberto Gerhard (1896–1970)*

This essay takes as its starting point the involvement of exiled Spanish composers Salvador Bacarisse and Roberto Gerhard with the public radio broadcasters of the countries to which they were exiled: the Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française and the British Broadcasting Corporation, respectively. I understand ‘involvement’ in a broad sense: I will refer to music (either incidental or autonomous) they composed or wrote, as well as to features on music

they wrote, presented or contributed to. I am not primarily concerned with analyses of the music – for those interested, some of this material has been analysed elsewhere (García-Karman, 2010; 2013; Heine, 1998, pp. 49-50; 2008, p. 183) – but rather with historiographical issues: what challenges do Bacarisse’s and Gerhard’s music for radio pose to existing historiographical narratives of Spanish twentieth-century music and, in particular, to narratives concerning the exiles?

My choice to focus on historiographical rather than analytical matters is informed by a certain disillusionment with the research on exiled Spanish composers (and others who were otherwise marginalised from Spanish musical life under Francoism¹) conducted since the mid-1980s. It is certainly not a matter of quantity: dozens of academic articles and books have been published on individual musicians, from those with transnational reputations (Gerhard, Rodolfo Halffter, Julián Orbón), to others whose importance is primarily felt at the provincial or local level. Scholarly work has sometimes fed into public engagement activities aimed at making the names of the exiles and their music better known to the general public, such as the exhibition *La música en la Generación del 27. Homenaje a Lorca 1915–1939* [Music in the Generation of ’27. Homage to Lorca 1915–1939], organised in 1986 in Granada under the sponsorship of the Spanish Ministry for Culture and curated by Emilio Casares. The music has also been performed and recorded, sometimes at the initiative of private and public institutions such as the Fundación Juan March and the various *diputaciones provinciales*,² sometimes thanks to the efforts of performers themselves, including conductor José Luis Temes, the Cuarteto Bacarisse, the Trío Arbós, and others. And yet, many such scholarly works and initiatives are pervaded by the idea that the exiles are eternal unknowns in Spain, no matter that they are indeed part of a body of bibliography and discography that numbers by now hundreds of items.³

The trope of the exile as a perpetual unknown has an obvious legitimising function,

which partly explains its popularity: if an author starts from the premise that he or she is going to discuss a composer or work(s) thus far unknown to the musicological community, then the basic requirement of originality is automatically fulfilled. But, as laudable as rescuing forgotten composers or works might be, focusing exclusively on their discovery and dissemination entails other dangers: namely, that of uncritically conforming to the existing historiography, trusting that the new facts, works, and names uncovered by research will somehow add themselves unproblematically to the narratives we know. Indeed, little attention has been paid to defining and problematising exile as a category for the historiography of Spanish twentieth-century music, or to reflecting on how newly-discovered composers and works might influence or change how we think about Spanish twentieth-century music, or to analysing critically our practices for the recovery of memory.

Radio contributions are among the bodies of work and practices that resist adding themselves seamlessly to existing narratives; in this regard, my study of them builds upon recent work in which I have similarly discussed the limitations of the existing historiography to make sense of the music of the exiles (Moreda Rodríguez, 2015; 2016). I have selected Bacarisse and Gerhard only, because, out of all exiled composers, they were the ones to work for radios most systematically, but research into other case studies would surely extend or provide nuances to some of my conclusions.⁴ Gerhard's and Bacarisse's trajectories, being very different to each other, also demonstrate that the study of exile must acknowledge the experience of exile as diverse and multifarious, sometimes contradictory. Reflection should therefore be based on careful, context-sensitive consideration of particularities (Naharro-Calderón, 1999, p. 351).

Exile, space and time

It is not only musicology that has suffered from a lack of theoretical reflection about the

historiographical problems posed by exile. Such problems were first encountered by the field of literary studies, with Naharro-Calderón (1986; 1999) sounding the alarm about the inadequacy of existing paradigms of Spanish post-war literature to make sense of the literary exile. Mari Paz Balibrea (2002–2003) subsequently pointed out that the literary field had made substantial progress in terms of uncovering forgotten voices, but not so much in terms of critical reflection (p. 17) – a stage similar to where we are now in musicology.

