
This is the **accepted version** of the book part:

Gan Quesada, Germán; Pérez Zalduondo, Gemma. «From the Francoist Dictatorship to the Present». *The Cambridge History of Music in Spain*, 2026, p. 528-568 DOI 10.1017/9781108663335.014

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From the Francoist Dictatorship to the Present

Germán Gan-Quesada and Gemma Pérez-Zalduondo

The Spanish Civil War, triggered by the *coup d'état* of July 1936, was the most traumatic event in the country's contemporary history. It marked the beginning of the Francoist dictatorship, which lasted until Franco's death in 1975, and was followed by a period of transition to democracy, marred by tensions and threats of regression, which ended with the victory of the Partido Socialista Obrero Español, PSOE (Socialist Party) in the general elections of October 1982. The consolidation of the democratic system resulted in the articulation of a strongly decentralised state that was progressively incorporated into the international community over the following decades. Although there is no full agreement on the periodisation of these stages in Spain, the headings into which this chapter is divided follow the different stages in the timeline of the dictatorship, widely accepted by current historiography, the milestone of the establishment of the new political system, and the impact of the 2008 international economic crisis.

Beyond a mere chronological framework, this chapter revolves around a second, twofold axis, since it combines thematic and methodological criteria, which are strongly intertwined. The history of music during Franco's regime has been the subject of great interest in musicology since the 1990s. This interest was driven by a wealth of historical studies, the processes of revising the nationalist musical discourses constructed up to 1975, and the contributions made by new currents in the discipline. The analysis of the uses of music and musical activities during the Spanish Civil War and reflections on music making during the democratic transition, however, are, with a few exceptions, fields of study that have only been explored much more recently. Today, Spanish music of the twentieth and early twenty-first century is the subject of great interest for scholars, who have used a wide variety of sources, intellectual and theoretical frameworks, as well as diverse methodologies in their studies. Nevertheless, the state of music in Spain prior to 1982 still offers many opportunities for research and holds an imperative contemporary dimension, since the collective memory and the historical interpretation of such processes have often conditioned – and still condition – the socio-political processes of democratic Spain.

The thematic content and discursive focus of the first part of the chapter thus corresponds to this diversity of objectives, methodologies, and interests on which the narrative is built, as well as our own contributions to its study. Contrastively, research into composition in Spain

and its socio-cultural and administrative context after 1982 is much more limited in academic terms. Therefore, the challenge of synthesising the fundamental elements of the period has been approached from a perspective that, while incorporating the contributions of participants, also aims to adopt a different and complementary point of view: that of the critical observers who are also participants in the processes they choose and includes in their narrative construction with the intention of offering them for shared discussion, as part of an increasingly complex and globalised society and in a changing environment of new socio-political and cultural challenges, aesthetic reflections, and creative currents.

13.1 Musical Life during the Civil War: The Sounds of the Insurrection

The constitution of Franco's first regular government in 1938, in the height of the Civil War, brought with it the institutionalisation of the musical policies of the rebels, which, in a rather disorderly fashion, had been applied since the beginning of the conflict. The factors that determined music's uses and functions until the end of the war were its use for propaganda and the process of constructing a new Spanish identity based on the ideologies of the different movements that had led to the *coup d'état* in July 1936. Music functioned as a fundamental agent in the transformation of meanings of cultural practices on the fronts and in the rear-guard, and, consequently, the ways of interpreting the new reality. But at the same time, music practices and consumption – live or via the radio – were crucial for the survival of the population during the three years of war, in their processes of adaptation, resistance, and mourning.

As part of this propaganda, the importance of music was evident in the strategies the occupying forces put into place after the army's occupation of the cities. As filmmaker and writer Edgar Neville, who was responsible for preparing the celebrations after the capture of Madrid, pointed out, musical activities had to suggest not only the joy of having overcome the Republican 'chaos', but also the link between Francoism and a 'new normality' characterised by 'peace' and 'order'. In the same vein, the press reported on the range of shows performed and music critics wrote texts in which the concerts and recitals organised were viewed as symbols of a renaissance, of the first stage of the 'true Spain' that the rebel army had made possible.

The continuous festivities that marked the calendar of Franco's Spain to celebrate acts of commemoration and homage also incorporated a lot of music. Private and governmental organisations and those of Falange Española de las JONS, the Spanish totalitarian party – Auxilio Social, Sección Femenina – organised concerts and other events for charitable

purposes. These were statements and displays of authority that appropriated public and private spaces, which they filled with visual elements – historical, religious, and civil symbols, ephemeral architecture – and sound. It is not hard to detect links with Nazi celebrations in them, such as their scale and monumentality, or the use of bonfires in open-air celebrations. Silence, the sounds of marches and parades, prayers, and various musical repertoires – particularly hymns, but also religious, folk, and Central European Romantic – created soundscapes that provided solemnity and emotion. In this way, music was used for the entrenchment of power and the deterrence of resistance.

The profusion of philharmonic activities linked to wartime culture and their presence in the press created the impression that musical life continued uninterrupted. These activities were carried out by ensembles and musicians whose performances charted tours and circuits through the cities under Franco's occupation (Pérez-Zalduondo, 2022, pp. 120–8). For example, pianist José Cubiles, head of the Press and Propaganda Music Section, toured 'national' Spain, both as a soloist and as leader of the Orquesta Bética de Cámara. This ensemble regularly performed in Seville and occasionally in other parts of the Peninsula, where Cubiles and poet Gerardo Diego gave recitals in the format of a conference-concert (Figure 13.1). Guitarist Regino Sainz de la Maza and bandurria player Antonio Sáenz Ferrer are examples of performers who put their trade at the service of propaganda, and tenor Miguel Fleta also travelled around the different territories under Franco's rule until his death in May 1938. For his part, the correspondence and movements of composer, folklorist, and musicologist Nemesio Otaño, who was responsible for music policies during this period, suggest the existence of a more active circuit in the north than in the south of the country. In his activity as a propagandist, he played a stellar role in the dissemination of hymns and of historical and modern military music, for which he had the support of the Orquesta Patriótica de Zaragoza, among other groups. The press advertisements for these circuits included discourses that used epic terms to construct mythical images of the performers, who were considered heroes at the service of the 'new Spain'.

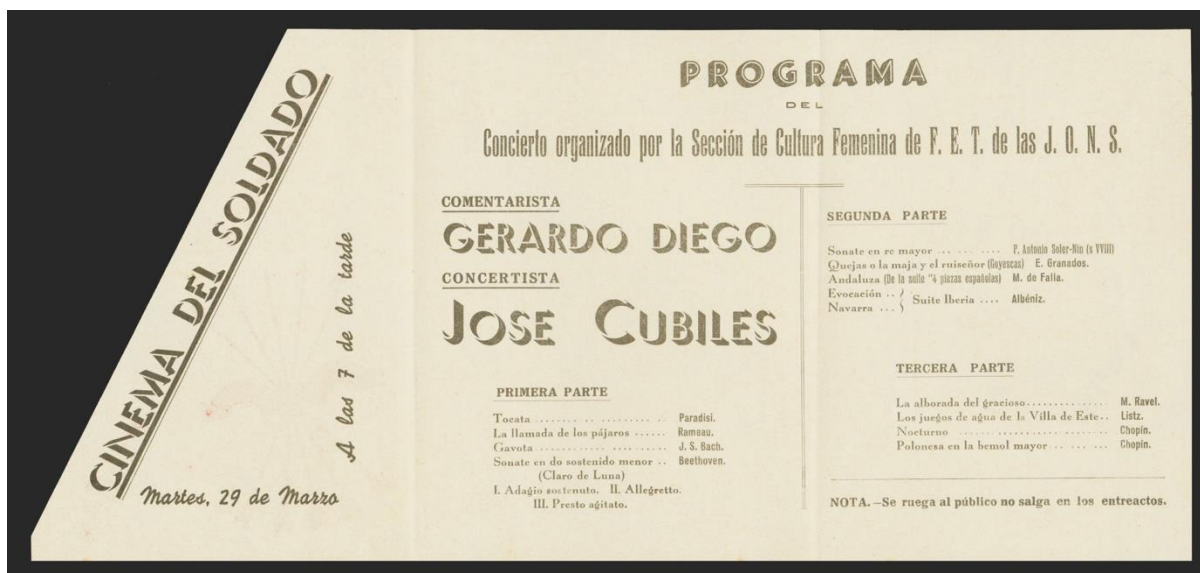
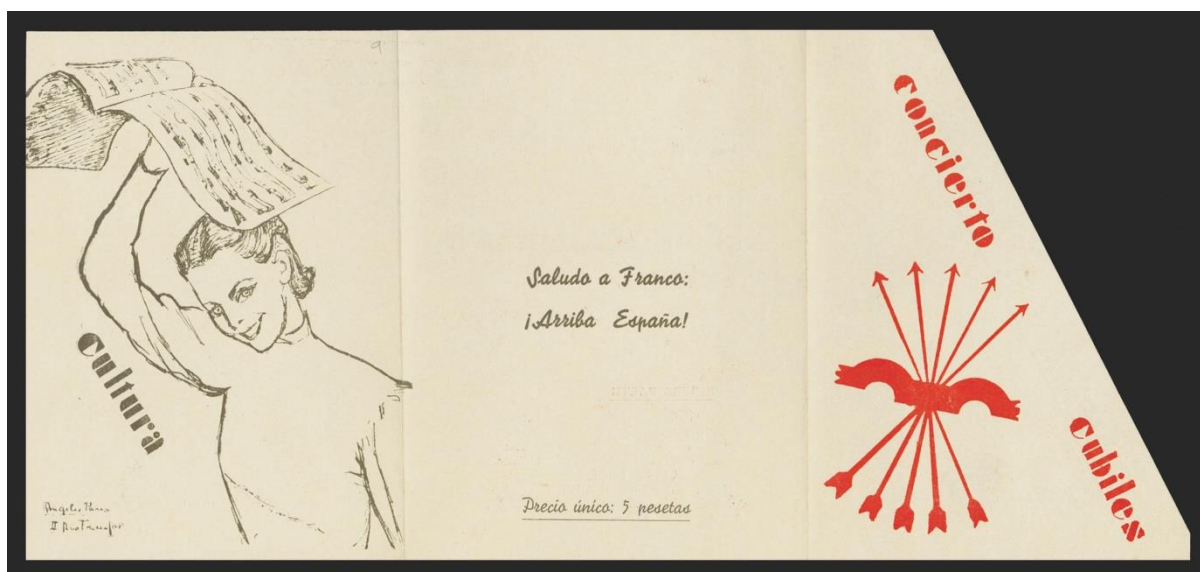


Figure 13.1 Programme for the conference-concert offered by José Cubiles and Gerardo Diego (Santander, 29 March 1938), organised by the Sección de Cultura Femenina of Falange Española de las JONS in Santander [E-GRmf FN 1938-009]. Courtesy by Archivo Manuel de Falla.

