

# INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE MUSIC AND THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

8 – 10 October 2020

Institut für Musikwissenschaft und Medienwissenschaft  
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Convened by Diego Alonso (Postdoctoral Fellow, Humboldt University, Berlin)  
in collaboration with the International Hanns Eisler Society, Berlin.  
The conference is supported by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.



Pablo Picasso, *Guernica*, 1937 (detail)

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(Zoom Meeting, see page 6)

Convened by Diego Alonso (Postdoctoral Fellow, Humboldt University, Berlin) in collaboration with the International Hanns Eisler Society, Berlin. The conference is supported by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. The conference's official language is English.

**Programme Committee:**

Teresa Cascudo (Universidad de La Rioja)  
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Thursday, 8 OCTOBER 2020

9.30 – 9:45 / Welcome Words (Diego Alonso)

9:45 – 10:30 / KEYNOTE: Michael Christoforidis & Elizabeth Kertesz (U. of Melbourne):  
**Conscripting Carmen for the Spanish Civil War**

10:45 – 13:00 / TABLE 1: **SOLIDARITY FROM ABROAD, EXILED GERMANS AND THE INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES**

Chair: Cristina Urchueguía

- Peter Deeg (Akademie der Künste, Berlin) & Diego Alonso (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin): **Hanns Eisler in Wartime Spain, 1937**
- Carola Schramm & Christof Kugler (Ernst Busch Society): **"Battle-songs – Canciones de las Brigadas Internacionales". Ernst Busch and the Origin of the Songbooks in Spain**
- Elsa Calero-Carramolino (U. Granada): **Beyond the London Committee: Musical Solidarity Networks in Britain during the Spanish Civil War**
- Milena Amann-Rauter (U. Vienna): **Exiled Musicians as Supporters of the Popular Front Movement during the Spanish Civil War**

15:00 – 17:00 / TABLE 2: **MUSIC AND THE MAKING OF REBEL SPAIN**

Chair: Germán Gan Quesada

- Olimpia García López (U. de Córdoba): **Music, Propaganda and Charity in Nationalist Spain: Beneficent Musical Activities in Seville during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)**
- Belén Pérez Castillo (U. Complutense de Madrid): **Music, Religiosity and Basquism in Franco's Prisons during the Civil War**
- Javier Suárez Pajares (U. Complutense de Madrid): **The *Curso para Extranjeros* (Santander, 1938) in the Musical Reorganisation of the Francoist State**
- Albano García Sánchez (U. de Córdoba): **Music and Propaganda in Rebel Spain: *Radio Nacional. Revista Semanal de Radio Difusión***

Friday, 9 OCTOBER 2020

9:30 – 10:15 / KEYNOTE: Eva Moreda (U. of Glasgow): **Unionized Musicians during the Second Republic and Civil War**

10:30 - 12:00 / TABLE 3: **“REVOLUTIONARY MUSIC” AND THE SOVIET UNION**

Chair: Peter Deeg

- Daniel Kowalsky (Queen’s University): **Moscow-Madrid, 1936-1939. Notes for a Soundtrack**
- Atenea Fernández Higuero (U. de Oviedo): **Anti-fascism, Revolutionary Patriotism and Communism: Soviet-Spanish Musical Relations during the War**
- Yolanda Acker (Australian National University): **Music and Soviet Culture in Madrid during the Spanish Civil War**

15:00 – 16:00 / TABLE 4: **MUSICAL LIFE AND CULTURE IN WARTIME SPAIN**

Chair: Javier Suárez Pajares

- David Ferreiro Carballo (U. Complutense de Madrid): **«Howitzers sound, but they don’t give a damn»: The Musical Activity in the House of John Milanes during the Civil War**
- Nicolás Rincón Rodríguez (U. Complutense de Madrid): **With Prospects of Victory. The (Re)birth of the Spanish Musical Culture during the Civil War**

16:15 – 17:45 / TABLE 5: **MUSIC THEATER, MEDIA AND WAR PROPAGANDA**

Chair: Teresa Cascudo

- Enrique Mejías (Centro de Documentación y Archivo de la SGAE): **Nuns and *Bayadères*: Popular Musical Theatre in Spain during the Civil War**
- Lidia López Gómez (U. Autònoma de Barcelona): **Writing for the Screen. Composers and their Filmic Work during the Spanish Civil War**
- Francesc Cortès (U. Autònoma de Barcelona): **Between the Seizure of the Teatre Nacional de Catalunya and the Purge of its Members: Cultural and Political Debates at the Barcelona Gran Teatre del Liceu (1936–1940)**

Saturday, 10 October 2020

9:30 – 10:15 / KEYNOTE: Iván Iglesias (U. de Valladolid): **Music Historiography and the Spanish Civil War**

10:30 – 12:45 / TABLE 6: **COLLECTIVE MEMORIES, MYTHS AND LEGACIES OF THE SPANISH WAR**

Chair: Michael Christoforidis

- Germán Gan Quesada (U. Autònoma de Barcelona): **Sounds of a controversial memory: Spanish Civil War and Music Composition in the Late Francoism and Democratic Transition (1965–1980)**
- Samuel Llano (U. of Manchester): **Myth and Memory in Roberto Gerhard's Post-Civil War Music**
- Milijana Pavlović (U. Innsbruck): **En el frente del Jarama: The Musical Cult of the Spanish Figthers in Yugoslavia**
- Luis Velasco-Puffleau (U. Bern): **"High overhead some meaningless bullets are singing": Listening to George Orwell's Spanish Civil War**

13:00 – 14:30 / ROUND TABLE: **MUSICOLOGY AND WAR: CHALLENGES AND DIRECTIONS IN THE STUDY OF WAR FROM A MUSICOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE**

Participants:

Annegret Fauser (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

Morag Grant (University of Edinburgh)

Eva Moreda (University of Glasgow)

Diego Alonso (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin).

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The **password** is: MSCW

The meeting ID is: 612 5165 5681

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- If for some reason Zoom crashes and I cannot communicate with you through the Zoom application, please take a look at the conference's Twitter account. I will use this channel to further communicate with you: [https://twitter.com/music\\_civil](https://twitter.com/music_civil)

## ABSTRACTS

Thursday, 8 OCTOBER 2020

KEYNOTE:

Michael Christoforidis & Elizabeth Kertesz (U. Melbourne):

### **Conscripting Carmen for the Spanish Civil War**

Georges Bizet's *Carmen* has always been a political opera, even beyond its fundamentally exoticist premise. The interwar years, however, saw the modernity of the work reinscribed in innovative adaptations of the opera and reworkings of its constituent parts, which engaged with the work's subtext of class conflict and increasingly aligned the Carmen story with prevailing political ideologies. Soviet adaptations such as the Moscow Art Theatre Musical Studio's *Carmencita and the Soldier* (1924) were integral to this process, which was further heightened during the 1930s. During the Spanish Civil War elements of Carmen—that enduring stereotype and internationally recognisable symbol of Spain—were recast in works that could serve as propaganda in support of different sides in the conflagration.

In this paper we consider adaptations of the Carmen story and elements of the opera in Nazi Germany and New Deal United States, as they relate to alliances formed around the Spanish Civil War. This will be followed by a consideration of the Nationalist Spanish films *Carmen la de Triana / Andalusische Nächte* (1938) and the Ruth Page and Bentley Stone ballet *Guns and Castanets* (1939), and their different musical and narrative strategies in the political mobilisation of Carmen.