One of Balibrea’s main points of contention is that the Spanish Republican exile poses problems to narratives of Spanish literature in terms of both space and time – what she calls, following Kant, ‘pure intuitions’ (2012, p. 87). With the arrival of modernity, she argues, the nation is conceptualised as both a spatial *and* a temporal unit: it is not only delimited by its territorial boundaries, but also by homogeneous, linear progression within the nation toward a hegemonic ideal of modernity. The nation thus ‘totalizes history and time from the point of view of a present conceived as always new, always on the verge of disappearing, and therefore transitory, ephemeral and fragmentary’, consonant with capitalistic ideals (Balibrea, 2005, p. 7; see also Balibrea, 2006, p. 163) and thus political in nature (Balibrea, 2012, p. 97). In the case of twentieth-century Spain, progression is understood as struggle against anti-modernity (incarnated by the Franco regime) and finally the triumph of parliamentary monarchy in 1975 after Franco’s death (Balibrea 2002–2003, p. 29). Exile, however, puts this ideal conception of the nation at risk: indeed, the exiles’ cultural production is undertaken outside the nation’s borders and, in some cases, it opens up ideals and understandings of modernity which deviate from the hegemonic one, while at the same time the Franco regime cannot be identified unequivocally with anti-modernity either (Balibrea 2002–2003, p. 22; 2012, pp. 98–99).

Similar criticisms apply to the conceptualisation of Spanish music history in the twentieth century: national music, understood as a spatial and temporal unit advancing more

or less lineally toward modernity, accounts for the historiographical narrative into which many of the above-mentioned works have tried to fit the exiles. Crucially, even though most works about the exiles date from the post-Franco period, the narrative of music history as progress was developed under Francoism by central names of the official musical establishment, such as Federico Sopena, which suggests again that Francoism cannot be unequivocally identified with anti-modernity. I therefore start my discussion by disentangling the political underpinnings of such narratives as developed under Francoism and discussing the effect they had in the conceptualisation of the exiles.

Federico Sopena's *Historia de la música española contemporánea* (1958) was the first under Francoism to introduce the notion of linear progress toward modernity, which Sopena identified with an up-to-date musical nationalism in the line of Joaquín Rodrigo. In Sopena's history, a few genius figures – Manuel de Falla, Ernesto Halffter, Rodrigo – lead the way; other composers fill gaps and provide links between genius figures (Moreda Rodríguez, 2015, pp. 39–43). As is the case with all other histories of Spanish music I will discuss in the following paragraphs, Sopena does not ostracise or criticise the exiles (even though Gerhard was not mentioned at all⁵). In fact, Sopena presented his book as the sequel to another history written by an exile: Adolfo Salazar's *La música contemporánea en España* (1930), from which Sopena borrowed the narrative structure.

Sopena's attitude toward the exiles should come as no surprise, with him having been a member of the so-called Falange Liberal in the early 1940s: young, ambitious Falangist intellectuals who occupied press and propaganda offices right after the end of the Civil War and self-reportedly tried to prevent the Franco regime from breaking up with the exiles and other opponents. They were not necessarily moved by democratic concern, but rather by the fascist ideal of eliminating one's opponent by appropriating their points of view to accelerate the transformation of Spain into a fascist state (Juliá, 2002; 2004). Sopena's mention of the

exiles should thus not be read as an example of tolerance or compassion, but rather as an attempt at subsuming them in a totalising narrative of modernity: indeed, the exiles are worth talking about as a group inasmuch as they had tried to advance Spanish music toward modernity, but Sopeña ultimately dismissed them for not having achieved this goal (1958, pp. 195–197).

Three influential histories of Spanish contemporary music were published between 1960 and 1970: Manuel Valls's *La música española después de Manuel de Falla* (1962) and Tomás Marco's *La música de la España contemporánea* and *Música española de vanguardia* (both 1970). Valls also published two books on Catalan music history: *La música catalana contemporània* (1960) and *Història de la música catalana* (1969). They all demonstrate even more clearly that the narrative of continuous progress was perfectly compatible with Francoist ideals, which can be explained by the shift to *Desarrollismo* in economic policy⁶ and, in music, the various instances of state sponsorship toward the avant-garde embodied by the Generation of 51 (Sacau-Ferreira, 2010). Contrary to Sopeña's history, though, Valls and Marco identified advance toward modernity with the renunciation of obvious nationalist traits and favoured instead the abandonment of tonality and the integration with European avant-garde currents. The idea of nation still underlies both authors' historiographical thinking powerfully: the nation-state is still the main unit, and its citizens' allegiance to it is still to be expressed in less obvious, more abstract ways – for example, the indebtedness to key figures (Falla or, as I will discuss later on, Gerhard) or a commitment to advancing national music.