Music also played a leading role in some of the Falange's propaganda strategies from the very beginning of the war and in an extensive way. Such strategy was, on the one hand, the inclusion of pre-existing instrumental and choral groups into its organisation, which incorporated the name of the party into their own names. On the other hand, the press repeatedly and systematically used the national and international prestige of composers and performers, signalling their support, real or otherwise, for the uprising. Thus, Manuel de Falla was under constant pressure to declare his support for the *coup d'état* and to take the lead in its cultural institutions. But this was not the only case: The documentary sources of the Department of Press and Propaganda and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as the press campaigns surrounding the foreign declarations of guitarist Andrés Segovia and pianist and orchestral

conductor José Iturbi, demonstrate the importance that Franco's government attached to the political position and public statements of these performers, who enjoyed great international prestige. This strategy of appropriation extended to specific repertoires and even specific instruments, particularly those of a popular nature such as the bandurria or the accordion, which came to take on an ideological significance of their own.

Another of the Falange's propagandistic initiatives was the organisation of companies specialising in the theatre of the Spanish Golden Age (the imperial period) and the performance of *autos sacramentales*, essential elements of Spanish culture with a considerable popular dimension. This project, which was linked to pre-war cultural practices and with the cultural policy of the Republican side itself, involved the use of Spanish historical repertoire, together with the commissioning of newly created works by composers such as Fernando Moraleda, Manuel Parada, and Ángel Martín Pompey – all of them with successful careers after the war –, who provided the decisive musical dimension that such proposals had included since their origins.

The substantial output of hymns and war songs – the aspect most frequently mentioned in historiographical studies – was fully incorporated into the soundscape of cities and towns, as they contributed to mobilising the population, emphasising the sense of patriotism, imbuing events with expressive force, and increasing the epic nature of the entire Falange's symbolic apparatus. Their collective performance was intended to help form a sense of unity, the central concept of the totalitarian party's ideological apparatus, and, in fact, they continued to be compulsory in schools for decades. For their part, brass bands held a special place in all front and rear-guard areas and at events of various kinds, including religious celebrations and popular festivals (Figure 13.2).



Figure 13.2 Banda de Música del Cuartel General de la Milicia Nacional (Bilbao, August 1938) [Spain, Ministry of Defence, AGMAV, F.409,28].

As well as for helping to persuade with the tasks of ideologisation, music was essential for entertaining and distracting soldiers and civilians. Consequently, the most commonly performed musical genres were the most important ones in pre-war consumer habits. Zarzuela and related genres – particularly those by Federico Moreno Torroba and Jacinto Guerrero on the ‘national’ side – were an essential part, acting as veritable unifying agents of musical practices in Spain. Folklore, grounded in traditional dances and songs from all parts of Spain with a strong sense of identity – and which had already been the source of Spanish musical nationalism –, was also appropriated by the rebels, becoming a symbol of the ‘new’ nation. In turn, urban popular music – pasodobles, *chotis*, *zambras*, *farrucas*, and *bulerías* – seems to have been closer to the moral and ideological tenets of the new state than to the Republican sphere, and coexisted with the charleston, swing, and tap dance, as well as with the musical contents of American and Spanish cinema (Alonso González, 2014, p. 453). Nevertheless, classical music was undoubtedly the dominant force in particularly symbolic events: For example, at a concert held in September 1938 at the Teatro Victoria Eugenia in San Sebastián, with Franco’s wife in attendance, well-known works by Beethoven, Franck, Rimsky-Korsakov, Wagner, and Albéniz, were performed. Established orchestras, such as the Orquesta Bética de

Cámara in Seville, did not modify their repertoires and the programs of the ensembles that became part of the ranks of the Falange were filled with zarzuela repertoire, the most widespread during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Spain.

Finally, it is important to consider that radio broadcasts were an essential part of the consumption of music during the war. The music programming of the new radio stations became increasingly important as the process of acquiring records progressed – most of them featuring Classical and Romantic repertoire – and, in certain cases, even allowed for the viability and maintenance of bands for live performances of music.

Studies about the Civil War have highlighted the importance of local analyses that provide a comparative view of the two sides. In the case of the rebels, it is likely that the official homogenisation that came from the instructions generally issued by the central powers coexisted with the special circumstances of the war, the specific distribution of political forces in each municipality, and the importance of particular traditions and histories, especially considering the plurality and variety characterising the country.

If the Spanish Civil War is considered the beginning of the Franco dictatorship, it should be noted that it was a period in which there were frequent power struggles. It was also the start of professional and institutional relationships that materialised after the war and shaped music policies in the years that followed. In this context, it is important to consider the conflictive co-existence between Falangist José Cubiles and Jesuit Nemesio Otaño in the governmental organisation chart during the war – a situation that extended into the post-war period –, as it represents both the alliance between the totalitarian party and the Church in the uprising and the tensions that arose between the two institutions to monopolise the pre-eminence of the symbolic apparatus. Cubiles' dedication to his role as a performer, which Otaño frequently noted in his correspondence, explains the absence of a specific plan for music in the new regime and his scant representation in official bodies during the war. On the contrary, the responsibilities entrusted to the Jesuit determined his leading role in the years to come, particularly from the moment when Manuel de Falla's reluctance to accept positions of responsibility left Otaño at the forefront of the musical scene.

Studies about music and the Civil War, as well as research into the relationship between music and propaganda, life at the front and rear-guard, or the history of mentalities, have increased musicological interest in the Spanish conflict. The relevance of these new research lines lies, moreover, in the fact that it was during this period that many of the fundamental axes along which the history of music during much of the Francoist regime was traced. Furthermore,

it should not be forgotten that this topic of debate extends to the present, since music holds a decisive place in memories, traumas, and representations of the Civil War, so prominent in the successive, changing, and sometimes contradictory policies of ‘historical memory’ implemented in recent years.

The day Radio Nacional broadcast the last war report read by Francisco Franco, on 1 April 1939, Manuel de Falla accepted an invitation to conduct concerts of his works in Buenos Aires (González Mesa, 2021, p. 360). As is well known, his departure was definitive, and the absence of the Spanish composer with the greatest international impact was coupled with that of many other artists and intellectuals. Apart from the celebrated composers and critics who took up exile,¹ there were those who remained silent – such as Catalan composer and teacher Manuel Borguñó –; were imprisoned – composer Arturo Dúo Vital was not released until 1939 – or were shot during the war – Anarchist pianist and activist Amparo Barayón, murdered in October 1936, and composer Antonio José, shot the same month –. Those who remained in Spain were forced to seek their own ways of adapting, which are still to be thoroughly researched, to enable them to exercise their profession in an environment rife with repression, the imposition of the victors’ ideology and an ironclad centralism.

13.2 Contemplating Spanish Music (I): 1938–1975

13.2.1 A Long Post-War Period (1938–1950)

The musical policies rehearsed during the war were extended after Franco’s victory. In fact, the major ceremonies and celebrations of 1939 were organised by the same government departments and the same people who were in charge. For example, it was father Nemesio Otaño who designed the music program for some of the most iconic ceremonial events, such as the transfer of the remains of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, founder of the Falange, to the monastery of El Escorial, the resting place of the Spanish monarchy. This was a decisive act in the symbolic construction of the Francoist regime and in the legitimisation of Franco as a leader. The political and symbolic use of music can be seen in the employment of Spanish chant and liturgy in the ceremony of the 1939 victory celebration, in which the Visigothic ritual for the anointing of the kings was recreated (Gutiérrez, 2020). The historical continuity of the present with the imperial past was also sought through tributes to Renaissance composers such as Tomás Luis de Victoria (1940) or figures such as Alfonso X ‘the Wise’ (1944) and Miguel

¹ Among the composers who were exiled stood Rodolfo Halffter, Robert Gerhard, and Salvador Bacarisse; among the critics, Adolfo Salazar, Otto Mayer-Serra, and Vicente Salas Viu.

de Cervantes (1947). The nationalist discourse was reformulated in accordance with National Catholicism and the totalitarianism of the victors through the incorporation and adaptation of slogans and the reinterpretation of history, through which the past was used to legitimise the present reality.

Like the lives of other citizens, the personal history of many composers and musicians during the early post-war period was marked by repression – violinist Eduardo Cánepa from Alicante was shot in 1941 – and by a process of purges and subsequent punishments of various kinds. These affected, for instance, composer Rafael Rodríguez Albert, exiled to Granada, where he remained until 1946 and continued his creative work, or Joaquim Homs, who was ‘transferred’ to Valencia. In both cases, and in other comparable ones, their reintegration into professional life and musical circuits, even official ones, took place at the end of the decade or at the beginning of the 1950s, in specific circumstances that require further study. In fact, even well-established composers such as Julio Gómez or Conrado del Campo did not fail to reflect the difficult situations they experienced after the purge processes to which they were subjected in their output (Contreras Zubillaga, 2009).

It was in this decade of 1940s that the first specifically musical institutions of the Francoist regime were formed, including the Agrupación Nacional de Música de Cámara (National Chamber Music Ensemble, 1940), the Cuarteto Clásico de Madrid (Classical String Quartet of Madrid, 1945) and, most notably, the Orquesta Nacional de España (Spanish National Orchestra, 1942) and the Orquesta Municipal de Barcelona (Barcelona City Orchestra, 1944), to a large extent the heirs to earlier ensembles such as the Republican Orquesta Nacional de Conciertos (National Concerts Orchestra) and the Orquesta Pau Casals. Despite the will of the victors to distance themselves from the Republican initiatives, the existence of a certain desire for institutional continuity is no less evident, as can be seen in certain activities formulated by the Comisaría General de la Música (General Commissariat of Music), the Consejo Nacional de la Música (National Music Council), and the Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular (Vice-secretary for Popular Education). This attitude is also clear in the interest music critics showed in problems carried over from the nineteenth century, such as the question of national opera, which critics such as Adolfo Salazar, then in exile, had already considered to have been settled years earlier.

Traditional songs and dances, revived or invented, became symbols of the Falangist identity, representations of the homeland and the Spanish people as a community, and manifestations of affective relations with the nation (Martínez del Fresno, 2012). The practice

of folklore was imposed on a large part of the female population, necessarily framed within the single party, and was widely used as a differentiating element in education and as a transmitter of the gender roles on which the regime was based. It should be noted, however, that neither the critical texts nor the policy of national composition prizes particularly fostered the use of folklore in composition, which was only expressly mentioned in the announcement of the 1940 Concurso Nacional de Música (National Music Competition).

Franco's excellent relations with the Axis powers during the Second World War meant that, until 1943, musical links with so-called 'friendly' countries were intense, particularly with Nazi Germany. The Berlin Philharmonic and the Berlin Chamber Orchestra visited various cities in Spain, and German opera companies and performers regularly appeared on the stage of the Gran Teatre del Liceu in Barcelona. Conversely, there were Spanish music festivals in the city of Bad-Elster, in which works considered representative of Spanish musical history and the present were performed by eminent Spanish performers, conductors, and music critics, such as Ataúlfo Argenta and Federico Sopena (Suárez-Pajares, 2013); it was precisely Argenta who was appointed to conduct the Orquesta de Cámara de Radio Nacional (National Radio Chamber Orchestra) in 1945. In the case of relations with the Portuguese government, over time the political and diplomatic dimension of reciprocal musical relations became one of the few channels for the circulation of Spanish musicians and repertoires after the Second World War (Contreras Zubillaga & Silva, 2013).