**Michael Christoforidis** lectures in Musicology at the Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, University of Melbourne. He has published extensively on nineteenth- and twentieth-century Spanish music and dance, and its impact on Western culture. Other research interests include the impact of the visual arts upon musical modernism, issues of national identity and exoticism in music, and the history of the acoustic guitar. His recent books are: *Manuel de Falla and Visions of Spanish Music* (Routledge, 2017) and *Carmen and the Staging of Spain* (with Elizabeth Kertesz, Oxford University Press, 2018).

**Elizabeth Kertesz** is a research fellow at the Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, University of Melbourne. She has written extensively on the English composer Ethel Smyth, focusing on the critical reception of her operas in Germany and England. In 2018 she published a monograph with Michael Christoforidis, entitled *Carmen and the Staging of Spain* (Oxford University Press,). Her current research interests include Spanish-themed music, entertainment and film from the Belle Epoque into the first half of the twentieth century.

## TABLE 1: SOLIDARITY FROM ABROAD, EXILED GERMANS AND THE INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES

Peter Deeg (Akademie der Künste, Berlin) & Diego Alonso (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin):  
**Hanns Eisler in Wartime Spain, 1937.**

The two-week visit of the Austro-German composer Hanns Eisler (1898–1962) to Civil War Spain in January 1937 is usually portrayed as a self-evident, logical and at the same time heroic act by the exiled musician. Nevertheless, a whole range of questions remain unanswered: Who invited Eisler to Spain? Which Spanish cities did he actually see? Did he coordinate his visit with his brother Gerhart Eisler, who had been sent to Spain by the Communist Party that same month? And: Why did Hanns Eisler not stay longer and take part in more public concerts across the country? Why did he not at least wait to join his favourite singer Ernst Busch, who entered the country only a few days after Eisler's departure and was engaged in a wide range of activities there in the following months? Above all: Why did Eisler not compose more (or, one might think, better) music than the two or three occasional songs which are usually regarded as his contribution to the Spanish cause, most importantly the *Marcha del 5° Regimiento*? And why did Eisler never refer to the Spanish Civil War again in the years following 1937? Besides reconstructing some details of Eisler's stay in Spain (with many thanks to Dr Diego Alonso), this paper attempts to outline the personal, political and artistic context of the composer's uncertain situation in the months before and after January 1937. Analysis will show how Eisler encountered serious difficulties in 1936 and 1937, when, for instance, the International Music Bureau (IMB) in Moscow, which Eisler had presided over since July 1935, was liquidated. At the same time, as a consequence of the "Moscow Trials", Eisler's sister Ruth Fischer was publicly blamed for having planned Stalin's assassination – an accusation which would also put her two brothers in danger. Special attention will be devoted to the question of which archival documents and sources can provide historical evidence to biographical details beyond the myths of the "political musician".

**Peter Deeg**, born in Hof/Saale (Bavaria) in 1966, is an archivist (M.A., Fachhochschule Potsdam) at the Music Archive of the Akademie der Künste, Berlin.

**Diego Alonso** works as a postdoc researcher at Humboldt University, in Berlin (Project: *Hanns Eisler in Republican Spain*). His PhD thesis explored Arnold Schoenberg's influence on the music and thought of Roberto Gerhard. He has been a visiting researcher at Humboldt University in Berlin, at the University of Cambridge, at Goldsmiths, University of London and at the Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung (Berlin). He has published in leading musicology journals including *Acta musicologica*, *Twentieth-Century Music*, *Music Analysis*, *Musicologica Austriaca* (Best Paper Award 2019) and *Journal of War and Culture Studies* (forthcoming).



Carola Schramm & Christof Kugler (Ernst Busch Society):

**"Battle - songs - Canciones de las Brigadas Internacionales". Ernst Busch and the Origin of the Songbooks in Spain.**

When Ernst Busch, who was also known as the "Red Orpheus" during the Weimar Republic, came to Spain from the Soviet Union in February 1937, his songs had migrated with him to the stations of his exile and now also to Spain. Consequently, Busch was there not as a fighter at the front, as was readily circulated, but rather as a singer for the interbrigades on the cultural stages in the immediate vicinity of the fighting and in numerous radio broadcasts. Its importance, even beyond the immediate period of the Spanish War, was mainly due to the spread of the song material available in the Interbrigades. What began with the special production of a song collection published by the Germanlanguage Organ of the International Brigades <<Le Volontaire de la Liberté>>, Ernst Busch expanded through permanent field work and the addition of his song material to a total of five editions of the "Canciones de guerra" within only 16 months.

In the course of time, the function of the songs and songbooks changed, from active use at the front to the preservation of this song culture connected with the fight against fascism. Busch shaped this change both because of his anti-fascist and internationalist stance and out of the necessity to find new forms for its effectiveness. The precarious situation of those exiled between the fascist threat and, in part, threatening political developments in the Soviet Union also forced Busch to tirelessly create a material basis for his future artistic, political, and not least economic activities.

The contemporary source material presented by us opened up the possibility of reconstructing the genesis of the five editions of his songbook and presenting it chronologically in the context of contributions from the press of the Interbrigades and the German-speaking exile press.

The extensive material also illustrates the framework conditions existing under the prevailing war conditions, characterized by changing publishers and sponsors as well as influenced by the various organizational structures on the side of the Interbrigades.

**Carola Schramm**, born in 1959, studied musicology at the Humboldt University of Berlin from 1978/1983 and received her doctorate from the Martin Luther University of Halle/Saale in 1992. Since 2000 she has been working on the artistic and political work of Ernst Busch; publications on this topic. Founding member of the Ernst Busch Society. Email address: dr.carolaschramm@gmx.net

**Christof Kugler**, born 1955, studied medicine from 1980 to 1986 and received his doctorate in Frankfurt am Main in 1988. Further training as a specialist in surgery. Since 1984 building a collection about the support of the German-speaking exile for the Spanish Republic and the after-effects in Germany, especially in the GDR. Support and participation in numerous publications, catalogues and exhibitions on the subject of the Spanish Civil War. Cooperation with Werner Abel, born 1943. 1968 to 1972 studies of philosophy at the Karl-Marx-University Leipzig, where he received his doctorate in 1979. Until 2008 he worked as an assistant to the chair "History of Political Ideas and Theories" in the Department of Political Science at Chemnitz University of Technology. Since 2010, work on the Spanish Civil War and development of a document archive on the International Brigades. Email address: ck@christofkugler.de

Elsa Calero-Carramolino (U. Granada):

**Beyond the London Committee: Musical Solidarity Networks in Britain during the Spanish Civil War**

The aim of this paper is to delve into the institutional framework developed between 1936 and 1939 by the British intellectuality to organize musical events that transcended the Non-Intervention Pact. The study of the figure of Alan Bush as well as the activities carried out by the expeditions of Basque and Catalan children show that the solidarity and support that the Republican cause received from the United Kingdom went beyond the position adopted by the London Committee.

Despite of the London Committee adopted by the British Conservatory Party, a great number of intellectuals, politicians, and people from the different social elites organized themselves to offer support to the Spanish cause. Although these actions seem unconnected, they all had the music as a key element.