Valls and Marco, and especially the latter, were therefore not against integrating the exiles in their narratives – but only inasmuch as they were deemed to have contributed to the advancement of Spanish music toward modernity. In Marco's *Música española de vanguardia*, only Gerhard is discussed in any detail (Marco, 1970b, pp. 29–30, 46–47),

focusing on how he could fill the gap between young Spanish composers and European music. Rodolfo Halffter also embraced twelve-tone technique, but he is not given so much attention, perhaps because he lacked the pedigree of having studied with Schoenberg and most of his connections and career were in Latin America, whereas Marco was more interested in connecting Spanish music to Europe. Similarly, Valls's assessment of Gerhard changed as the latter established himself as a relevant name in the new music scene throughout the 1960s: Valls did not feature Gerhard as a central figure of what he called the Generation of 1920 (Toldrà, Blancafort and Mompou) and instead gave him a secondary role in Catalan music, arguing that exile had diluted Gerhard's Catalan identity (Valls, 1960, p. 110). Nevertheless, several years after, he included Gerhard as a major name of what he now called the Generation of the post-First World War, together with Mompou, Blancafort, Toldrà, and, perhaps surprisingly, Joaquín Rodrigo (born in Sagunto, outside Catalonia but in a Catalan-speaking area) (Valls, 1969, pp. 193, 199).

None of these histories mentions Bacarisse's and Gerhard's involvement with the national broadcasters of their host countries. It might be that their authors simply did not have up-to-date information; in particular, Sopeña's history is often lacking in detail concerning composers living outside Spain, even though he corresponded with some in an attempt at gathering information. Marco, rather surprisingly, did not acknowledge the BBC's support for some of Gerhard's most progressive concert works, such as his third symphony, *Collages* (1960). There are two possible reasons, not mutually exclusive: first, when establishing Gerhard's status as a predecessor of the Spanish avant-garde, Marco did so mostly on the basis of Gerhard having been a student of Schoenberg and a pioneer of twelve-tone technique in the Iberian Peninsula. Marco thus singled out the Second Viennese School (and, subsequently, integral serialism) as *the* path which freed up Spanish music from nationalism in the first instance, instead of regarding it as one among several options. A second reason

might be that Marco, like Valls and Sopenña, regarded with mistrust or patently ignored incidental music or otherwise music written on commission. For example, Marco wrote dismissively about Gerhard's music for ballet of the 1940s (1970a, p. 35; 1970b, p. 30) on the basis that it showed nationalist traits which Gerhard had cultivated purely because of commercial expectations. It is plausible that Marco's contempt for incidental or commissioned music extended to Gerhard's music for the BBC, or at least to some of it (as will be discussed later, not all the radio music written by Gerhard is incidental).

Music for the radio and historiography

Before I discuss how Gerhard's and Bacarisse's involvement with radio can open up fissures in the historiography of Spanish twentieth-century music as detailed above, I offer a brief summary of both exiles' careers, dwelling particularly on their involvement with radio broadcasters. Among exiled composers from Spain, Gerhard is likely to be the best-known internationally. Born in Valls (Catalonia) in 1896, he studied with Enrique Granados and Felipe Pedrell in the 1910s. After early success with the post-Romantic song cycle *L'infantament meravellós de Schahrazada* (1918), he went on to study with Schoenberg in Berlin and Vienna (1923–28), culminating his studies with the Wind Quintet (1928), the first work in which he tried out twelve-tone technique (Alonso 2013, pp. 39–42). After his return to Barcelona, he did not actively cultivate the technique in his own music, but instead promoted the Second Viennese School in Catalonia through writings and concerts. During the Spanish Civil War, he collaborated with the Spanish Republican government and the Generalitat de Catalunya, and subsequently went into exile in Cambridge via Paris, initially combining the arranging and composing of incidental music with concert works (e.g. his violin concerto, from 1942). During the 1940s Gerhard also returned to serialism, and in 1955

the première of his first symphony at Festspielhaus Baden-Baden marked the start of a period of international recognition that lasted until his death in 1970.