International isolation, the dictatorship's policies and poverty had a decisive impact on music life in Spain. The cultural work carried out by foreign institutes was essential in this context, not only for knowledge of modern international music, but also for the promotion of the outputs of young Spanish composers. The programs of the Instituto Italiano di Cultura, the Deutsches Kulturinstitut, and the headquarters of the British Institute in Madrid, directed by violinist Walter Starkie, allowed part of the public and the composers themselves to be exposed to contemporary European works. One such case was the Institut Français, with headquarters in Madrid and Barcelona; the Círculo Manuel de Falla was set up by a group of young people at the latter in 1947 as a tribute to – and in recognition of – the most innovative works by the composer from Cádiz – *El Retablo de Maese Pedro* and the *Concerto para clave y cinco instrumentos* –, who had just died in Argentina. Its varied program of concerts highlighted the works of the city's new composers, mostly rooted in a post-nationalist or neoclassical language, as well as new works from abroad (Alsina, 2005; Martín Nieva, 2019). In fact, from the late 1940s until well into the second stage of the Francoist dictatorship – which lasted from 1959 until 1975 –, it would be the collaboration between these institutes and other cultural entities –

ateneos, Círculos Medina de Sección Femenina de Falange, Juventudes Musicales (Jeunesses Musicales) from 1952 – that would cover the generalised inertia or apathy shown by the official institutions towards music. Despite the work of very important soloists and conductors – guitarist Regino Sainz de la Maza, pianist Leopoldo Querol, cellist Juan Ruiz Casaux, and conductors Eduard Toldrà and Bartolomé Pérez Casas, among others –, symphonic concerts in some cities such as Bilbao and Valencia, and the slow awakening of certain musical societies, it was not until the 1950s that any important initiatives aimed at activating music life could be seen. This was even the case in the traditional urban centres of Barcelona and Madrid, the latter favoured by the centralism of the regime and the presence of musical institutions and networks that made the capital a place of internal immigration or the preferred location for many Spanish post-war composers.

In regard to composition, the prevailing line was to follow the pre-war neoclassical trend, exemplified by Joaquín Rodrigo's *Concierto de Aranjuez* (1940), which achieved enormous international success. This style was also visible in other works from the period, such as Ernesto Halffter's *Rapsodia portuguesa* (1940), although sometimes with special nuances (*Cinco canciones negras* by Xavier Montsalvatge, 1945). While composers such as Joaquín Turina and Conrado del Campo continued to exploit resources already widely explored in their earlier outputs, others, such as Julio Gómez, often resorted to the use of historical references very much in keeping with the ideological slogans of the period. And although the critical discourses and musical essay writing of the decade often defended the incompatibility of avant-garde languages, particularly atonal and serial dodecaphonic languages, with the Spanish national identity, no documentation has been found to demonstrate any specific censorship activity regarding their adoption. In the absence of a more comprehensive and specific analysis of the Spanish art music repertoire of this decade, the stylistic conservatism of the works produced during these years, in addition to the scarce possibilities of access to more advanced proposals, seems to be attributable in part to decisions of convenience, alignment, or harmony with the ideological and cultural guidelines of the regime at that time.

To give just one significant example, this can be seen in the repertoire generated as a result of the many composition competitions and prizes organised by various political bodies and cultural institutions during this period. This was one of the few possibilities for obtaining immediate financial returns and, to a certain extent, of disseminating newly created works. Thus, in the successive calls of the Concurso Nacional de Música, there was a clear fluctuation between conservatism and moderate stylistic renovation in prize-winning compositions such as Manuel Palau's *Atardecer* (1945) or Jesús Guridi's String Quartet No. 2 (1949). This was

favoured by the composition of the juries and by the specific ideologically directed requirements of some competitions, such as the use of seventeenth-century Spanish poetic texts (1945) or homage to Manuel de Falla (1947).

13.2.2 Towards a relative 'Normalisation' (1951–1964)

The institutional control of art music, entrusted to the Catholic and monarchist groups of the regime from the outset, had been the responsibility of the Comisaría General de Música since 1940. This administrative authority survived throughout the Franco regime, under various names. Thus, ensembles such as the Orquesta Nacional de España, international music (and dance) festivals established in Granada and Santander in 1952 (Figure 13.3)² and the Delegación del Teatro Real (closed as an opera house in 1925, and not reopened until 1966, albeit for other purposes) were under its control. In contrast, the administration of 'popular musics', perceived as entertainment, was left to the Falange and, from 1952, to a new department that would prove to be decisive for musical life, particularly during the 1960s, the Ministry of Information and Tourism (MIT). This institution became responsible for censorship, control, and promoting of tourism, through mechanisms such as the creation of the circuit of Festivales de España (Festivals of Spain), programmed all over the territory for internal consumption and to promote the country beyond its borders.

² Such festivals had a precedent in the Quincena Musical Donostiarra (San Sebastián Musical Fortnight), inaugurated in 1939.



Figure 13.3 Poster announcing the II Festival Internacional de Música y Danza de Granada (1953). Author: A. Moscoso.

However, in a context of the deepening Cold War, the regime's eagerness to gain economic, social, and cultural recognition internationally culminated in Spain's entry into UNESCO in 1952 and into the United Nations in 1955. On the other hand, in 1951 within Spain, a 'liberal' minister, Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez, was put in charge of the Ministry of National Education, where he led a timid cultural liberalisation, aborted five years later. Despite its brief duration, this shift had a decisive impact on critical discourses and musical policies. Thus, critics' arguments were adapted to justify the inclusion of 'moderate' avant-garde works in concert repertoires, focusing on Bartók, Hindemith, and, particularly, Stravinsky, who visited Spain in 1955 and 1956, albeit privately on the last occasion (Gan-Quesada, 2014). In this context, the programs of associations like Juventudes Musicales, with headquarters in both Madrid and Barcelona prior to its national expansion, and of centres of music teaching,

particularly the Madrid Conservatoire,³ or broadcasts on the Second Programme of Radio Nacional de España, contributed to the dissemination of new works during the period. They did so through concerts and public performances, even though, from the point of view of international trends in music, their aesthetic stance had somehow already lost their sense of contemporaneity. In any case, knowledge of neoclassicism at the beginning of the 1950s was fundamental in the search for new creative models by a young generation of composers. These were born from 1925 onwards and, in the absence of a rigorous study of their early catalogues – often with unpublished or unlocated works –, drew their first modern references from this interwar avant-garde.

Other equally innovative programs stemmed from the impact of Spain's progressive international acceptance within the bloc policy of the period. Thus, the bilateral rapprochement with the United States, which was definitively strengthened with the election of Dwight Eisenhower as President in 1952 and substantiated in the signing of the Pact of Madrid in 1953, led to the establishment of American 'musical embassies' that formed part of the cultural ties between the two countries. At the same time, Francoist institutions promoted and gave coverage to jazz, a genre that was to help to show the outside world 'a modern and free country, capable of forming part of the system of international relations of the Cold War' (Iglesias, 2017, p. 193). Returning to the realm of art music, the reception of works pertaining to the Second Viennese School was very different – although more contemporary music could also be considered, such as that of Olivier Messiaen. Key milestones, such as the series dedicated to 'Arnold Schönberg and his school' (1953/54) at the home of Josep Bartomeu in Barcelona and the guided listening to contemporary music organised by Joaquim Homs at the heart of the elitist Club 49 in Barcelona during the 1950s, while still significant, exemplify the minority access certain circles had to this repertoire. The rest of the public only had rare and occasional chances to enjoy it until well into the 1960s and often with a drastic reduction in the diversity of the works programmed (Gan-Quesada, 2020).

For their part, as had occurred in the immediate post-war period, newspaper and specialised music critics in Madrid (Juana Espinós Orlando, Antonio Fernández-Cid, Dolores Palá Berdejo, Federico Sopena) and other cities (Xavier Montsalvatge in Barcelona, Norberto Almandoz in Seville) continued to view dodecaphonism as a symbol of dehumanised expressionism, opposed to the Stravinsky and Bartók models. The progressive dissemination

³ Between 1951 and 1956, the Madrid Conservatoire was directed by the influential manager, music critic, and priest Federico Sopena.

of contemporary music prompted very polarised debates in the daily press and cultural magazines (such as *La Estafeta literaria*, *Índice de las Artes y las Letras*, *Acento cultural*, and *Aulas*), in which even authors traditionally opposed to this situation nuanced their positions, losing their pre-eminent position to give way to younger voices.

It was, indeed, certain young composers and critics, such as Ramón Barce, Luis de Pablo, and Fernando Ruiz Coca, who, from 1956 onwards, defended the Viennese tradition and the post-war avant-garde techniques as the path towards a coherent musical evolution. The organisation of concerts, lectures, and courses relied on institutional frameworks such as the Ateneo de Madrid (González Lapuente, 2018), specific series such as ‘Tiempo y Música’ (Time and Music), linked to the Sindicato de Estudiantes Universitarios (SEU) (Figure 13.4), and ‘Música oberta’, hosted by Club 49, in Madrid and Barcelona, respectively, and on performers committed to contemporary music, such as pianists Manuel Carra and Pedro Espinosa and singer Anna Ricci. By the time some exiled composers began to return, whether sporadically or permanently in person – Gustavo Pittaluga and Jesús Bal y Gay, for example, in 1958 and 1965, respectively –, or even earlier and to varying degrees through their works – Salvador Bacarisse, Robert Gerhard, Rodolfo Halffter, and María Teresa Prieto –, the cutting edge of Spanish composition was no longer led by established composers and those who were still active, such as Guridi, Ernesto Halffter, Manuel Palau, and Rodrigo (Figure 13.5). It was led, in fact, by those responsible for the first dodecaphonic explorations – including Homs, *Polifonia per a instruments d’arc*, 1954; and Cristóbal Halffter, *Tres piezas para cuarteto de cuerda*, 1955) –, serialists – Luis de Pablo, *Radial*, 1960, and *Libro para el pianista*, 1961/62; C. Halffter, *5 microformas para orquesta*, 1959/60; or Gerardo Gombau, *Texturas y estructuras*, 1963 –, and those exploring graphic scores and aleatory music – such as Josep Maria Mestres Quadreny, *Quartet de Catroc*, 1962; and Carmelo A. Bernaola, *Superficie n. 3*, 1963 –.

QUINTETO op. 26, para quinteto de viento ... Arnold Schoenberg

- I. Schwungvoll.
- II. Amutig und heiter; scherzando.
- III. Etwas langsam.
- IV. Rondo.

El «Quinteto» op. 26 de Schoenberg es una de las obras capitales de la música del siglo actual. Esta importancia viene conferida por ser la primera obra amplia compuesta dentro de la técnica de los doce tonos. En obras anteriores, Schoenberg había usado esa técnica, pero siempre dentro de la pequeña forma o de manera tímida. Ahora, una vez constatada su importancia y posibilidades, se lanza a construir una obra de gran aliento. Para ello acepta, ampliándolas al máximo, las formas clásicas y en ellas vierte el contenido de su descubrimiento. No entremos ahora a discutir la procedencia o no de semejante manera de hacer, sino solamente subrayaremos la trascendencia del hecho. Hoy en día, después de casi cuarenta años de su estreno, el «Quinteto» op. 26 de Schoenberg es ya una obra clásica del dodecafonismo y de la música moderna en general.

5

CONCIERTO DE MARZO

Teatro María Guerrero.- DÍA 15 - 7 TARDE

Obras de Webern, Macchi Evangelisti, Maderna y Schoenberg.

Director: Daniele París.
Solista: Manuel Carra.