The primary sources consulted to demonstrate these aspects come from the archives of the Spanish Collection of the Marx Memorial Library and Worker's School, the Alan Bush's personal archive kept in the British Library and the Basque Children's archive hold at the People History Museum in Manchester.

**Elsa Calero-Carramolino** is graduated in Musicology (2014) at the University Autónoma of Madrid (2014) and holds a MRes Musical Heritage from the International University of Andalucía (2015), where she both obtained the distinction of "First of the Promotion".

She is currently a PhD Candidate at the Music Department of the University of Granada –under the mentorship of Professor Gemma Pérez-Zalduondo– where she was awarded a fellowship as Research on the Teaching Staff. Her research interests are music, punishment, repression, detention and re-education during the 20th Century in Spain.

Milena Amann-Rauter (U. Vienna):

### **Exiled Musicians as Supporters of the Popular Front Movement during the Spanish Civil War**

During the 1920s and 1930s, fascism spread in Western Europe. In 1925 Mussolini came to power in Italy, in 1933 Hitler was elected chancellor of Nazi Germany, and in 1936 Franco took control over Spain. At the same time, antifascist movements gained popularity. In France and Spain, the Popular Front aimed to unite left-wing and center parties in the fight against fascism. The Popular Front movement became international in nature, when thousands of volunteers from different countries came to Spain to support the Spanish Popular Front in the Civil War (1936-1939).

Among the supporters of the Spanish Popular Front were several musicians who had fled Nazi Germany. These artists fought either as soldiers or wrote and performed music for the Spanish Republicans. For example, Eberhard Schmidt was a soldier in the International Brigades and composed several songs about the Spanish war during his internment in France after the war. Ernst Busch spent more than one year in Spain during the war, where he performed as a singer and published a song book. Hanns Eisler toured through Spain as a pianist and orator, and composed songs for the International Brigades that he rehearsed and presented together with soldiers. Other exiled musicians supported the Spanish Popular Front from abroad, such as Paul Arma, Paul Dessau, Louis Saguer or Marianne Oswald. All four of them lived in exile in France, where the Popular Front movement had great success and formed the government from 1936 to 1938. Arma, Dessau and Saguer composed songs for the Spanish antifascist movement and Oswald performed as a singer at solidarity concerts.

In my presentation, I will discuss the contribution of exiled musicians from Nazi Germany to the Popular Front movement during the Spanish Civil War. This topic is part of my ongoing dissertation titled "Music and Politics: Exiled Musicians in the Antifascist Fight of the French Popular Front".

**Milena Amann-Rauter** is currently a PhD student in music history at the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna. During the academic year 2018-2019 she was a visiting student at the University of Chicago. Her educational background includes diplomas in orchestral conducting, violin performance, music education and French that she received from the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna, the University of Vienna (Austria), the École Normale de Musique de Paris and the Conservatoire de musique et de danse Aulnay-sous-Bois (France).

## TABLE 2: MUSIC AND THE MAKING OF REBEL SPAIN

Olimpia García López (U. Córdoba):

### **Music, Propaganda and Charity in Nationalist Spain: Beneficent Musical Activities in Seville during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)**

Despite the research carried out in recent decades on the development of music during the Spanish Civil War (Pérez Zalduondo, 2002, 2013; Contreras Zubillaga, 2011), local studies are still scarce, even when these are crucial to understand what took place in Spanish territory as a whole. In particular, the case of Seville proves especially relevant, as it was a city with a grand musical tradition and because, after being taken by the Nationalist on 22nd July 1936, it became one of the most important capitals in their possession from the start of the conflict.

The main aim of this paper is to analyse the musical life of this city during the war, paying particular attention to the beneficent musical activities. I will examine the musical initiatives promoted by the two new power centres of the New State: the sole political party, FET y de las JONS, and the Roman Catholic Church. Furthermore, I will also study the concerts that served to establish cultural relations with “friendly counties” (Martínez del Fresno, 2010). On the one hand, the analysis of these activities shows the uses and functions that music acquires during the conflict, since these beneficent events, by attempting to give an interested view of the supposed normality that was experienced in the areas under Nationalist control, also acquired a propaganda dimension in the service of the New State. On the other hand, I will look at the new leading performers, repression, and absences in the local musical milieu, as well as the visits of musicians who were touring the Nationalist Spain.

The main historical source for this study is the print media of Seville, having used newspapers such as: the Alphonine-monarchist ABC de Sevilla, the Falangist FE, the Catholic El Correo de Andalucía and the Carlist La Unión. These texts have been interpreted taking into account both the particular nature of these sources, which, far from containing absolute truths, aimed to function as frameworks for the interpretation of reality and for the legitimization of ideas, and the combative and instrumentalized nature of the Nationalist press during the war (Sevillano Calero, 2003).

**Olimpia García López** (PhD. 2019) is is Lecturer in Music at the Universidad de Córdoba (Spain). She earned a BA in Musicology (Conservatory of Seville, 2012), a MA in Research on Musical Heritage (University of Granada, 2013), and a MA in Music Education (Valencian International University, 2013). Research and Teaching Fellowship (FPU-Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports of Spain, 2015-2019). She has been awarded with the National Premio de Musicología “Lothar Siemens” 2019 (Sociedad Española de Musicología), and the Premio de Investigación Musical “Orfeón Donostiarra” 2012 (University of Basque Country). She has participated with oral presentations in conferences in USA, Portugal and Spain, she is author of a book about the composer Norberto Almandoz (Libargo, 2015), and she has published several papers and book chapters about musical life in Seville during the first half of the twentieth century. She has been Visiting Scholar in the universities of California-Riverside and Manchester.

Belén Pérez Castillo (U. Complutense de Madrid):

### **Music, Catholicism and Basquism in the Francoist prisons during the Spanish Civil War**

During the Spanish Civil War, as the nationalist rebels increasingly gained ground, the prisons had to multiply to house a huge number of prisoners. Unexpectedly, these sordid and inhuman places saw the development of an atypical music scene, encouraged by the prison authorities, especially as a part of a programme to reduce sentences in exchange for the work of the inmates.

This paper focuses on the Basque musicians in prison to analyse the links between Basquism, Catholicism and the musical activities carried out between 1937 and 1939 in Francoist prisons, taking into account the previous context of the ephemeral Basque autonomy –granted in 1936– and the heterogeneous behaviour of the Basque political and religious institutions during the Civil War.

This study is based on various sources, such as the files from the General Administration Office of the Penal Institutions, documents and musical manuscripts preserved in the Eresbil archive of the Basque Country, letters from the Otaño Archive in Loyola and the memoirs of prisoners such as Julio Ugarte. I will analyse the activity and the repertoire created and performed by inmates as Francisco Bengoa, Eugenio Orbegozo and father José Domingo de Santa Teresa (Francisco María Ugartechea), and will examine the tensions and forced agreements between these inmates and the authorities.