Gerhard's relationship with the BBC started in the early 1940s, with the writing of musical features on Spanish themes for the Latin American service (García-Karman, 2013, p. 307). His radiophonic output can be summarised as follows:

[Insert Table 1 here]

Table 1

Salvador Bacarisse was born in Madrid in 1898 and first rose to prominence in 1923 when he was awarded the Premio Nacional de Música. In 1926 he accepted the post of musical director of Unión Radio. Under the Second Republic (1931–36), Bacarisse was a member of the controversial Junta Nacional de Música y Teatros Líricos,⁷ and then collaborated with the Republican government during the Spanish Civil War. He then went into exile in Paris and obtained a job at Radiodiffusion Nationale (then Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française) as a staff writer in their Spanish-language service. The service was mostly staffed by exiled Spanish Republicans such as Bacarisse, and in Spain it was listened to clandestinely, becoming known as Radio París (Heine, 1998, pp. 183–184). Although Bacarisse never integrated into French musical life to the extent that Gerhard did in Britain, he occasionally accepted conducting engagements, built relationships with Spanish performers who from the early 1950s brought his music back to Spain (Moreda Rodríguez, 2015, pp. 57–82), and composed about three-quarters of his oeuvre while in exile, encompassing practically all genres (solo instrumental music, art song, chamber music, concertos, incidental music, opera, etc.) (Heine, 1993, p. 23). Bacarisse died in Paris in 1963, never having set foot in Spain again.

Bacarisse's radio work is more homogeneous than Gerhard's, comprising mostly radio operas, as follows:

[Insert Table 2 here]

Table 2

My discussion of Bacarisse's and Gerhard's work for the radio will focus mainly on the role of state broadcasters as *national* institutions and the role of the exiles within such institutions, including issues of assimilation or resistance to assimilation. The study of musical institutions (understood as political, social, and/or religious structures which impact on the production, performance, and consumption of music) has been a staple of musicological research for decades now. Studying music history from the point of view of institutions can indeed challenge grand historiographical narratives in significant ways (Mantere and Kurkela, 2016, p. 9). This can happen, for example, through bringing to the forefront aspects of musical life that had been paid little attention previously, such as music education, the music profession or musical transmission. Another way in which the study of musical institutions can challenge narratives is by drawing attention to the workings of ideologies disseminated or perpetuated by such institutions under more or less close control from the state (Mantere and Kurkela, 2016, p. 8), but also by highlighting how musicians, in some contexts, were able to organize themselves through such institutions (Rodmell, 2012, p. 8), thus furthering consolidating, in some cases, narratives of the nation-state. Key here is the issue of individual agency and creativity versus institutional frameworks and pressures.

In the field of Spanish music, however, and particularly music under Francoism, the study of musical institutions has been less important.⁸ As far as the exiles are concerned, their involvement with musical institutions in their host countries (conservatoires, universities, etc.) is generally known and acknowledged in the literature, but there has not

been much specific interest in institutions *qua* national institutions and the questions opened up by the presence of the exiles. Within the main lines sketched by the study of musical institutions elsewhere, some key questions in the Spanish context are: how do musical institutions shape musical life and musical thinking in ways which are intrinsically connected to understandings of national identity, and how do they promote the idea of the nation as a spatial and temporal unit? To what extent did these institutions welcome and integrate the exiles? What did the exiles contribute to such institutions? Did they problematise or put at risk understandings of national identity? Did they facilitate communication between equivalent institutions in different countries?

As far as public broadcasters are concerned, they too communicate ideas and expectations about music in different ways in their policies and practices of dissemination, composition, use, and manipulation of music: art versus traditional/popular music; national versus non-national; serious versus entertainment; incidental versus entertainment music. It is indeed significant that Hugh Davies' *International Electronic Music Catalog* (1968) is organised by country, with émigrés such as Roberto Gerhard appearing under the rubric of their host and not their home country. Composers were dependent on access to facilities whose availability and nature could vary greatly from country to country, being mostly made available at this time by public institutions. In addition to the above-mentioned questions about institutions more generally, radio stations open up new avenues of enquiry: how did the exiles' understanding of their own national identity and of categorisations of music change in response to both the politics of the radio broadcasters and the pressures of the radio medium, and how did they influence the broadcasters in turn?