GERARDO RUIZ

NOTAS

CORAL op. 2, para septeto de viento ... Luis de Pablo

Compuesta esta obra entre el fin de 1957 y el principio de 1958, es el primer trabajo de serialización íntegra realizado por su autor. Duraciones y alturas se hallan regladas tanto en su aparición como en su orden, para componer un todo coherente. El procedimiento de transformación de las estructuras presenta dos aspectos antitéticos: tanto se hace por aumentación de valores como por invasión de silencios, en virtud de lo cual se crean dos esquemas antagónicos: una de duraciones largas y otra de breves, lográndose así una cierta sensación de estatismo. El uso de las tesituras, correspondiente a las estructuras antedichas, hace más perceptible este deseo de diferenciación.

SONATA op. 5, para flauta y piano ... Ramón Barce

Estreno de su segunda versión.

- I. Tiempo alegre.
- II. Planos.
- III. Coral.

La presente versión definitiva representa una transformación profunda de la obra, estrenada en 1960 en su primera versión. El primer movimiento está construido totalmente a partir de un elemento rítmico que se expone al comienzo en el piano. El segundo movimiento responde a una estructura muy transparente en la que los planos seriales van, por decirlo así, resbalando sobre sí mismos, ensanchándose y estrechándose sucesivamente. El tercer movimiento está basado en una amplificación por secciones de células temáticas. Los tres tiempos poseen una estrecha afinidad, procedente del elemento rítmico germinal que sirve de fundamento a toda la obra y que aparece al principio del primer tiempo.

La flexibilidad temporal de la Sonata no afecta a los bloques sonoros, sino tan sólo a la estructura interior de los formantes, que se transforman, por decirlo así, mientras a través de un fondo cristalino se percibe un pulso temporal absolutamente regular.

RAMON BARCE

Departamento Nacional de Actividades Culturales del
S. E. U.

II CONCIERTO DE TIEMPO Y MUSICA

TEATRO MARIA GUERRERO, 27 de febrero, 7 TARDE

I

CORAL, op. 2	Luis de Pablo
SONATA, op. 5	Ramón Barce
INTERPOLATION	Román Haubenstock-Ramati
STUDI	Renato De Grandis
ZWANZIG GRUPPEN	Bo Nilsson

II

QUINTETO op. 26 ... Arnold Schoenberg

INTERPRETES:

QUINTETO DE VIENTO DE MADRID

JUAN GARCIA AZCORDABETIA. Flauta.
JAUME SANSO. Oboe.
MAXIMO MUÑOZ. Clarinete.
FRANCISCO VIALCANET. Fagot.
FRANCISCO BURGUEA. Trompa.

CON LA COLABORACION DE

GERARDO COMBAU. Písmo.
JULIO MOLINA. Trompeta.
JULIO PEREZ MADURGA. Trombón.

BAJO LA DIRECCION DE GERARDO COMBAU

INTERPOLATION, para flauta sola ... Román Haubenstock-Ramati

Estreno en España.

Dentro de la teoría de las formas abiertas o móviles, la «Interpolation» ostenta un lugar singular. Su autor la subtitula «móvil para una, dos o tres flautas». Las realizaciones de la forma son realmente infinitas, dependiendo de la libre elección del intérprete, que va escogiendo a lo largo de la obra entre las posibilidades que el compositor le ofrece. Estas posibilidades, insertas todas en una única hoja, son múltiplemente combinables, pudiendo decirse que cada pentágrama está continuado por lo menos en dos caminos. Haubenstock-Ramati ocupa un cargo directivo en la sección de lectura de la Universal Edition.

STUDI, para flauta y piano ... Renato De Grandis

Estreno en España.

He aquí una obra también dentro de la formalística abierta. Aquí, sin embargo, las estructuras se ofrecen más regladas: cada una de ellas está completa en una página y es sólo el orden de éstas el que es variable a voluntad de los intérpretes. La obra, además, tiene una duración prevista, lo que impide la repetición «ad libitum» que aniquilaría la idea de transformación constante, querida por su autor. Renato De Grandis es, además de compositor, uno de los críticos más sagaces de la actual generación de la vanguardia musical italiana.

ZWANZIG GRUPPEN, para trío de viento ... Bo Nilsson

Estreno en España.

De entre la joven generación sueca, el nombre de Bo Nilsson es el que más relevancia ha adquirido. Fué llamado «el milagro sueco», dada su extrema juventud (nació en 1935) y la celeridad con que supo buscarse un medio propio de expresión dentro de la formalística contemporánea. Sus «Zwanzig Gruppen» o «Veinte grupos» se insertan también dentro de la forma abierta, aunque aquí las posibilidades de combinación se aumentan de forma vertiginosa, dado que son tres instrumentos los utilizados. Cada uno de ellos cuenta con veinte grupos que se ejecutan en el orden que se desea. Su superposición va creando la forma de la obra, siempre variable, pero siempre compuesta de los mismos elementos.

Figure 13.4 Programme for the second concert of the cycle 'Tiempo y Música' (Madrid, 27 February 1960) [particular collection].

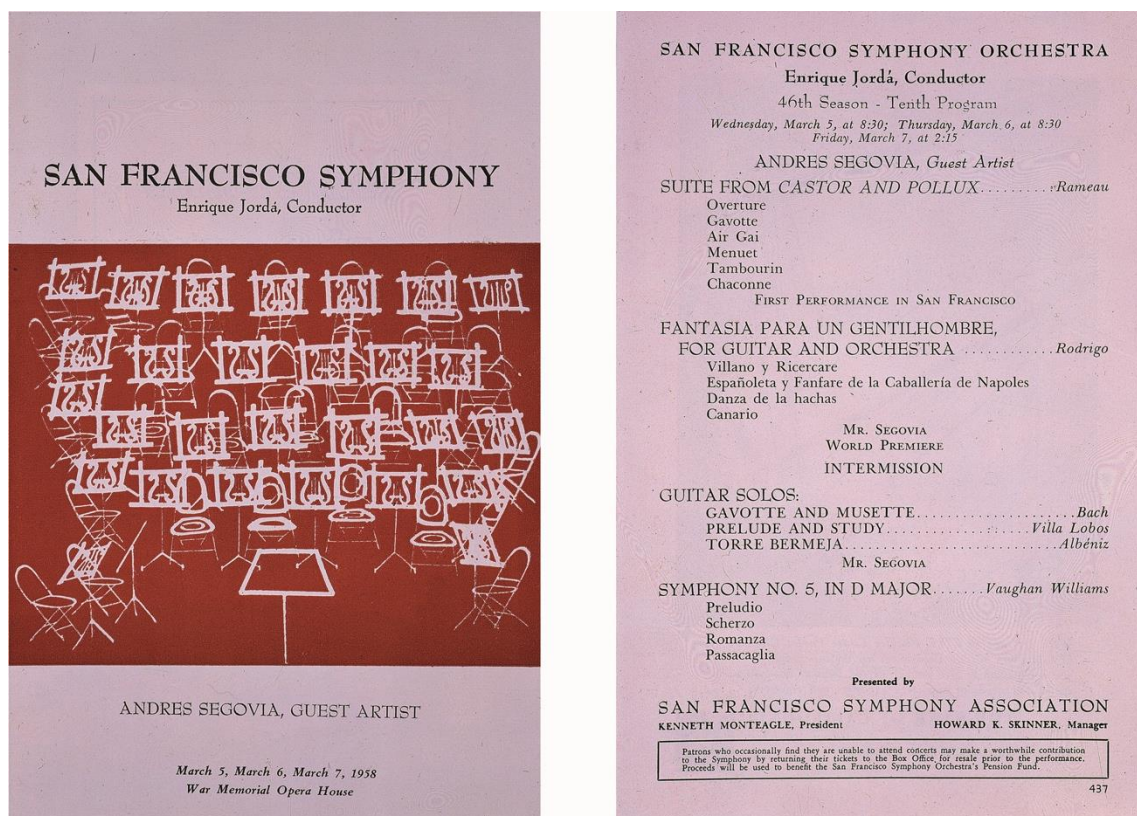


Figure 13.5 Inside page of the programme for the world premiere of *Fantasia para un gentilhombre*, by Joaquín Rodrigo (San Francisco, 5–7 March 1958) [E-Mjr, P09-21].

Returning to the Concursos Nacionales de Música and the ‘viewpoint’ used to describe composition in Spain during the 1940s in the previous section, the generational and aesthetic shift that was barely delineated in that period was now more clearly defined in official terms. And while aesthetics that were gradually becoming outdated continued to win awards some years – from José Muñoz Molleda’s Trio in F major for flute, cello, and piano, 1951, to Ángel Mingote’s *Canciones infantiles*, 1956, and Rodríguez Albert’s *Fantasia en tríptico sobre un drama de Lope*, 1961 –, the general tone was the receptiveness to this new groups of composers, embodied by Cristóbal Halffter (Piano Concerto, 1953), Manuel Castillo (*Preludio, diferencias y tocata sobre un tema de Albéniz*, 1959) and Carmelo A. Bernaola (String Quartet, 1962).

Given the limited opportunities in regard to programming, publishing, and recording in Spain at the time, young Spanish composers were not as concerned with increasing their presence in official centres and bodies, as with their incorporation into the international avant-garde music scene. In fact, between 1958 and 1964, the attendance of Spanish performers and composers at the Darmstadter Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik was no longer an exception. Performers such as Espinosa and Carra, and composers including Juan Hidalgo, Barce, Bernaola, Pablo, and Halffter, were joined by Gonzalo de Olavide (1960–1964), Enrique Raxach (1964), and Tomás Marco (1964). The activity of the Spanish Section of the

International Society of Contemporary Music (ISCM), which resumed in 1955 under Óscar Esplá's steadfast control, also led to the programming of 'updated' Spanish music in its international festivals during this period, featuring names such as Homs (Trio for flute, oboe, and bass clarinet, Stockholm 1956), Xavier Benguerel (*Cantata [d'Amic i d'Amat]*, Cologne 1960), Halffter (*Formantes*, London 1962), and Raxach (*Metamorphose II*, Copenhagen 1964).

Beyond their specific musical significance and import in the historiographical narrative, all these works, along with so many others from the period, partake in the inability to construct an adequately explored 'contemporary' repertoire, comparatively speaking; however, they also shared an adaptability or even the same original intention (although to a lesser extent than in the visual arts or cinema) to become representatives or symbols of the image of modernity Francoism required during this period. The lack of political innocence, through action or non-action, of a considerable part of avant-garde Spanish music is clear, with some notable examples including the works commissioned from Halffter, Luis de Pablo, Ángel Arteaga, and Miguel Alonso for the much-promoted 1964 *Concierto de la Paz* (Peace Concert), one of the Franco regime's great propaganda campaigns from this period. From this perspective, this and other events, which have been the subject of recent research (Contreras Zubillaga, 2016; 2021), such as the I Biennale for Contemporary Music held in Madrid that same year, were part of the strenuous effort to raise the institutional visibility of the avant-garde on the part of a profoundly pragmatic regime that was always on the lookout to profit from any initiatives, artistic creations or public figures that might favour its image on an international level. On the contrary, the first examples of action and performative music by the ZAJ group (formed by Juan Hidalgo and Walter Marchetti, together with Ramón Barce and Tomás Marco), also from 1964 onwards, went beyond what those same official efforts were able to tolerate (Luna, 2015).