**Belén Pérez Castillo** is a Full Time Lecturer at the Department of Musicology, Universidad Complutense, Madrid. Her area of expertise is twentieth-century and contemporary Spanish music and she is currently involved in research on Music and politics and Music and exiles. She was a Visiting Scholar at the University of California, Riverside, and has carried out research and teaching in several universities in Europe and America. Her articles have been published by Ashgate, Brepols, Cambridge Scholars and journals such as *Revista de Musicología*, *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana* and *Observatoire Musical Français*. She has contributed to the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*. Since 2006 she has organized the seminars “Diálogos con la creación musical” at the Universidad Complutense. She has frequently collaborated with Radio Clásica of Radio Nacional de España.

Javier Suárez Pajares (U. Complutense de Madrid):

**The *Curso para Extranjeros* (Santander, 1938) in the Musical Reorganisation of the Francoist State**

By mid-1938, a nationalist victory in the Civil War was in sight, and in nationalist areas the Franco regime initiated measures intended to project the impression of normalcy to the outside world. Some were as indecently obscene as the organisation of tourist routes through the north of the Peninsula, while others were more discreet, e.g., using culture as a form of propaganda. Among the latter, the *Curso para Extranjeros* (Course of Studies for Foreigners) that took place between July 1 and August 25 in Santander stands out. More than a Summer Course it was a first plenary conference, featuring the most important cultural elements of the Nuevo Estado, then taking shape. Music was an important part of the program and included concerts, talks and courses by leading figures in the reorganisation of musical life under the Francoist regime. Higinio Anglès, Regino Sainz de la Maza, Víctor Espinós, Federico Moreno Torroba, and Nemesio Otaño taught courses and, outside the official program, Joaquín Rodrigo gave three concert lectures under the title “Instrumental Music in the Imperial Courts of Spain.” This paper will examine in depth the presence of music in the *Curso para Extranjeros* its specific contents and far reaching consequences.

**Javier Suárez-Pajares** is Professor of Musicology at the Universidad Complutense (Madrid). From 2007-2012 he was Principal Fellow-Associate Professor at the University of Melbourne and has been awarded two Fulbright grants to perform stays at the University of California, Riverside (2016), and City University of New York (2019). He has edited Manuel de Falla Iconography. The Image of a Musician (1995), *Música española entre dos guerras, 1914-1945* (2002), *Joaquín Rodrigo y la música española de los años cuarenta* (2005), and *Joaquín Rodrigo y Federico Sopena en la música española de los años cincuenta*, (2008). He has participated in the research project “Music and Culture in 20th-Century Spain: The Dialectic of Modernity and Dialogues with Latin America” (HUM2006-07934) and is the main researcher in the project “Sources and History of Spanish Music (18th-19th Centuries). Texts, Contexts and Communication” (HAR2011-30272-C02-02). Currently collaborates with Walter A. Clark in a critical biography of Joaquín Rodrigo to be published in 2021 by W.W. Norton.

Albano García Sánchez (U. Córdoba)

**Music and Propaganda in Rebel Spain: *Radio Nacional. Revista Semanal de Radio Difusión.***

The weekly magazine *Radio Nacional. Revista Semanal de Radio Difusión* was born in Burgos on November 13, 1938, thanks to Antonio Tovar (1911-1985), head of the radio department of the Press and Propaganda National Service in the Ministry of Home Affairs. This presentation aims to describe the presence of music during magazine's early years, from his birth to his moving to Madrid after the end of the war, and to assess the use of music as an instrument of propaganda to support the State policies based on the different sections —«notas y comentarios musicales», «Curiosidades musicales», «Anécdotas y curiosidades», «Nuestros músicos», «Páginas musicales», «Páginas musicales», «Una ópera por semana», «La formación de nuestros coros», «Bibliografía musical» u «Orientaciones de la música religiosa moderna»—, since some of the most important musical personalities associated with the Francoism, such as Nemesio Otaño (1880-1956), Joaquín Turina (1882-1949), Joaquín Rodrigo (1901-1999), Federico Sopeña (1917-1991) o Regino Sáinz de la Maza (1896-1981), among others, would write in them. Likewise, through the analysis of this weekly magazine, it is intended to study the presence of music on *Radio Nacional de España*, because it contains weekly programming guides for *Radio Nacional*, organized by week days and by geographical Spanish areas alongside some foreign areas.

**Albano García Sánchez.** Phd. in Musicology from the University of Oviedo. Lecturer at the “Didactic area of musical expression” at the University of Cordoba. Between 2007 and 2017 he has been teaching “Music history” at the Advanced Conservatory of Music “Rafael Orozco” (Córdoba). Since 2009, he also works at the University of Cordoba, where currently continues to develop his activity full time. As a musicologist he has participated in numerous conferences, both in Spain and abroad, and he has published several articles about the significance of the Jesuit Nemesio Otaño in relation to the implementation of the *Motu Proprio* in Spain and during the Francoism.

**Friday, 9 OCTOBER 2020**

**KEYNOTE: Eva Moreda Rodríguez (U. Glasgow): Unionized Musicians during the Second Republic and Civil War.**

The last decade has seen a surge of research on musicians' trade unions and, more generally, musicians as workers. Such approaches, however, have had limited impact in the Spanish context. In this talk, I follow the trajectories of orchestral musicians' trade unions under the Second Republic and then the Civil War with a view to ascertaining how these typically neglected sectors of the musical landscape can substantially enhance our understanding of how music was shaped by and in turn contributed to shape the political developments of these years. By analysing a range of written sources, including the trade unions' own publications and documentation, I pay attention, in particular, to the tensions between trade unions and avant-garde music composers involved in high-level music management. These tensions, which expressed themselves under the form of open criticism during the Second Republic and in more subtle ways during the Civil War, illustrate how the struggles between different factions within the Spanish Left were also mirrored in music.

**Eva Moreda Rodríguez** is senior lecturer in musicology at the University of Glasgow. A specialist in the political and cultural history of music in modern Spain, she is the author of *Music and Exile in Francoist Spain* (Ashgate, 2015), *Music Criticism and Music Critics in Early Francoist Spain* (Oxford University Press, 2016), and numerous articles and book chapters. In 2018–19 she held a Leadership Fellowship from the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), and her work has received funding from the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland, the British Academy, and the Leverhulme Trust.



### TABLE 3: “REVOLUTIONARY MUSIC” AND THE SOVIET UNION

Daniel Kowalsky (Queen’s University)

#### **Moscow-Madrid, 1936-1939. Notes for a Soundtrack**

If its internationalization was the most prominent feature of the Spanish Civil War, the improbable and out-sized role of the Soviet Union was, for decades, poorly understood and often misrepresented. As late as 1994, a British historian observed that on the Soviet Union and the Spanish Civil War, “no work cites official documentation”. A quarter-century on, in the year 2020, the historiography of this topic is now greatly expanded. The published literature includes not only declassified document collections, but conference proceedings, journal articles, and monographs on myriad connected subjects. The richness of the field is evident in examining the incorporation of this burgeoning historiography in recent biographies of Stalin, in works on the Soviet military, on European interwar cultural history, the history of the visual arts, and diplomatic history. Historians working in the UK, in France, Germany, Spain, Russia and the United States have all contributed significant, sometimes towering, works of scholarship. A subject long mired in Cold War-era tendentious controversy has finally emerged as one of the most meticulously documented and well-researched in Modern European history.