To the above questions, Bacarisse's and Gerhard's careers provide rather different responses. Whereas Gerhard's story emphasises the opportunities presented by exile, followed by assimilation into the institutions of the host country, Bacarisse's career speaks of

continuity with his past engagements with radio in Spain, and resistance or inability to fully integrate into the institutions of his host country.

Roberto Gerhard

From its foundation in 1922, the BBC was aware of the need to both promote new, avant-garde music and to cater to widespread tastes as a taxpayer-funded radio station – but the balance was often a difficult one to achieve (Niebur, 2010, p. 6), as illustrated by different examples throughout its history. The BBC disseminated the music of the Second Viennese School from as early as the 1920s, but still had to face long-term criticism for being anti-Schoenberg (Doctor, 1999, pp. 31, 37). The Radiophonic Workshop faced similar tensions: it was primarily born out of the need to provide sound effects to the Features programme, but this fact was not an obstacle for the workshop to host and encourage more experimental kinds of music-making (Niebur 2010, p. 36). At one level, Gerhard's involvement with the BBC can be regarded as a success story in fulfilling both roles in a balanced way. Gerhard's first collaborations with the BBC (*The heritage of Spain* in 1952–54 and, as part of this long-term project, *El barberillo de Lavapiés* in 1954) reflect the BBC's aims of catering to a wide audience, and his initial involvement with the BBC Radiophonic Workshop also came in the form of incidental music and sound effects for *Asylum diary* (1959). It was only after Gerhard established connections with the BBC thanks to these jobs that he was able to obtain support for his concert works – and in fact both his second (1959) and third symphony were BBC commissions.

Nevertheless, this success story in assimilation hides considerable renegotiation of national identity and of Gerhard's position as an outsider in the BBC and in Britain. It is this outsider position that facilitated to a great extent Gerhard's initial collaborations with the

BBC: as was the case with many people living in a country other than their own, Gerhard quickly came to be regarded as knowing about, and having an opinion on, any matter pertaining to Spain, whether this is backed up by expertise or not. Gerhard's first significant project for the BBC, selecting and arranging recordings of the music for *The heritage of Spain*, came his way (and eventually helped him build a relationship with the broadcaster) because he was Spanish and a musician, but he did not have in-depth knowledge of much of the music he was commissioned to select. For example, he did not have any substantial experience with zarzuela, and when corresponding with his friends in Barcelona José María Lamaña and Ricardo Gomis about the preparations for *The heritage of Spain* he more than once revealed that he was not well-versed in the music on which the programme focused. Instead, he suggested enrolling the expertise of his friends Joaquim Homs and Higiní Anglés (Gerhard 1952a, 1952b, 1952c). Here was not the first instance in which Gerhard was assumed to know about certain musics by virtue of being Spanish: his flamenco-inspired ballets of the 1940s, *Alegrías* (1942) and *Flamenco* (1943) fall in the same category: in *Primitive folk music of Spain* Gerhard admitted that he was 'not exactly a flamenco fan' and explained that 'its sheer exhibitionistic excitement pours rather quickly on me'.

Gerhard's lack of knowledge of or interest in some of the musics he used as the basis for his commissions has sometimes been used as proof that such commissions were accepted by Gerhard purely for commercial reasons and do not therefore reflect his own creative personality, which is best seen in his serialist, non-commercial works. This view appears in Marco (1970a, 1970b), and has survived to our days in some scholarship (MacDonald 2013; Sánchez de Andrés, 2013, p. 99). It is based, however, on the unfounded dichotomy that Spain's advance toward modernity should necessarily imply abandoning all obvious nationalistic or referential traits, and also focuses on concert rather than incidental music (or any other music suspected of commercialism). Gerhard's works, writings and other

utterances during his exile suggest that his understanding of national identity and of the divide between absolute versus incidental music was complex and multifarious, and evolved throughout the years in response to the creative and commercial challenges posed by commissions, and also by his own personal life and evolution. Samuel Llano (2011; 2013) and Julian White (2013) analyse how Gerhard used both Catalan and Spanish traditional music in a variety of his works, focusing not on simplistic oppositions of Catalan and Spanish identity and their expression in music, but rather on the multiple layers and voices embodied in Gerhard's work. Gerhard also saw no conflict between being a student of Schoenberg and being part of the Hispanic-Catalan musical tradition starting with Pedrell (Gerhard, 1945).