Particular mention should be made of the state of dance from a broad chronological perspective, such as that explored by current research in this field in its first critical reviews (Martínez del Fresno & Vega Pichaco, 2017). While the *Festivales de España* programmed first-rate international artistic companies, they were also open to innovative choreographies, allowing very wide audiences to experience modern and contemporary dance, alongside classical ballet. Until then, Francoism had strongly encouraged other repertoires: traditional dance, ballet and Spanish dances (Martínez del Fresno, 2013), and professional Spanish dance. After the Civil War, this process was led by very important artists, such as Pilar López, Antonio Ruiz Soler, Rosario (Florencia Pérez Padilla), Mariemma, and María Rosa, who devised new types of choreography based on the 'popular traditions, flamenco, *escuela bolero*, and academic technique, in different proportions' (Martínez del Fresno, 2013, p. 361). Pilar López,

in particular, pursued an uninterrupted professional and teaching career until 1973, after returning from America in 1945, following the death of her older sister (Encarnación López, ‘La Argentinita’); and Antonio (Ruiz Soler) returned to Spain in 1949, partnering Rosario after a successful career in America and Europe. Four years later, Antonio presented his solo company, cultivating three styles (*escuela bolera*, stylised folklore, and stylised flamenco) and choreographing iconic works symbolising Spain abroad – set to music by Sarasate, Albéniz, Granados, Falla, and Turina – in accordance with patterns established in the nineteenth century, as well as historical and traditional music from different Spanish regions. Finally, Antonio Gades’ performances at the Spanish Pavilion during the 1964 New York World Fair represent one of the most remarkable moments of musical-choreographic relations in the context of Francoist diplomacy in the United States.

13.2.3 A Lengthy Epilogue (1965–1975)

During the *desarrollista* (developmentalist) phase, initiatives relating to the control and official promotion of musical life and composition noted in earlier periods remained active and gradually reinforced their areas of action. Thus, the Festivales de España circuit was geographically expanded by organising further specific musical events, such as the Decenas de Música in Seville and Toledo, both created in 1969 and featuring unique programs and commissions, especially in the field of chamber music. In fact, the establishment of new festivals coincided with the expansion of the functions of the Comisaría General de Música into the fields of opera and dance, fostering the growing international projection of Spanish music. Among the new members of the Comisaría were Antonio Iglesias and well-known figures from the avant-garde, such as Barce and Ruiz Coca. As Deputy Commissioner between 1966 and 1977, Iglesias was particularly influential, having previously held many positions of considerable importance, both in general music management – such as responsible for the organisation of the ‘Música en Compostela’ (Music in [Santiago de] Compostela) courses since 1958 and the ‘Semana de Música Religiosa de Cuenca’ (Sacred Music Week in Cuenca) since 1962 – and specifically in the field of contemporary composition, as Secretary of the Spanish Section of the ISCM from the time of its reestablishment.

Both ‘Music in Compostela’ and the Cuenca festival survive to the present day and are further testimony to the continuity of cultural policies and institutions born during Francoism; so too does the Orquesta Sinfónica de RTVE (Spanish Radio Television Symphony Orchestra), founded in 1965 as part of the organisational structure of the MIT and which, after a series of short-lived appointments, would achieve greater artistic stability in 1968 with Odón Alonso as

head conductor. From its very creation, this symphonic ensemble – together with the Coro de Radio Nacional (National Radio Choir), whose constitution dates back to 1952 – would counterbalance the more traditional programming of the Orquesta Nacional and would almost inevitably be present at music festivals at the time, especially those sponsored directly through official authorities; hence the successive ‘Festivals of Music of the Americas and Spain’ (1967 and 1970), inaugurated in 1964 under the supervision of the Institute for Hispanic Culture, and the International Society of Contemporary Music Festival, held in Madrid in 1965.

For obvious strategic and diplomatic reasons, this latter festival included, alongside a select list of international avant-garde composers, a wide array of Spanish music – from Esplá and Falla to Rodrigo, Ernesto Halffter, Montsalvatge, and the ‘young’ Cristóbal Halffter (*Secuencias*), Luis de Pablo (*Polar*), and Antón García Abril (*Homenaje a Miguel Hernández*). Its programme shows that the quest for internationalisation of Spanish avant-garde composers of the time only intensified. Looking exclusively at the programming of the above-mentioned ISCM festivals, names such as Agustín Bertomeu (*Pantalán*, Warsaw 1968; *Confluencias sobre Do#*, London 1971) and Carlos Cruz de Castro (*Proceso*, Paris 1975), as well as Tomás Marco (*Aura*, Basel 1970),⁴ joined the list of well-known composers prior to 1975 (Halffter, Pablo, Bernaola, Raxach). Although Madrid had the privilege of being the focus and main catalyst of music making during this period, Barcelona did not lose its place as a key space either. The presence of newly composed works was visible, both in a wide range of programs (such as those of the Festival Internacional de Música de Barcelona, founded with municipal sponsorship in 1963) and events focusing on contemporary music, with the consolidation of the city’s ‘Semana de Nueva Música’ (New Music Week), first held in Madrid in 1970. However, tentative attempts at musical decentralisation began to take place. These were reflected, for example, in the creation of ‘Musikaste’ (1973) in Rentería, which was devoted to Basque and Navarrese music. There was also a diversification of creative techniques and aesthetics, including experimentation in electronic sound (Halffter, *Líneas y puntos*, 1966; Pablo, *We*, 1970) in private Spanish studios, such as Alea (1966–1977), or abroad, and the embracing of new international and national repertoires that moved away from the more orthodox post-war avant-garde line. Initiatives such as the programming of Alea concerts and of the group ‘Nueva Generación’ (1967), associated with Juventudes Musicales de Madrid (Figure 13.6) and the journal *Sonda* (1967–1974) as an instrument of reflection and

⁴ It must be noted that Tomás Marco would become an increasingly important and decisive personality on the Spanish music scene in the democratic era.

dissemination of their performances, exemplified this situation, incorporating composers like Claudio Prieto (*Nebulosa*, 1973), Miguel Ángel Coria (*Falla revisited*, 1973), and Francisco Guerrero (*Anemos A*, 1975).

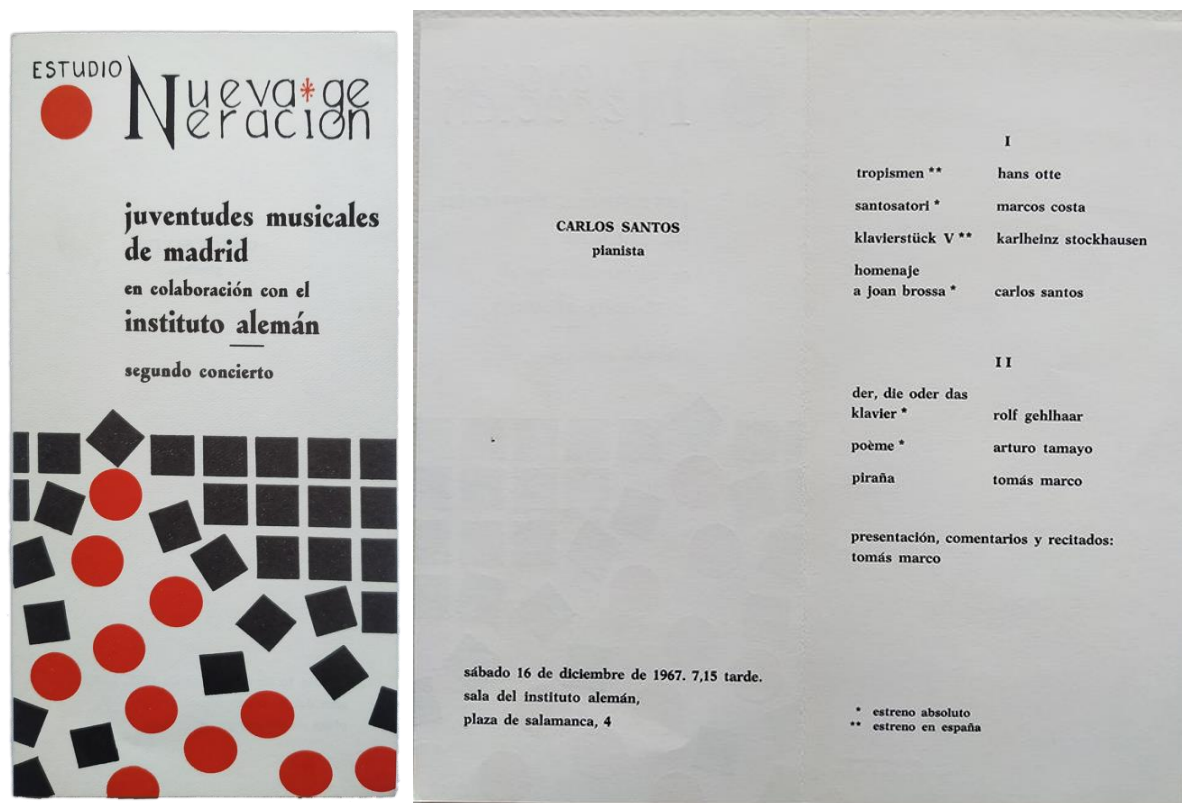


Figure 13.6 Program for the second concert of the cycle ‘Nueva Generación’ (Madrid, 16 December 1967) [particular collection].

The exclusion or limited presence of more radical sound forms, such as those that made up the program of the mythical ‘Encuentros de Pamplona’ (Pamplona Encounters) of 1972 (Llano Sánchez, 2017) or the Valencian group Actum (1973), in the process of institutionalisation of the avant-garde is indisputable, as are two underlying facts: on the one hand, their limited capacity (even inability or manifest disinterest) to become a real instrument of cultural resistance, even in works whose title or literary or narrative substratum could lend itself to this, and their ‘neutrality’ when included in contexts involving official commissions or performances (Gan-Quesada & Martín-Nieva, 2022; Pérez Castillo, 2014); and, on the other, the aspiration to delineate aesthetic (Pablo, 1968) and historiographic (Marco, 1970) itineraries, the rationale of which have nurtured and conditioned most musicological approaches to the phenomenon until very recent times. Even an institution as resistant to – or at least ambiguous in promoting – avant-garde music as the Concurso Nacional de Música during this last decade of Francoism could not fail to take heed of it. Thus, in successive years prizes were awarded to expressionist languages (José Peris, *Concierto espiritual*, 1965), the incipient postmodernism

of Tomás Marco (*Vitral*, 1969), and Agustín González Acilu's musical-phonetic exploration (*Oratorio pan-lingüístico*, 1971). This culminated to recognition for new aleatoric notation and mathematical modelling in prize-winning works of 1973 (Jesús Villa Rojo's *Formas planas* and Ramón Barce's String Quartet No. 3 '*Gauss*'). Almost as a metaphor for the end of the regime, and with the implementation of the Concursos Permanentes de Composición Musical (Permanent Music Composition Competitions), with little success, in 1974, the in-these-pages-pervasive Concurso Nacional de Música disappeared with the dictator's death and was re-established as the Premio Nacional de Música, in 1978: yet another of the 'transitions' that will be discussed in the following stretch of our road.