Nonetheless, no work to date has surveyed the musical landscape of this singular bilateral relationship. This talk will suggest a soundtrack for Soviet participation in the Spanish Civil War, one that reflected the peculiarly potent coming together of the Russian avant-garde and a traditional Iberian vernacular. Among the topics addressed will be the dispatch from Moscow and distribution in the Republic of Soviet phonographs, and of Soviet musical scores for performance in the Republican zone during the war, the organisation of concerts that showcased Soviet and Spanish musical idioms, and the use of recorded music in Soviet-made newsreels about the civil war. Even the Soviet musical instruction of Basque war orphans, evacuated to the USSR in 1937, will not escape our notice. Research for this talk will be based on unpublished materials from declassified collections in the Russian Federation and Spain, film archives in both countries, published memoirs, press and the ever-growing secondary literature.

**Daniel Kowalsky**, lecturer in European Studies at Queen’s University, Belfast, is the author of numerous books and articles on the civil war in Spain, including *La Unión Soviética y la guerra civil española* (Barcelona, Editorial Crítica, 2003), *Stalin and the Spanish Civil War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), and *History in Dispute: The Spanish Civil War* (Detroit: St. James Press, 2005). His most recent publications include “Exporting Soviet Commemoration: The Spanish Civil War and the October Revolution, 1936-1939” in Jean-François Fayet, Valerie Gorin, and Stefanie Prezioso, eds., *Echoes of October: International Commemorations of the Bolshevik Revolution 1918-1990* (London, 2017). He is a contributor to the project “Russia’s Great War and Revolution”, and his chapter in the volume *The Wider Arc of the Revolution* (Bloomington, Indiana: Slavica Publishers) appeared in the end of 2019.

Atenea Fernández Higuero (U. Oviedo)

## Anti-fascism, Revolutionary Patriotism and Communism: Soviet-Spanish Musical Relations during the War

One of the most controversial issues in the war has been the assistance provided to the belligerents by different countries, in particular the Soviet support granted to the Republican government. In fact, this issue was under discussion from the beginning, just a few months after the military uprising of 1936, because of its distortion by Franco's propaganda and later by the context of the Cold War. Consequently, many studies have focused on determining their control and intervention in the military field or in the activities of the Comintern, rather than on cultural issues, with the exception of some analyses of creations made within the International Brigades and certain literary and cinematographic products.

This communication proposes to explore the presence of the Soviet Union in the musical field of the republican area, attending to different levels. Firstly, it deals with the reception of different works developed by Russian authors, such as symphonic compositions, newscasts and musical comedies, and some theatrical pieces inspired by the agit-prop. Secondly, it shows the Comintern's interest in the musical propaganda performed in Spain and its attempts to redirect it, especially the one created by the international volunteers. Finally, this research observes the bonds and meanings acquired by Stalinist communism at an individual level, through the study of certain diplomatic actions and the speeches of composers and other relevant personalities in musical organisations of the Republican and Franco governments.

The purpose is to show the variety of subjective, political and cultural relations established with the USSR and "the Russian world" in these years. This is one side of the internationalisation of the war which is still poorly known at the musical level, and which in turn allows us to delve into considerations about nationalism on republican soil, the transnational construction of the anti-fascist movement and the international communism.

**Atenea Fernández Higuero** ha sido becaria predoctoral del programa de ayudas "Severo Ochoa" (FICYT) entre 2012 y 2016 y ha formado parte del proyecto de investigación *Danza durante la Guerra Civil y el franquismo (1936-1960): políticas culturales, identidad, género y patrimonio coreográfico*, entre otros. En 2017 finalizó su tesis doctoral, titulada *Música y política en Madrid, de la Guerra Civil a la Posguerra (1936-1945): propaganda, instituciones, represión y actitudes individuales*, bajo la dirección de Beatriz Martínez del Fresno, en la Universidad de Oviedo. Sus investigaciones se centran principalmente en el estudio de las relaciones entre música y poder en España durante el período de la Guerra Civil y la II Guerra Mundial.

Yolanda Acker (Australian National University): **Music and Soviet Culture in Madrid during the Spanish Civil War**

The political involvement of the Soviet Union in the Spanish Civil War is well documented, yet few authors have analysed the promotion of Soviet culture in the Republic. Those that do have largely addressed Communist propaganda in theatre and cinema, but little attention has been paid to the role of Soviet music in advancing the Republican cause.

This paper will explore some of the direct manifestations of the Soviet Union's relationship to the Republic during the War, examining Russian works included in the orchestral and chamber repertoires. Russian composers featured in the repertory of the Orquesta Filarmónica de Madrid—still active during the early months of the conflict—as well as that of the Orquesta Nacional de Conciertos, formed in 1938. It also discusses some of the cultural and propagandistic events featuring music held in Madrid during the War, such as those organised to commemorate the anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Music can therefore be seen to have played an important and effective part in what has been termed Moscow's "cultural offensive" on the Spanish Republic and its defence against Fascism.

**Yolanda Acker** gained her Bachelor of Music (Honours) and Master of Music degrees in Musicology from The University of Melbourne, Australia. She then moved to Madrid, Spain, where she worked at the Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales (ICCMU) for many years and completed a Master of Arts Management degree in Music, Theatre and Dance. Most of her research and publications centre on early twentieth-century Spanish music and dance. She is also an experienced translator of texts on music from Spanish into English. She has just completed her PhD at the Australian National University (ANU) with a thesis titled "Making Music in Madrid during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)".

#### TABLE 4: MUSICAL LIFE AND CULTURE IN WARTIME SPAIN

David Ferreiro Carballo (U. Complutense de Madrid)

##### «Howitzers sound, but they don't give a damn»: The Musical Activity in the House of John Milanes during the Civil War

John H. Milanes was the Consul of the United Kingdom in Madrid during—but not only—the Spanish Civil War. In addition to his diplomatic career, he also developed a successful activity as musician—studying viola with Conrado del Campo—and composer. His love for the music made him become one of the great patrons and protectors of the Spanish composers who stayed in Madrid during the conflict. Yet, he and his wife Isabel turned his house into a calm oasis in which artists could rest from war and express their cultural concerns. Hence, and following the routine of the Russian «Group of the Five», who used to meet on Fridays; the couple started a gathering called «The Fridays of Milanes», even though these reunions did not occur in this precise day of the week, as Milanes himself recognized in a lecture given in 1948.

Among the composers who were protected by John Milanes, we can find the names of Conrado del Campo, Joaquín Turina, Juan Casaux, or Julio Frances, all of them regulars in the house of the English consul. The principal activity of «The Fridays of Milanes» was the interpretation of string chamber music, either canonical or, more important, expressly written for the occasion. Having said that, the purpose of this paper is to rebuild the atmosphere of these reunions. In order to do this, I analyze the musical archive of John Milanes, which was recently acquired by the National Library of Spain (BNE). Thus, by putting together this important legacy with the specific part of each participant's catalogue, I recreate how these composers could forget for a while the dramatic situation of the streets and escape the sound of the howitzers, as it remained written in one of the compositions conserved and in the title of the present proposal.