Gerhard's ideas about incidental versus absolute music also evolved over time, partly because of his involvement with the BBC and other institutions: in a letter written in 1967, he admitted to having struggled with the need to write both in order to make a living, but he claimed that, in fifty years, people would focus on what unites rather than on what separates them (García-Karman, 2013, pp. 309–310). Some of Gerhard's works for the BBC cannot be dismissed as *merely* incidental music in that they challenge the boundaries between incidental and absolute music, with *Lament for the death of a bullfighter* (1959) being perhaps the clearest example. The work was originally intended as a musical setting of Federico García Lorca's poem 'Llanto por la muerte de Ignacio Sánchez Mejías', and the fact that Gerhard was commissioned for this project seems to confirm that the BBC had him typecast as a Spanish composer. Nevertheless, the music, far from being secondary to the text, takes on a life of its own— and yet it could not be understood without Gerhard's past involvement writing incidental music for the BBC, or with the status he achieved in Britain as an alleged expert in Spanish music by virtue of his place of origin.

Salvador Bacarisse

Seen from outside, Salvador Bacarisse's trajectory at Radio France can be regarded as one of failed assimilation: even though Bacarisse built a modest body of radio work while there, there is no evidence that he was in touch with, or even knew about, the individuals or groups typically associated with the most progressive musical developments to come out of Radio France, such as Pierre Schaeffer and the Groupe de Recherches Musicales. Moreover, his staff writer job was not a high-status one, and he had far less control over artistic and managerial decisions than he had had as musical director of Unión Radio (Heine, 1998, pp. 49–50).

Nevertheless, as is the case with Gerhard, this simplification hides negotiations regarding Bacarisse's understanding of the radio medium and its national role and also, as is the case with Gerhard, his national identity. I will first start with Bacarisse's way of understanding radio as a medium, which starts long before his exile, as musical director of Unión Radio from 1923 – a privately-owned radio station, which became hegemonic in Spain during Miguel Primo de Rivera's dictatorship (1923–30) through absorbing various local radio stations (Aubert, 2005, p. 527; Bustamante, 2013, p. 82). Unión Radio had its own orchestra (which Bacarisse sometimes conducted) and a sextet, and it also established partnerships with Madrid's Orquesta Sinfónica and Orquesta Filarmónica to broadcast some of their concerts. The musical programming of Unión Radio showed three distinct, if overlapping, strands, focusing on the dissemination of the Western music canon, the Spanish nationalist canon (Albéniz, Granados, Falla, Turina, Esplá) and the Grupo de los Ocho's music (including Bacarisse). Bacarisse's efforts were thus focused primarily on the radio's potential to disseminate and/or shape a canon, rather than on using it as a stimulus or means for musical composition, as confirmed by his interview with Virgilio de la Pascua (1930, p. 3). Neither Bacarisse nor Unión Radio gave consideration to the influence of radio as a medium on the composition of music, which contrasts with their efforts to pioneer a genre of

radiophonic theatre which truly engaged with the particularities of the medium (Herrero, 1999, p. 558).

It was not until Bacarisse's arrival at Radio France that he engaged with the composition of music for radio, rather than seeing the radio simply a means for its dissemination. It is significant in this regard that Bacarisse's radio projects were eminently collaborative and borne out of a network of different types of collaborations and associations made possible by Bacarisse's status as an employee of Radio París. Here I use the phrase 'made possible' deliberately, rather than opting for 'encouraged' or 'facilitated', since such projects were not necessarily driven by Radio France's policies and priorities, but rather by the fact that Radio París – haphazardly rather than by design – provided a meeting point for Spanish exiles and Hispanists. Bacarisse met and developed working relationships with his librettists André Camp (a Hispanist, translator of Spanish and Bacarisse's boss), Ezequiel Endériz (an exiled journalist) and Francisco Puig Espert. The station was also the cradle of other collaborative pursuits not intended for the radio as a medium, such as the puppet play *El retablo de la libertad de Melisendra* (1960), performed at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées under the direction of exiled journalists Julián Antonio Ramírez and Adela del Campo with music by Bacarisse. Radio París also originated a number of other collaborations in which Bacarisse did not take part (Ramírez, 2003, p. 397). Collaborative initiatives, which have typically received little scholarly attention as such in the historiography of music in the Spanish Republican exile,⁹ were indeed common and were often a response of the exilic community to the perceived or effective rigidity of the artistic institutions of the host country, and research into them (which must be, by definition, interdisciplinary too) can help problematise the role of national institutions, the boundaries of such institutions, and the way in which the exiles existed to an extent both within and without such boundaries.