13.2.4 A Brief Critical Counterpoint (I): Musicology and Music Literature during Francoism

Over nearly four decades under Franco's regime, and much like in the rest of the different facets of musical life, critical and theoretical publications did not come to a halt. While the Spanish Civil War had caused radical disruptions to musical culture, there were areas in which it only entailed an interruption to activities and initiatives that had originated prior to the conflict and continued throughout the period. This was the case with musicological research, which, nevertheless, was centralised in an official capacity from 1943 through the creation of the Instituto Español de Musicología in Barcelona (Spanish Musicological Institute, IEM, today a specific area of study of the Institución Milá i Fontanals de Investigación en Humanidades) as part of the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC). The only music research centre until the 1980s and the institutional image of the discipline in Spain, in its beginnings it was made up of a small group of specialist civil servants, directed by the Jesuit Higinio Anglés. Anglés enjoyed great international standing as a medievalist, particularly since in 1931 he published a monumental edition of the *Códice de las Huelgas* (Las Huelgas Codex), a volume that had marked the launching point for historical research in a field that was practically unexplored in Spain. Vice-President of the International Musicological Society from 1933, after the Civil War (which he spent in Germany), he continued in this line with his edition of the *Cantigas of Alfonso X 'the Wise'* (1943–1964). Anglés' extensive activity during the 1940s focused on the study of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century polyphony (Morales, Guerrero, and Victoria), through editions that were published in the series '*Monumentos de la Música Española*' (Landmarks of Spanish Music) from 1941 onwards. These publications followed the nationalist historical-aesthetic interpretations of his teacher, Felipe Pedrell, who was honoured in an exhibition in Barcelona shortly after the end of the war, in the spring of 1941. Thus, Anglés prolonged a historiographical approach that stemmed from a tradition

rooted in the nineteenth century, but which, at the same time, was in keeping with some of the ideological principles of Francoism – aside the actual value of his musicological contributions.

Over the following decades, the IEM published, among other works, editions of Renaissance organ and vihuela repertoires by Santiago Kastner and Emili Pujol, respectively. Another of its initiatives was the creation of *Anuario Musical* in 1946, the first Spanish journal specialising in musicological research, in which Anglès himself published catalogues of music repertoires kept in cathedral archives. These catalogues served as a model for other scholars, including another clergyman, Samuel Rubio, as well as Miguel Querol. Both of them carried out outstanding work cataloguing and publishing critical editions and analyses of Spanish sacred music. Studies about music in cathedrals were a central theme of music historiography for many years, and involved important scholars such as Robert Stevenson, who demonstrated the relationship between the holdings of cathedrals in Spain and Latin America, and father José López-Caló. In this regard, Juan José Carreras has underlined not only the limitations of the nationalist approach for Spanish musicology and its responsibility for intellectual isolation during Francoism, but also the value of a historiographical legacy that incorporates ‘experiences linked to the construction of an academic and cultural tradition, present in valuable libraries, archives, publications and editions’ (Carreras, 2001, p. 129).

In contrast to a secondary or pejorative view of other time periods, such as the nineteenth century, which was considered a period of decadence, studies focusing on contemporary music proliferated during Francoism, several written by eminent music critics. While Fernández-Cid publications (condensed in Fernández-Cid, 1973) were linked to his extended and prolific work as a music critic and manager as well as his constant presence in official music life, and Valls (1962) adopted a more critical perspective, sometimes approaching a sociological viewpoint, those written by Federico Sopeña established a standard as consistent as his own prominence in the Spanish music scene of the time. Apart from his contribution to areas such as criticism, essays and publications about music, Sopeña also carried out teaching and promotional work, and held political responsibilities that extended as far as the beginning of the democratic period.⁵ Like many other prominent figures of the period – including Fernández-Cid himself and Enrique Franco, not to mention the innumerable composers active before and after 1975 – , his résumé thus traverses political regimes without any apparent conflict. From his Falangist beginnings and after his time at the seminary, in the 1950s Sopeña was noted for his active

⁵ Sopeña’s early responsibilities included being Secretary and Director of the Comisaría General de Música (in 1940–1943 and 1971–1972 respectively), as well as Director of the Academia Española de Bellas Artes in Rome (1977–1981) and of the Prado Museum (1981–1983).

work and his efforts to include music in intellectual life, with the clear intention of emulating the role Adolfo Salazar had played in Spain prior to the war and, consequently, of prolonging his interest in contemporary music composed in the country. Thus, the propagandistic purpose manifested in Diego, Rodrigo & Sopeña (1949), which extolled the supposed achievements of Spanish music in the first post-war decade, was the prelude to a book (Sopeña 1976 [1958]), in which, besides providing a socio-cultural and aesthetic account of the topic, he justified his work from the end of the war until his dismissal in 1956 as Director of the Madrid Conservatoire, publishing a book about its history in 1967.

Finally, among the various summaries of the history of Spanish music published during this period, two books, published in 1953, were written by prestigious scholars associated with the liberal and Republican intellectual tradition: Adolfo Salazar and José Subirá, the former from exile in Mexico, the latter director of Madrid section of the IEM from 1950 onwards. Although they were published in different personal circumstances and in various publishers, both Salazar (1953) and Subirá (1953) became standard references – as historiographical perspectives and repositories of innovative documentary sources – for Spanish musicology until the 1980s.

13.3 Contemplating Spanish Music (II): 1975–2023

13.3.1 The Beginnings of a Gradual Transformation (1975–1982)

Franco's death ushered in the period known as the 'Transition to democracy', in which the different Francoist families fought for survival and power while the regime was dismantled and a democratic state was built on the basis of the restructuring of pre-war and exiled political parties and the creation of new political forces, especially in the centre-right. Resistance to change, fear, and the uncertainty of many citizens paralleled the enthusiasm of opposition forces in a context of continuing instability. The criticism and the changing times also reached the Comisaría de la Música and the most senior figure in this field, Antonio Iglesias, whose work in the previous decade has been discussed above. As Ángel Medina points out, during the mid-1970s musical events of different kinds had multiplied, but 'their overly official character, limited to a few centres and somewhat class-based, was moderately denounced in certain circles' despite being competitive in a European framework (Medina, 2010, p. 269). In these initial years of the transition, the possibilities for continuing or reorientating their profile met with difficulties and resistance of all kinds (Solís & Moro Vallina, 2021).

Several examples of the fragility of the Comisaría and the growth of the protest movement among certain composers and of anti-Franco protesters taking a stand have already been discussed in musicological research about the period. One such example is composer Josep Soler's denouncement of centralist policies coinciding with the performance of his work *Apuntava l'alba*, during the VI Semana de Nueva Música. The work was dedicated to the last five people shot by the Franco regime, who were executed on 27 September 1975 (Solís, 2020a, p. 85). Soler's was another voice in favour of a decentralisation of musical policy and the democratic control of its governing bodies. In this stance he was joined by figures who, having matured during the second stage of Francoism, acknowledged the failure of the regime in terms of musical policy, and began redesigning its institutions (Solís, 2020a, p. 113). However, the clear division between art music for the elites, and music for 'consumption', clearly demarcated since the Civil War on the rebel side, continued to dictate the discourse and departmental divisions with musical responsibility.

Meanwhile, the political parties that contested the first democratic general elections after the Second Republic in 1977 did not include specific proposals about musical policy in their platforms. However, after the elections the first Dirección General de la Música (General Department for Music) was formed within the newly created Ministry of Culture, with the aim of preserving, promoting, and disseminating musical and choreographic creation. In the musical terrain, the Orquesta Nacional de España continued its prominence, with constant refinements and restructuring (Solís, 2020b), while the revamping of the Concurso Nacional into the Premio Nacional de Música (National Music Prize) split the categories of composition and performance. In 1980, a woman, soprano Victoria de los Ángeles, won the award for performance for the first time. In the dance category, it was decided to create the Spanish National Ballet *ex novo*. The artistic direction of the company was initially entrusted to Antonio Gades (1978–1980) and subsequently to Antonio Ruiz Soler (1980–1982).

At the same time, and in general terms, music policies between 1975 and 1982 advocated a greater role for private enterprise and a broader system of subsidies, aimed at supporting new and diversified initiatives. Thus, especially from 1977 onwards, the period was characterised by the commissioning of specific works, support to performers and researchers through competitions, the decentralising policies of music management, and the prominence of associations and state-funded public and private entities, as well as a gradual increase in transparency in the administration of financial resources. To attract a wider audience and to open up to younger sectors of the population, music outreach cycles were programmed in different areas and seminars were held in universities, where musicology did not become

institutionalised as a discipline until the 1980s. Despite all this, the budget increase for musical activity was far less than what would have been necessary to overcome the restrictions of the previous period and to address the many fronts with which the central and emerging regional governments were dealing.

Tension, consensus, conflict, and illusion formed part of the process of transition to democracy in these years. They affected the musical sphere too, where active participation from the composers themselves was believed to be needed in music planning in Spain. This led to the formation of management and discussion groups – which sometimes conflicted with the continuity of actions and key figures with late Francoism –, at both the regional (*Associació Catalana de Compositors*, 1974) and the national (*Asociación de Compositores Sinfónicos Españoles*, 1976) levels. This societal movement, which over time was also decentralised in regions like Galicia (1987), the Basque Country (1997), and Madrid (1998), also resulted in the self-management of activities (concerts, publications, recordings) and the need to establish terms for interchanging works and performers and conciliating interests that did not always coincide. This sometimes led to new forums for discussion and dissemination in territories in which less contemporary music was being composed and performed, such as *Ensems* (Valencia, 1978) and the *Encontre de Compositors* (Composers' Encounter, Palma de Mallorca, 1980), which still exist today.

While some of the firmly established figures from earlier periods (Cristóbal Halffter, Luis de Pablo, Tomás Marco, and Carmelo A. Benaola) maintained their prominence, albeit with incipient debates about their association with, submissiveness to, or exploitation of the musical policies of previous decades, other composers matured their avant-garde languages – as was the case with Joan Guinjoan (*El diari*, 1977) – or were thrust in the spotlight, although not always for long (Francisco Cano, *Aquarius*, 1975; José Luis Turina, *Lama sabachtani?*, 1980). Instrumental ensembles specialising in the performance of contemporary music made a decisive contribution to the promotion of these new works, sometimes led by composers who doubled as artistic directors. This was the case of the Grupo Koan (founded in 1969 as part of Juventudes Musicales and active between 1973 and 1992 under José Ramón Encinar) and the Laboratorio de Interpretación Musical (LIM), created by Villa Rojo in 1975 and with a very long track record. Other groups, however, were short-lived (such as the Grup Instrumental Català, 1976–1979), although their work in more limited geographical areas should not be underrated. Finally, and as a result of the partial solution to a persistent shortage, in the field of the publication of scores – and, to a lesser extent, the recording of new works – it is important to note the extensive catalogue of Editorial de Música Española Contemporánea (EMEC),

founded some years earlier (1972) and which was active until 2000. EMEC provided access to the published works of several generations of composers (including women composers, such as Matilde Salvador, Zulema de la Cruz, and Alicia Díaz de la Fuente), as well as to unpublished or virtually unknown works by composers including Conrado del Campo, Francisco Escudero, Joaquim Homs, and Rafael Rodríguez Albert.

13.3.2 Sounds in Freedom (1982–2008)

After the PSOE came to power in 1982, the territorial organisation of a State characterised by increasing decentralisation was completed. However, the first measures the new government implemented in relation to music were directed towards strengthening or reorientating the management and distribution organisations dependent on the central government. These initiatives included the creation of the aforementioned General Department for Music in 1983, with representatives from all the artistic and economic sectors involved, and the Spanish National Youth Orchestra (JONDE), as well as the establishment of scholarships for musicians to further studies abroad (Rubio Aróstegui, 2002, pp. 86–9). At the same time, the artistic autonomy of companies such as the Ballet Nacional de España was strengthened, under several different names, choreographic styles, and directors between 1983 and 2010 (María de Ávila, Maya Plisetskaya, Nacho Duato) (Figure 13.7). All these initiatives were given a stable framework in 1986 with the creation of the Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escénicas y la Música (INAEM) within the Ministry of Culture, under the responsibility of composer Tomás Marco.