**David Ferreiro** gained his Ph. D. in Musicology at Complutense University of Madrid (2019). He also holds a Master Degree in «Spanish and Hispano-American Music» in the same university (2015). For the realization of his doctorate he enjoyed a four-years contract for the Training of University Teachers funded by the Ministry of Education (FPU), which allowed him to devote full time to his dissertation about the first two operas of Conrado del Campo; as well as to complete two three-months stays at Yale University as Visiting Assistant in Research (2017 and 2018). His lines of research focus around Spanish music and musicians of the 19th and 20th centuries, with special attention to the following areas: analysis and music theory, Nationalism, Regionalism and musical identity in Galicia, edition and recovery of the repertoire, Spanish lyrical theatre, associationism, musical institutions, and wind bands.

Nicolás Rincón Rodríguez (U. Complutense de Madrid): **With Prospects of Victory. The (Re)birth of the Spanish Musical Culture during the Civil War**

The first volume of *Música* included a three-page speech by José Renau, General Director of Fine Arts, explaining the mission of the Central Music Council. He affirmed that the “rebirth” of the Spanish musical culture would be the reflection of “the abnegation of the Spanish people in their heroic struggle against fascism.” His choice of the word rebirth could not be more precise. The Republic achieved two desired objectives: the reorganization of the National Theater and the creation of a National Orchestra. That is, despite the severe budgetary difficulties to win the war, the Government was able to give life to the emblematic projects of the National Music Committee, created in 1931, to conduct the musical policy of the Republic. In such a way, his propaganda speech focused on two main issues: the fight against “invasive International Fascism” and the opportunity that war represented to build a new state. That communication was addressed to the Spanish people but did not lose sight of the international community. Ultimately, what they intended to explain was that life continued normally despite the efforts of the Rebels to impede it.

Drawing on historical research, this paper examines the ideologies and processes that were involved in the configuration of the Central Music Council policy. First, I will show how they were able to succeed by focusing just on three projects: The National Orchestra, the National Lyric Theatre, and the magazine *Música*. Next, I examine their repertoires regarding their values and identitarian aspirations. Finally, I make a reflection on the music policy of the Spanish Second Republic in its entirety. When the 1936-39 period is included, we obtain a more complex picture in which the so-called failure of the Republican musical policy (referring to the National Committee of Music program) is hard to maintain. Only by analyzing other factors, such as the context, its promoters, and its aims, will confer us a more balanced discourse.

**Nicolás Rincón Rodríguez** studied Musicology at Complutense University of Madrid before completing a Master’ degree in Art Administration: Theatre, Dance and Music and a Master’s degree in 20th and 21st Music Century at Bangor University. He returned to Madrid to undertake his thesis, entitled «The Sound of the Republic. Music, politics, and identity in Spain between 1931 and 1939». His research is focused on the relationships between twentieth-century Spanish music and the cultural, social, and political processes in which it develops. He has participated in national and international musicological conferences and the publication of several chapters in collective volumes. He has edited the collective book *Bandas de música: contextos interpretativos y repertories*, and is editor of the journal *Estudios bandísticos*. He is also the chair of the Study Group on Wind Bands of the Spanish Society of Musicology and the Spanish delegate of the International Society of Military Music

## TABLE 5: MUSIC THEATER, MEDIA AND WAR PROPAGANDA

Enrique Mejías (*Centro de Documentación y Archivo de la SGAE*)

### **Nuns and *Bayadères*: Popular Musical Theatre in Spain during the Civil War**

During the three theatre seasons between the beginning and the end of the Civil War, popular musical theatre (zarzuela and revue) was constantly programmed in cities and towns in both the Republican and the “Nationalist” zones. Zarzuela and revues were the most popular and commercially successful theatre productions at the time. In spite of it, the genre has not been studied in relation to its socio-political war context yet. This is the aim of this presentation. Taking as main sources the theatrical press and the contemporary body of law, I explore the reasons (commercial, artistic, ideological....) for the prominence during the war of repertory music theatre premiered before the conflict. My case studies are the opereta *Romanza húngara* (Dotras Vila), the revue *Las incendiarias* (Ruiz de Azagra and Casanova Caparrós) and the zarzuela *Sor Navarra* (Moreno Torroba), created in Barcelona, Madrid and San Sebastián respectively. The study discusses the extent to which we can speak of a “war zarzuela”; the transformations in the genre over the three seasons. Moreover, new readings of repertory zarzuelas through the lens of fascist / antifascist ideologies are examined. My presentation challenges the common view that popular musical theatre was detached from politics, untouched by the tragedy that was taking place in Spain.

**Enrique Mejías** earned a PhD (with honors) in Musicology from the Complutense University of Madrid where he achieved the highest academic recognition from the Ministry of Education through its National Excellency Award and the Complutenses’ Extraordinary Licenciado Award. He currently works as documentalist and musical editor at the Centre for Documentation and Archive of the Spanish Society of Authors and Publishers (SGAE). His research has been published in ‘Revista de Musicología’, ‘Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana’, ‘Quodlibet’ and AEDOM’s ‘Boletín DM’ among other publications, usually on topics concerning zarzuela and Spanish music of the nineteenth century. He contributes consistently to the ‘Zarzuela.net’ portal as music critic. In recent seasons he has accepted regular invitations from Teatro de la Zarzuela de Madrid as conference speaker and exhibition curator. He is Coordinator for the musical editions published by Fundación Jacinto e Inocencio Guerrero, and is a member of the advisory board for Cuenca’s ‘Jornadas de Zarzuela’.

His publications may be found at: <https://ucm.academia.edu/EnriqueMejíasGarcía>

Lidia López Gómez (U. Autònoma de Barcelona)

### **Writing for the Screen. Composers and their Filmic Work during the Spanish Civil War.**

During the Spanish Civil war, authors of different origins and styles converged in their aim to write music for cinema. Some of these composers, such as Darius Milhaud or Font de Anta, collaborated only occasionally with the celluloid, while others, such as Dotras Vila, Jaume Mestres or Conrado Bernat wrote soundtracks frequently. Although each of them came from a different background and education, what can be said is that they adapted their writing, in a greater or lesser degree, to the musical language of cinema and the propagandistic needs of the wartime. The present paper aims to analyze the compositional style for the screen of the authors who participated in films premiered in Spain during the civil war. Also, we will inquire into the social and political circumstances surrounding their participation in the filming, as well as the consequences -including exile and jail- of participating in propagandistic footages.

**Lidia López** is musicologist and violinist. She is associate lecturer at the Musicology Department of the UAB where she obtained her PhD in 2014 with the Doctoral Thesis Musical composition for the cinema during the Spanish Civil War. Music, politics and propaganda in short and half-length films (1936-1939). Her main fields of study are music in audiovisual media, and music in war, and in these fields she has published in high ranked editorials, like Ashgate Popular and Folk Music Series (Routledge, Francis & Taylor Group), Peter Lang and Waxmann Verlag. She has participated in several national and international conferences, codirected the III Sound Transit International Conference and is member of the MUSC Research Group (Music in contemporary societies).

Francesc Cortès (U. Autònoma de Barcelona)

**Between the Seizure of the National Theatre of Catalonia and the Purging of the Partners: Cultural and Political Debates in the G. T. of Liceu of Barcelona between 1936-1940**

On July 27 of 1936 the G. T. del Liceu became the National Theater of Catalonia by decree. The legal provision stated: "the Government of the Generalitat had tried on several occasions to bring the people closer to the Great Theater, turning it into the People's Theater of Catalonia".