As far national identity is concerned, as is the case with Gerhard, Bacarisse's music

for Radio París gravitated toward Spanish themes. Within the context of the narratives of progress in Spanish music, this fact has often been regarded negatively. Marco does not even mention Bacarisse in *Música española de vanguardia*, and in *La música de la España contemporánea* he refers to Bacarisse in negative terms, as one of the émigrés who ‘went into exile and got stuck’ (Marco, 1970a, p. 11). He also seems to be alluding to Bacarisse when he writes, ‘Whereas Rodolfo Halffter’s and Julián Bautista’s oeuvre was not negatively impacted by their living outside Spain, the same cannot be said of other composers’ (p. 34). The implication is that Bacarisse turned to a more conservative and nationalist style because he felt nostalgic and disconnected from Spain and which paradoxically left him disconnected from the main push of Spanish music toward modernity, which involved abandoning all obvious nationalist traits. Whereas Gerhard’s forays into Spanish musical nationalism are attributed univocally to commercialism, in the case of Bacarisse it is nostalgia; in neither case are the issues further problematised.¹⁰

Bacarisse’s own writings and utterances during exile paint a more complex picture: that of a composer aware of and proficient in various musical styles, and one whose understanding of his own Spanish identity evolved with time. It is not the case that he developed an interest in Spanish traditional music and culture only after he went into exile and was encouraged or forced to do so by his status as a foreigner working for his host country’s state broadcaster – indeed, in an interview with Radio France in the early 1960s (Bacarisse 1988), he pointed out continuities rather than disruptions between his pre- and post-1939 works in this respect. In the same interview, he admitted that completing his opera *Toreros* (1942), one of his first works in exile and an obvious example of a turn toward Spanish nationalism, was a struggle, because he found it hard to understand the characters; he solved the dilemma by casting an ironic look on them.

Conclusion

Under the light of the two case studies discussed above, I make four suggestions toward a historiography of twentieth-century music which is sensitive toward the diversity of, and the contradictions inherent within, the exiles' trajectories and does not rely on the notion of a nation as a spatial and temporal unity advancing hegemonically toward modernity. I do not believe that the categories of national identity and progression toward modernity should be completely set aside (because, as the above-mentioned examples illustrate in the case of national identity, such categories were relevant to the composers and musicians in question), but it is crucial to take a nuanced approach toward them and acknowledge the multiplicity of ways in which they have been understood. My suggestions are borne of my discussion about music and radio, but they are more broadly applicable.

(1) The exiles' involvement with radio broadcasters, as with other national institutions, should force us to abandon the dichotomy between assimilation and resistance to the influences of the new milieu and instead acknowledge such terms as a continuum. Doing so requires, in turn, abandoning the notion of the nation as a spatial and temporal unit, and instead integrating contrasting understandings and narratives of the nation. Some of these understandings and narratives will be exemplified by the institutions themselves: they are not to be understood as unequivocally enforcing certain policies or notions of national identity, but rather as being subjected to complex dynamics of negotiation and change, of which the exiles (alongside other employees and collaborators) were a part. Particularly interesting here is the fact that, whereas Radio France's influence on Bacarisse mostly took the form of providing a meeting point with others for the development of projects that were partly outside the aims and scope of the station, Gerhard engaged with the BBC's policies and priorities more thoroughly and seemingly in a very systematic way, even in cases where it did not conform to his personal creative outlook, as is the case with flamenco.

(2) The historiography of Spanish music must accommodate the fact that collaboration was a significant part of many exiles' careers; as Bacarisse's example demonstrates, the nature of radio broadcasters can foster such collaborations, although radio is not the only context in which they happen. In Bacarisse's and other cases, it is also relevant to consider the extent to which the collaboration came about or was shaped by institutional dynamics and pressures. Historiography must also develop strategies for making sense of such collaborations which do not rely on the concert/incidental music dichotomy.