Figure 13.7 Cover of the programme for a performance by the Classical National Spanish Ballet (Palma de Mallorca, 15–18 December 1983) [Centro de Documentación de las Artes Escénicas y de la Música (CDAEM)].

The inauguration of the Auditorio Nacional de Música (National Music Hall) in 1988, headquarters of the Orquesta Nacional de España (Figure 13.8), and the reopening of the Teatro Real de Madrid in 1997 are examples of the importance of the renewal of musical infrastructures during this period. The Plan Nacional de Auditorios (National Auditoriums Plan) had proposed to alleviate a chronic and generalised lack of venues through the construction of new buildings and the restoration of existing ones throughout the country (Rubio Aróstegui, 2002, p. 90). Today, existing facilities such as the Auditori de Barcelona (1999) and the Palau de les Arts in Valencia (2005) are the result of this ambitious project, involving the cooperation of different levels of public administration (central, regional, provincial, and municipal). Their construction paralleled the creation or institutional reorganisation of stable symphony orchestras, currently present in almost all the Autonomous Communities. To give just one example, after successive modifications to its structure and political responsibility, the long-standing Orquesta Municipal de Barcelona was transformed into the Orquesta Simfònica de Barcelona i Nacional de Catalunya from the 1994/1995 season onwards, under the administrative control of the Generalitat de Catalunya and the Barcelona City Council.



Figure 13.8 Main façade of the Auditorio Nacional de Música (Madrid) [By Asqueladd, CC BY-SA 3.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=42007267>].

More specific and neglected areas of composition and performance were also no strangers to the winds of change. Prior to this period, opera had been limited to regular, state seasons in the traditional urban centres (Madrid and Barcelona). There were local exceptions

in the context of festivals, but these were often private initiatives and generally put on in precarious conditions and with a minority and elitist audience in attendance (Irurzun, 2013). The inauguration of the Teatro de la Maestranza in Seville (1991), one of the few tangible results of the mass promotional ‘festivities’ of 1992,⁶ and the reopening of the Teatro Real in Madrid in 1997 contributed to a greater presence of opera in the performing arts scene. The premiere of new works by Spanish composers, both in the capital (Noheda Tirado, 2021) and Barcelona, also contributed to this expansion. Joint initiatives to provide a dedicated space for the creation of more ambitious contemporary, however, such as that supported by the National Centre for New Aesthetic Trends at the Teatro Olimpia in Madrid (1984–1994), could not be sustained.

Resuming the thread unifying this section, the decentralisation of the State and the configuration of the autonomous regions of Spain during the democratic transition and at the beginning of the 1980s, in fact, proved to be the main contextual framework for the reformulation of official policies in the cultural (and consequently) musical sphere of these decades. Certainly, the years of suppression or manipulation of the referential elements of the sound of the various national and regional identities, especially in the fields of folklore and popular music, made them the preferred vindictory ‘soundtrack’ for their revival. Notwithstanding, various institutions also incorporated contemporary composers and performers into the list of cultural and musical symbols according to specifically territorial criteria, such as their place of birth or professional activity, with a consequent expansion of repertoires and, on many occasions, the loss of a national context that would allow for the proper exchange of performers and programming. At least in regard to orchestral music, an attempt has been made to remedy this situation, for example, thanks to the annual agreements for commissioning and touring works signed since 2006 by over thirty symphony orchestras that are members of the Asociación Española de Orquestas Sinfónicas (Spanish Association of Symphony Orchestras, AEOS), formed in 1993.

With regard to the promotion of contemporary composition by government agencies, 1983 saw the creation of the Centro Nacional de Difusión de la Música Contemporánea (National Centre for the Promotion of Contemporary Music, CDMC), headed by composer Luis de Pablo, who also founded the Musical Computation and Electronics Lab (LIEM) at the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía in 1985. Along with regular announcements of

⁶ In 1992, the Olympic Games were held in Barcelona, the Universal Exposition in Seville, and Madrid was designated European Cultural Capital.

prizes, competitions, and grants for composition, as well as the funding of specific commissions, the CDMC's activities represented the Ministry of Culture's most important contribution in this field, without forgetting the sponsorship of the short-lived 'Gerhard Project' (1996) for the performance of twentieth-century works by young musicians. However, the progressive shift of power in cultural policy to the regional and local governments, and the economic resources for its development, meant that it fell to them to directly or indirectly support both contemporary music festivals (such as the Xornadas de Música Contemporánea de Santiago de Compostela, 1987 or the continuity of the Festival de Música del Siglo XX de Bilbao, launched in 1981) and specialised instrumental ensembles, such as the Ensemble Sinkro (Vitoria, 1985), Grupo Enigma (1995, now the Orquesta de Cámara del Auditorio de Zaragoza), and Grup Instrumental de València (1991), all of which continue being active.

These and other ensembles made a decisive contribution to a gradual change in contemporary Spanish music programming.⁷ Contemporary music in Spain also benefitted from the initiatives of soloists or small ensembles that began their careers in this period (Neopercusión in 1994, Trío Arbós in 1996) and from the greater diversity of generations and aesthetic approaches of these programs. This diversity was fuelled by established composers and by many others who increasingly prioritised the international dimension in their careers: Alfredo Aracil (*Musica reservata*, 1987), Mauricio Sotelo (*Tenebræ Responsoria*, 1993), Benet Casablancas (*New Epigrams*, 1997), José Manuel López López (*Movimientos*, 1998), Ramon Lazkano (*Igeltsoen Laborategia* cycle, 2001–2011), and José María Sánchez-Verdú (*El viaje a Simorgh*, 2007) are only a few examples from a very long list. Their music clearly reflects the blurring and loss of meaning of the national connotations of Spanish composition of our time, which is at home in the international context, from intertextuality to spectral poetics and from new conceptions of timbre to the expressive post- or neo-tonal and post-minimalist aesthetics (Besada & Albertson, 2019).

The increasing complexity of the situation of Spanish music in these decades of consolidation and maturation of the new democratic system does not exclude the perception of some dynamics that commenced during this period and continue to the present day (Rodríguez Morató, 1996). As an example of this, it is worth mentioning two of far-reaching impact and that reflect a clear will to reorientate or overcome long-standing narrow perspectives: on the one hand, the impetus of real, equitable, and wide-ranging cooperation with Latin-America,

⁷ Some ensembles were supported by private entities. This was the case of the Grupo Círculo, sponsored by the Círculo de Bellas Artes de Madrid in 1983–2001, and of the Plural Ensemble (2003–present), by the Fundación BBVA.

visible in the creation of the Consejo Iberoamericano de la Música (Iberoamerican Music Council) in 1994 and, two years later, the establishment of the Premio Iberoamericano de la Música (Iberoamerican Music Prize) ‘Tomás Luis de Victoria’, convened biennially by the Fundación SGAE (Sociedad General de Autores y Editores – Spanish Society of Authors and Publishers); on the other, the growing incorporation of women into the different areas of music in the country, from composition (Rodríguez Hernández, 2012) to teaching, performance, and orchestral conducting, and even political management, whether in the aforementioned CDMC (directed by Consuelo Díez from 1997 to 2001), or the Subdirección General de Música y Danza (Sub-Department for Music and Dance) of the INAEM, held by Marisa Manchado between 2007 and 2008.

In spite of all this, at the turn of the century the presence of art or classical music in general concert programs – not to mention the strictly ‘avant-garde’ or, at least, contemporary music – was still almost negligible in the population’s musical consumption and in cultural debates. This was largely due to the lack of definition, changes of course, and discontinuity of the successive attempts to redesign music teaching at all levels of education, despite the hopes raised by the new legal framework introduced in 1990 and the proliferation of music schools and conservatoires all over the country (Roche, 2000). In the sense of a necessary musical socialisation, associated equally with ‘academic’ music, contemporary composition, and Spanish music, there are few relatively long-lasting and important exceptions. Among them, from the early years of the democratic transition, are the musical activities of the Juan March Foundation, which fostered contemporary composition during this period (with its ‘Tribuna de Jóvenes Compositores’, active between 1982 and 1988) and performances of neglected twentieth-century Spanish works (through its annual ‘Aula de Reestrenos’, launched in December 1986). At the same time, it opened for research the Biblioteca de Música Española Contemporánea (Library of Spanish Contemporary Music), which has gradually enriched the sources and documentation available for the reconstruction of Spanish music with substantial bequests (Salvador Bacarisse, Antonio Fernández-Cid, Ernesto Halffter, Antonia Mercé ‘La Argentina’, and Joaquín Turina). Other centres that have stimulated research include the Biblioteca Nacional de España, Biblioteca de Catalunya, and the Centro de Documentación y Archivo de la SGAE, together with diverse regional entities (Centro de Documentación Musical de Andalucía, ERESBIL-Archivo Vasco de la Música).

13.3.3 A Brief Critical Counterpoint (II): Studying Musicology in Democracy

The socio-political and cultural liberalisation of a democracy in the process of its definitive consolidation had a decisive impact on the historical interpretation of the country's musical past. Logically, this began with overcoming interpretations inherited from Francoism, such as the biased and partial understanding of the contributions of the period prior to the Civil War. The vindication and rediscovery of the composers of the Generation of 27 (Casares Rodicio, 1986), especially the Republican exiles, thus became one of the most popular lines of research from the mid-1980s.⁸ This was also reflected institutionally in the awarding of the Premio Nacional de Música to composers who were now at the end of their careers, including Fernando Remacha (1982), Rodolfo Halffter (1986), and Ángel Martín Pompey (1999). By the same token, this strategy of 're-patrimonialisation' could also be extended to the appreciation of composers who were based abroad for decades, such as Gonzalo de Olavide and José Luis de Delás, who were among the prize-winners in 1987 and 1995, respectively.

The possibility of new interpretations of Spanish music, also based on fresh sources and methodologies, coincided with the inclusion of musicology in seven public universities (the first in Oviedo in 1984) and, consequently, with a great increase in musicological activities and research. Although it was not until 2009 that the discipline was fully standardised in the university context, with the creation of complete and specific degrees, some elements that helped to institutionalise the discipline had already been defined long before this. These included the creation of professional music societies (e.g., the Spanish Society of Musicology, SEdeM, founded in 1977), the clear decrease in clergymen among music specialists, and, particularly, the proliferation of female musicologists, who have gradually gained positions of responsibility and leadership in the discipline, with the consequent questioning and progressive overcoming of patriarchal structures and dynamics.