During the years of the Civil War, the Liceu became a space for the representation of great political events. It served as the privileged focus of the new revolutionary cultural model, as a platform for events organized by the Central Government –established in Barcelona since November 1937–, by the Generalitat de Catalunya and also by Labor Union forces.

The study of unpublished administrative materials reflects the internal tensions existing in the Republican sector. The struggle between the Labor Union forces (CNT) with the public administration was manifested in the attempts to control programming and cultural models, with cases of censorship, or avoiding the payment of "copyright". Part of the old structure remained, even under the period of Salvador Bacarisse who continued to hire the "head of the claque".

With the occupation of Franco's troops, the theater did not easily return to its previous state. Employees and members of the old Liceu Society were purged.

**Francesc Cortès:** Full professor (UAB). His research activity has focused on Spanish Music, specially on the Spanish Lyric Theater, from the centuries XIX and XXth. He obtained the Research Award on Musicology "Emili Pujol" for his studies around the figure of Felip Pedrell, in 1995. He has been part of thirteen Research Projects, some of them belonging to the Ministerio de Educación y Cultura of Spain, and also of the Generalitat of Catalonia. He is the Head of the Research Group "The music in the contemporary societies". Since 2012 he is the Head of the Project of Research, Digitalisation and Catalogation of the Historical Archive of the Society of the G. T. del Liceu of Barcelona. Others recent publications are *Music in War time: Songs repertory (1503-1939)*, published with J. Joaquim Esteve; *Critical History of Catalan Music* (2009). He has published articles in *Revue de musicologie*, *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, and others.



**Saturday, 10 October 2020**

KEYNOTE: Iván Iglesias (U. Valladolid): **Music Historiography and the Spanish Civil War**

In music historiography, the concept of the Spanish civil war has been subject to notable changes since the end of the strife. This keynote examines the discourses that have been constructed about this conflict over the decades, its function and its continuities and changes during the last eighty years, from its presentation as a “crusade” or a “war of liberation” in the post-war period, to its conceptualisation as tragedy in the late Franco dictatorship, and the persistent silence about the event that survived in musicology since the return to democracy. The talk explores historical narratives and tropes, formulations of time and causality, and some theoretical problems in the context of the recent ontological turns in the field. However, the basic question of this keynote is broader: how should musicologists relate to the Spanish Civil War as a ubiquitous and traumatic event of our past?

**Iván Iglesias** is Associate Professor of Music Historiography and Popular Music at the University of Valladolid, Spain. He has been a Visiting Professor at The City University of New York, Freie Universität Berlin, Cardiff University, La Sapienza Università di Roma, and the University of La Habana. His first book, a history of jazz during the Spanish Civil War and the Franco regime, received the 2019 IASPM Book Prize and the UNE National Award for Best Book on Arts and Humanities.

TABLE 6: COLLECTIVE MEMORIES, MYTHS AND LEGACIES OF THE SPANISH WAR

Germán Gan Quesada (U. Autònoma de Barcelona): **Sounds of a Controversial Memory: Spanish Civil War and Music Composition in the Late Francoism and Democratic Transition (1965–1980)**

Until the mid 1960s, both the lack of creative freedom in Spain and the aspiration for a ‘smooth’ inclusion in the self-claimed political neutrality of the formalistic trends of international Avant-garde seem to prevent the composers of the generation born around 1936 to confront the impact and historical persistence of the Spanish Civil War in their catalogues.

On the contrary, from about 1968 onwards the worsening of the political repression in the country somehow linked the immediate present to the not-so-distant past, and a clear leftist bias began to break into Avant-garde music. Spanish composers refer to the Spanish Civil War until the early 1980s in a manifold perspective: from its well-known icons (Balada, *Guernica*, 1966; Halffter, *Elegía a la muerte de tres poetas españoles*, 1975) to its sound landscape (Delás, *Aube*, 1970), from its political figures (Pablo, *Ofrenda*, 1980) to the depiction of everlasting violence in Spanish modern history (Pablo, *Historia natural*, 1972; Halffter, *Pourquoi*, 1975).

This paper aims to examine how these works respond to an actual process of political *engagement* of Spanish academic composition, and to explore the strategies deployed to build or reenact the ‘sound of memory’ of the Spanish Civil War from an Avant-garde viewpoint.

**Germán Gan-Quesada** obtained his PhD in History of Art-Musicology in the University of Granada in 2003 and is, at present, Tenured Associate Professor in Musicology at the Departament d’Art i de Musicologia of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and Vice-chairman of the Spanish Musicological Society. He has been granted, among others institutions, by the Archive Manuel de Falla, the Paul Sacher Stiftung and the Government of Catalonia [FIM-CUNY, New York], and contributed essays on his main research topics – 20<sup>th</sup>-Century Spanish Music and Contemporary Music Aesthetics– for publishing houses such as Ashgate, Brepols, Presses Universitaires de France, and Peter Lang. He is actually Main Researcher of the Research Project RTI2018-093436-B-I00 *Music and Dance in Sociocultural, Identity and Political Processes during the Second Francoism and the Democratic Transition (1959-1978)* [Spain. Ministry of Science and Innovation, 2019-2021].

Samuel Llano (U. Manchester)

### **Myth and Memory in Gerhard's Post-Civil War Music.**

During his exile in Cambridge (1939-1970), Roberto Gerhard faced a series of challenges associated with being a "Mediterranean" composer and an ex-pupil of Schoenberg: 1) the highly strained and divisive cultural politics of the Cold War engendered negative views on the use of folklore in modern composition; 2) the legacies of cultural imperialism set Gerhard's background against perceptions that Spain was a cultural periphery of Europe; 3) the rise of nazism in the 1930s, and the Second World War nurtured negative views of German music in Britain, including the music of victims of nazism such as Schoenberg. These cultural struggles led British critics to articulate contradictory responses to the music composers whose background they found hard to vet. Few were the critics who considered the impact of the Civil War and Spanish politics on Gerhard's work and trajectory.

In this paper I explore the use of national (Spanish, Catalan) icons and myths in the music of Gerhard. I consider the ways in which, in invoking Don Quixote, Catalan folklore, or flamenco, Gerhard aimed to articulate critical readings of politics in Spain before and after the Civil War, and, at the same time, navigate the cultural struggles just described. My interest in Gerhard's experiencing of exile aims to make up for the larger attention devoted to the formal and innovative aspects of his music. The study of form, although important, raises a few questions about the way Gerhard's modernism is interpreted outside its context. What does it mean for a refugee to embrace modernist aesthetics? What did it mean for Gerhard? What was the impact of Britain's cultural struggles on his musical aesthetics? In order to make sense of Gerhard's modernism, I argue, it is necessary to account for the way he developed creative responses to exile through a range of aesthetic formulations that included, but were not limited to, avant-garde composition. More particularly, this paper will explore the ways in which Gerhard's readings of myths and icons recreate Spain and Catalonia as multi-layered archives of memory.