(3) Notions of commercialism need to be revisited to account fully for the role of creative decision-making in so-called commercial or utilitarian music. Expressions of national identity in such music also need to be carefully studied and contextualized as part of the exiles' constant renegotiation of their national identity, as opposed to being dismissed simply as 'selling out'.

(4) Notions of concert versus incidental music need to be interrogated as well – not simply in terms of how we classify and write about the music of the exiles as 'concert' versus 'incidental': we also need to ascertain how the composers themselves, as well as the institutions they inserted themselves into, conceived of this divide, and also analyse critically how embedded the concert/incidental divide is in our own attempts at recovering the lives and music of exiled composers. Indeed, such attempts normally involve concerts and recordings; these are indeed seen as the obvious, natural way to recover the music of the exiles and have been hardly subjected to critique. It is clear that this system works well for, say, a concerto, a symphony or a piano piece, but not so much for radio work. The lack of debate around such issues shows that, to some extent, we are still captive to some of the historiographical and critical paradigms first developed under Francoism, even when we try to give a voice to its victims.

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Notes on Contributor

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¹ For example, Fernando Remacha and Evaristo Fernández Blanco. Both have frequently been labelled as ‘internal exiles’ in the literature; I will not embark here on a discussion of the merits of the concept of ‘internal exile’, which I consider problematic.

² Governing bodies of the Spanish provinces that tend to have as one of their main functions promoting research into, and dissemination of, the history and culture of the province.

³ See, for example, the prologue of Salvador Bacarisse Cuadrado (the son of composer Salvador Bacarisse) to Heine, 1990, p. 5-6; or the introduction of the then-Minister for Culture, Javier Solana, to the catalogue of the exhibition *La música en la Generación del 27* (Casares, 1986, p. 11).

⁴ For example, Enrique Casal Chapí, artistic director and conductor of the orchestra of the Uruguay National Radio; Manuel Lazareno, who wrote incidental music for Spanish-themed plays at the BBC in the late 1940s and early 1950s, as well as being a presenter for the Latin American service. Those who left Spain at a later stage in the Franco dictatorship (i.e. not as a direct consequence of the Civil War) include José Luis de Delás, who was music director at the WDR in Cologne from 1960, and Narcís Bonet, who wrote music for Radio France.

⁵ Several other exiles are mentioned, many of whom were more politically visible in exile than Gerhard (Rodolfo Halffter, Bacarisse himself), and thus it seems unlikely that Sopena excluded him purely for political reasons. Possible reasons include that the book was centred around Madrid rather than Catalonia, and, with Gerhard just becoming prominent internationally when Sopena was writing the book, it might be that Sopena had not heard about Gerhard or did not have sufficient information on his endeavours both before and during exile.

⁶ *Desarrollismo* refers to a period of intense economic growth and industrial development in Spain fuelled by three *planes de desarrollo* (development plans) implemented by the government from 1964–75.

⁷ Initially, the Junta included both younger, more progressive musicians connected to the Grupo de los Ocho (Bacarisse, Adolfo Salazar, Óscar Esplá) and older, more established figures (Manuel de Falla, Joaquín Turina, Amadeo Vives), but the former ended up deciding on most of the Junta’s policies. The Junta’s attempts at renovating Spanish musical life met with protests from both right-wing (Víctor Ruiz Albéniz) and left-wing (José Subirá) critics, focusing mostly on the Junta’s unwillingness to enter into a dialogue with individuals and organisations from all sectors of the music industry.

⁸ An exception, focusing on the Conservatoire of Madrid in early Francoism, is Contreras Zubillaga (2009).

⁹ An exception is Nigel Dennis’s article on the dance company La paloma azul, involving Rodolfo Halffter and José Bergamín (Dennis, 2011).

¹⁰ Balibrea (2012, p. 95) has warned of the dangers of using nostalgia as a category to explain very diverse examples of exiled writers writing about the past, such as Rosa Chacel’s *Memorias de Leticia Valle*, Max Aub’s *El laberinto mágico*, and Arturo Barea’s *La forja de un rebelde*.