As mentioned above, the emergence of musicology in Spain over the last four decades has been accompanied by the revision of its objectives, methodologies, and approaches. Some of the perspectives that were challenged were deeply rooted and could be interpreted as inherited from as far back at the nineteenth century, such as nationalist or purely positivist viewpoints. Moreover, the historiographical myths that were applied to the history of 'Spanish' music as a whole, in relation to both topics and periods that have hitherto been widely studied and others that have been neglected or undervalued in research, particularly those relating to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were called into question for the first time. Since the 1990s, the impact of so-called 'New Musicology' and the influence of social history, cultural

⁸ Example of this is Chapter 8 in this volume, by Elena Torres Clemente.

studies, and political sociology have been decisive. In general terms, efforts to construct and interpret music history in Spain as a fundamental part of European and American music history have abounded. This has been aided by analyses focused on the circulation and reception of works and the study of so-called ‘urban popular music’, based on a wide range of intellectual references and in close consultation with international musicological trends.⁹ To this end, the ongoing work of revival, critical editions, and, in some cases, the promotion of performances and recordings of little-known or unpublished works stemming from universities in the musicological area, has also been decisive. Since 1992, the publications of the Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales (ICCMU) have added to those of the organisations mentioned above, such as the Institución Milá y Fontanals–CSIC and the SEdeM. The ICCMU’s primary objective is to promote the study and dissemination of the Spanish musical heritage of all periods and spaces. In this respect, journals such as ICCMU’s *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana* (1996) must be considered alongside the musicological contributions that regularly appear in the aforementioned *Anuario Musical* (CSIC), the journal of the SEdeM (*Revista de Musicología*, 1978), and the university-based *Quodlibet* (Universidad de Alcalá, 1995) and *Itamar* (Universitat de València, 2008).

As far as twentieth-century Spanish music is concerned, over the last few decades its historiographical examination has helped to bridge obvious gaps, such as the significance of Robert Gerhard, and to nuance or refute debatable opinions and concepts, from the generational compartmentalisation of chronological accounts to the excessive weight of certain contemporary interpretations, such as Adolfo Salazar’s very influential works. Having questioned avant-garde languages as the only paradigm of aesthetic validity and analysed the music history of Francoism from an ideological, political, institutional, and aesthetic point of view, in recent years claims of a creative void and total disinterest in music during this period have been tempered.

The musical-historical assessments published in Spain to date reflect these radical changes in the understanding and scope of the musicological discipline itself in the country. Thus, in its seven volumes the *Historia de la música española* published by Alianza Editorial throughout the 1980s established a route that was still dictated by traditional methodological and historiographical paradigms, albeit substantially based on documents and facts. Specifically, in regard to the twentieth century, the sixth volume published by Tomás Marco (1989 [1983]) provided a mandatory starting point for further research and remains the only

⁹ For further exploration of the topic, see Chapter 11 in this volume.

up-to-date source available in English on the subject (Marco, 1993). In turn, the *Historia de la música en España e Hispanoamérica*, first published by the Fondo de Cultura Económica from 2009 onwards,¹⁰ was conceived to be widely disseminated and brought together content and contributors from both the peninsula and Spanish America, as Casares Rodicio (1999–2002) had already done. The aim of the eight volumes of the series was not only to provide a necessary update of the available information, but also the new paradigms and methodological interests in the construction of historiographical discourses.

13.3.4 Final Notes on a Multiple Present (2008–2023)

As mentioned above, although progress in the availability of musical infrastructure (auditoriums, theatres) and the planning of far-reaching musical policies occurred in Spain much later than in other countries, significant public investment and the constitution of associations and of private entities, especially from the 1990s onwards, led to a considerable shift in the previous state of affairs and the consolidation of structures and procedures of music management and dissemination that have laid the foundations of the current situation of music in the country. However, the subordination of these policies to the financial support of the government has meant that the budget cuts suffered as a result of the 2008 economic crisis have had a significant impact on such a strongly and directly subsidised sector. In regard to composition, the disappearance or uncertain viability of some publicly-owned orchestras and ensembles was thus accompanied by substantial modifications to its administration – such as the disappearance of the CDMC in 2010, subsumed into the broader Centro Nacional de Difusión Musical (National Centre for the Promotion of Music, CNDM) – and some of its key channels of exposure, such as the Festival de Música Contemporánea (Contemporary Music Festival) of Alicante, which ended its twenty-seven-year history in 2012 (Hernández, 2013).

After the crisis, the main challenge was, firstly, to try to maintain what had been achieved in recent decades as much as possible, without renouncing the development of a modernised musical infrastructure that was less dependent on the political and economic circumstances. Besides, the music industry had to be stimulated to secure and consolidate a prominent position on a European level, foster viable forms of sponsorship and private funding, put music life in the spotlight of the media and social networks and capture new audiences, combining these objectives with the maintenance of artistic quality and the diversification of repertoires. The link with broader sectors of society and proximity to new habits of cultural consumption

¹⁰ For the volume on twentieth-century Spanish music, see González Lapuente (2012).

(Rodríguez Morató, 2017, p. 10) stimulated the fusion of works, periods, and genres in the programming of ensembles, seasons, and music festivals, while many of them definitively incorporated free concerts, educational concerts or concerts tied to primary and secondary school education, in order to attract listeners and seemingly distant groups (Mateo, 2013).

Some of these strategies, born out of the urgent need for resilience in the face of the hostility of the economic context and the internal dynamics of adapting to changing frameworks in social terms and in terms of interrelation with the cultural product, proved their effectiveness beyond the end of the critical period in 2012 and, in fact, seem to form a ‘change of cycle’, which has been maintained to the present and consolidated features already present in the immediately preceding period. One of these features is, for instance, the presence of women on the Spanish music scene, in a process of complete normalisation. Examples of this include the workshop for women composers within the Festival de Música Española de Cádiz, running since 2005 as a forum for aesthetic discussion and creative promotion, and, after decades of omission, the awarding of the Premio Nacional de Música for composition to women composers in recent years, on six occasions (Elena Mendoza, 2010; María de Alvear, 2014; Teresa Catalán, 2017; Raquel García-Tomás, 2020; Alicia Díaz de la Fuente, 2022; Marisa Manchado, 2024).

Names such as Díaz de la Fuente, Mendoza, and García-Tomás also reflect a clear generational change in current Spanish composition, in which composers born during the democratic period are now taking their place alongside composers born in the 1950s and 1960s. Together, they form a large group driving the recent adoption in Spain of a formula that is well established on an international scale, with resident composers for seasons and auditoriums. It is not only the disappearance of the post-war avant-garde figures (in 2021 alone, Antón García Abril, Cristóbal Halffter, Josep Maria Mestres Quadreny, and Luis de Pablo all passed away), but also the culmination of a gradual process that commenced at the beginning of the century in which their presence was lost in programs. From a historical perspective, this circumstance deserves to be compensated with a more resolute understanding of heritage, beyond the official recognition lavished on them at the end of their careers, such as the awarding of the first Fundación BBVA Fronteras del Conocimiento (Música contemporánea) prize to Halffter in 2009, the successive awarding of the Premio SGAE de la Música Iberoamericana Tomás Luis de Victoria to Josep Soler, Xavier Benguerel, Tomás Marco, and Leonardo Balada (between 2011 and 2021), and, even, the posthumous premiere of Luis de Pablo’s last opera, *El abrecartas*, at the Teatro Real de Madrid in February 2022.

Alongside the democratic generations, the promotion of the most radical forms of composition is also clear, in which there is a natural coexistence between neo-tonalism and saturated aesthetics, a commitment to the dissolution of disciplinary limits in close harmony with new technologies, or a place for wide-ranging social concerns, such as the LGTBI movement. In recent years, young male and female composers trained at advanced conservatoires and music schools throughout Spain, and in numerous instances abroad, have achieved a visibility previously unthinkable based on the conditions of the Spanish music scene of earlier periods, benefitting from specific training initiatives – such as those of the Manuel de Falla Professorship, established by the Junta de Andalucía in 2002, and the Festival Mixtur, active in Barcelona since 2012 –, long-standing competitions, such as the Premio Jóvenes Compositores sponsored jointly by the SGAE and the CNDM, and exclusive programming opportunities, such as the concert series ‘Compositores sub-35’ established in 2013 by the Fundación Juan March, not to mention the recurrent use of desktop publishing and the self-promotion of new works through IT channels, in the form of personal webs, blogs, podcasts, and self-managed digital repositories. Finally, in the last two decades the instrumental ensembles mentioned above have been joined by others with well-established national and international profiles (Taller Sonoro, 2000; Zahir Ensemble, 2005; Sigma Project, 2008) or those in the process of expansion in this period (Ensemble Sonido Extremo, 2009; Vertixe Sonora, 2012; CrossingLines Ensemble, 2012; Barcelona Modern Ensemble, 2013) to actively promote these new repertoires.

At present, Spain has one of the best symphonic circuits in the world and musical events have multiplied and spread across social and geographical spheres, forming an extensive and multiform network of possibilities to access and enjoy music in countless cycles, series, and festivals, such as those organised by the Asociación Española de Festivales de Música Clásica (FestClásica), in which forty-five of these events converge since its constitution in 2007. It is true, however, that particularly as a result of the global turmoil of the COVID-2019 pandemic, the shift in patterns of music consumption – as well as the traditional idea of the ‘concert’ and everything surrounding the ‘music system’ – has undergone an unexpected acceleration, whose impact is as striking as it is uncertain in the long term. After this latest crisis, the challenges of music, culture, and the music industry in Spain seem to include aspects such as the legislative adaptation to new digital realities, the elucidation of the role of private sponsorship of music – pending the passing of the Ley de Mecenazgo (Patronage Law) –, and the return of audience confidence. These were the main issues addressed in the online seminars organised by the

AEOS and The Global Leaders Program in 2020 (Moreno, 2020), a sample of the general concerns that have affected all levels of musical life, without distinction.

The establishment of these new priorities should not, however, hinder the consolidation of courses of action already underway prior to (or during) the pandemic and the achievement of long-term objectives, both in terms of Spanish music *lato sensu* and specifically twentieth-century and contemporary music. Current initiatives, such as that of the critical edition, performance, and audio-visual recording of the complete string quartets by Conrado del Campo undertaken in 2022, highlight the necessary institutional synergy to pursue these types of projects (in this case, Juan March Foundation, SEdeM, and SGAE). It is also essential to explore new ways of understanding the repertoire that situate it in an appropriate historical and thematic context, as the Orquesta Nacional de España has been doing in its ‘Focus Festival’ concert series since 2021, focusing on the international aesthetic ramifications of Spanish music of last century and strict contemporaneity. A more effective territorial interconnection is also necessary to allow the mobility of performers, works, and audiences, following the example of initiatives such as the Festival de Ensembles, active since 2010, and the decentralisation of the CNDM’s annual programming beyond Madrid in historical and contemporary music.

Although traditional recording formats are at a difficult crossroads of obsolescence and economic unfeasibility, it is to be hoped that new ways can be found to prolong the impetus that the series ‘Spanish Classics’ on the Naxos label, for example, has provided since 2002, for a broader international knowledge of Spanish music. The important presence of twentieth-century music in this series has been supported by the efforts of Columna Música, Glossa-Anemos, and IBS Classical in recent years, without forgetting the BBVA’s financing of similar series on the Verso label and, in an international context, on Neos. There is also a scarcity of generalist and specialised discussion forums that allow for the continuous and constructive debate of music policies, especially those aimed at educating students at a primary, secondary, university, and vocational level, who will be responsible for and play key roles in music in Spain in the near future. And, in this diverse and complex context – which reflects both Spain’s current social situation and its unique history, ideology, and identity – musicology must also demonstrate its constructive engagement in the choice of topics examined and the perspectives of study of Spain’s musical past and present (Ros-Fábregas, 2021), at the risk of becoming a mere passive on-looker.

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