**Samuel Llano** is a Senior Lecturer in Spanish Cultural Studies at the University of Manchester. His work explores the music and sound cultures of Spain from a transcultural perspective, involving France and North Africa, and with a focus on urban cultures. He is the author of *Whose Spain?: Negotiating "Spanish Music" in Paris, 1908-1929* (OUP, 2012), winner of the Robert M. Stevenson Award of the American Musicological Society; and *Discordant Notes: Marginality and Social Control in Madrid, 1850-1930* (OUP, 2018). He has co-edited several collections of essays, including "Spanish Sound Studies" (2019; with Tom Whittaker), a special issue of the *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*. Llano has a secondary interest in exile and migration, and has published several articles on Catalan composer Roberto Gerhard, an exile of the Spanish Civil War.

Llano's current research explores the cultural, diplomatic and racial tensions arising from the study of Arab-Andalusi music in the context of the Franco-Spanish Protectorate in Morocco (1912-1956); and the power struggles enacted in the dances of the Sufi brotherhoods, which used trance as an agent of resistance against the colonial occupation.

Milijana Pavlović (U. Innsbruck)

### **En el frente del Jarama: The Musical Cult of the Spanish Fighters in Yugoslavia**

Around 1700 citizens of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia participated in the Spanish Civil War in the units of the Spanish Republican Army. Those who managed to escape internment and come back to Yugoslavia actively and directly took part in the organisation of the resistance to the Nazi occupation of Yugoslavia in 1941 and were among the most prominent leaders of the partisan forces. As seasoned revolutionaries with immediate combat experience, the “Spanish fighters”, as they were known, had a cult status among the Yugoslav partisans.

This paper focuses on the role the legacy of the Spanish fighters from Yugoslavia had in the collective memory in Yugoslavia, while taking music under more detailed examination. As a powerful medium, music was one of the crucial elements in the anti-fascist resistance and the Yugoslav WWII narrative of the aftermath. Two specific examples are at the centre of this analysis: *Si me quieres escribir*, as performed in a significant scene in the Yugoslav war-epic *Kozara* (1962), and *¡No pasaran!* (song about the Spanish fighters from Yugoslavia), written and composed in the '60s by the then-student of medicine at the University of Belgrade, Vuk Stambolović.

**Milijana Pavlović** holds a permanent research and teaching position at the Department of Music of the University of Innsbruck, Austria. She obtained her PhD degree from the University of Ferrara, Italy, in 2009. In 2013 she was awarded the Lise Meitner Fellowship of the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) for a project on Gustav Mahler's Third Symphony. Her main research interests are Gustav Mahler, music in the Shoah, gender studies, music and literature, music and politics.

Luis Velasco-Pufleau (U. Bern)

## “High overhead some meaningless bullets are singing”: Listening to George Orwell’s Spanish Civil War

George Orwell took part in the Spanish civil war from the end of 1936 to the summer of 1937 as a foreign militia volunteer. This experience changed his political and literary views forever. As he wrote a few years later, “the Spanish war and other events in 1936-37 turned the scale and thereafter I knew where I stood. Every line of serious work that I have written since 1936 has been written, directly or indirectly, *against* totalitarianism and *for* democratic Socialism, as I understand it. It seems to me nonsense, in a period like our own, to think that one can avoid writing of such subjects” (Orwell 2002, 1083–84). Soon after his return to England, he wrote *Homage to Catalonia*, a “frankly political book” (Orwell 2002, 1084) in which he recounted his experience and political views on how the Republican government repressed the social revolution started by anarchists and Trotskyist militants. Which sounds of the Spanish civil war does Orwell describe in his *Homage to Catalonia*? What was his sound experience of the trenches of war? In *Homage to Catalonia*, Orwell details his sensory experience of the war, sounds from the battlefield and how he used his listening skills. This paper examines in particular what kind of audionarratives Orwell used and how his sound descriptions inform us of his purpose in depicting the Spanish civil war. The results show that Orwell reproduced stylistic conventions from First World War military memoirs – such as onomatopoeic descriptions of the sound of guns – while he tried to convey his sensory experience of combat through acousmatic sound, songs and accounts of his valuable listening skills.

### Selected references

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**Luis Velasco-Pufleau** is a musicologist and sound artist. He is currently a SNSF researcher at the University of Bern (Walter Benjamin Kolleg / Institute of Musicology). His work critically reflects on the relationship between music, politics and violence in contemporary societies. As a researcher and sound artist, he is interested in exploring innovative forms of writing at the crossroads of artistic creation and research in the humanities and social sciences. After completing his PhD in Music and musicology at Sorbonne University in 2011, he was a postdoctoral researcher at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), and University of Salzburg, as well as a Balzan visiting fellow at the University of Oxford. Luis Velasco-Pufleau is the editor of the open access research blog [Music, sound and conflict](#) and an editorial board member of the journal [Transposition. Musique et sciences sociales](#).

## ROUND TABLE: MUSICOLOGY AND WAR: CHALLENGES AND DIRECTIONS IN THE STUDY OF WAR FROM A MUSICOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Participants: Annegret Fauser (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), Morag Grant (University of Edinburgh), Eva Moreda (U. Glasgow).

**Annegret Fauser** is Cary C. Boshamer Distinguished Professor of Music at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. Her research focuses on music of the 19th and 20th centuries, especially that of France and the United States. She is the author of *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair* (2005), *Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II* (2013), *The Politics of Musical Identity* (2015), and Aaron Copland's "Appalachian Spring" (2017). She was awarded the 2011 Edward J. Dent Medal of the Royal Musical Association, and from 2011 to 2013 served as the Editor-in-Chief of the *Journal of the American Musicological Society*. In October 2020, *Performing Commemoration: Musical Reenactment and the Politics of Trauma* (co-edited with Michael A. Figuero), will be published in the Music and Social Justice series of University of Michigan Press.

**M. J. Grant** (Morag Josephine Grant) teaches musicology at the University of Edinburgh. Her research currently focuses on the musicology of war and other forms of violence, especially torture. From 2008-2014, she led the research group "Music, Conflict and the State" at the Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, and from 2014-15 she was a Fellow at the Centre for Advanced Study in "Law as Culture" at the University of Bonn. Her research has been funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, amongst others. In addition to the monographs *Serial Music, Serial Aesthetics: Compositional Theory in Post-War Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2001) and *Auld Lang Syne: A Song and its Culture* (Open Book Publishers, forthcoming) she has published extensively on music and war, music and human rights, and music in torture. She is currently working on a third monograph with the working title *The Musicology of War*. [www.mjgrant.eu](http://www.mjgrant.eu)

**Eva Moreda Rodríguez** is senior lecturer in musicology at the University of Glasgow. A specialist in the political and cultural history of music in modern Spain, she is the author of *Music and Exile in Francoist Spain* (Ashgate, 2015), *Music Criticism and Music Critics in Early Francoist Spain* (Oxford University Press, 2016), and numerous articles and book chapters. In 2018–19 she held a Leadership Fellowship from the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), and her work has received funding from the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland, the British Academy, and the Leverhulme Trust.

**Diego Alonso** received his PhD from La Rioja University with a thesis on Arnold Schoenberg's influence on the music and thought of Roberto Gerhard. He has been a visiting scholar at Humboldt University in Berlin, at the University of Cambridge and at Goldsmiths, University of London. He has published in leading musicology journals including *Acta musicologica*, *Twentieth-Century Music*, *Music Analysis*, *Musicologica Austriaca* (Best Paper Award 2019) and *Journal of War and Culture Studies* (forthcoming). He works currently as a postdoc researcher at Humboldt University, in Berlin.