

“UN CATALÀ MUNDIAL”: CATALAN NATIONALISM AND THE EARLY WORKS OF  
ROBERTO GERHARD

By

Mark E. Perry

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Chairperson Dr. Paul Laird

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Dr. Roberta Freund Schwartz

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Dr. Alicia Levin

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Dr. Scott Murphy

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Dr. Thomas Volek

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The Dissertation Committee for Mark E. Perry  
certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

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## ABSTRACT

The early works of Roberto Gerhard reflect the shifting cultural discourse within Catalan nationalism at the beginning of the twentieth century. As a means of fostering cultural independence from the rest of Spain, Catalan national sentiment gradually switched to the promotion of modernist ideologies, which were previously rejected in the defense and preservation of traditional culture. This paradigm shift in Catalan nationalism manifests in the music of Gerhard. Branded as “*un català mundial*” (an international Catalan), Gerhard sought to participate in the greater world of modern music.

While in Switzerland studying commerce, the young Gerhard switched to the study of music. The events of World War I forced Gerhard, then studying in Germany, to return to Spain. In Barcelona, Gerhard studied with Felipe Pedrell from 1916 to 1921. Gerhard received his earliest musical successes with public performances and publication of a number of his works; however, unconvinced of his abilities, Gerhard traveled to Andalusia in a failed attempt to study with Manuel de Falla. Seeking out a new musical direction, Gerhard once again left Spain. He began his studies with Arnold Schoenberg in Vienna in 1923, following his teacher to Berlin. Gerhard’s first atonal works appeared during this period, applying modernist techniques even in his overtly Catalan works. In 1929, he returned to Barcelona, and controversy quickly ensued after an all-Gerhard concert was held to celebrate his homecoming. A debate in the press following the concert took place between the conservative Lluís Millet, whose works conventionally incorporated traditional music, and Gerhard, a disciple of Schoenberg—each arguing for their visions of Catalan music. Gerhard’s works from this period reflect an advanced

synthesis of Catalan elements and modern music. While Gerhard utilized obvious markers of Catalan national identity (Catalan poetry, traditional music, choral singing, and the *sardana*), ultimately, what served to foster a stark contrast with the rest of Spain was the universality of his works. His musical activities in composition, research, and criticism echoed the shifting cultural dialogue within Catalonia; however, all was cut short in 1939 as a result of the Spanish Civil War, forcing Gerhard into exile.

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## INTRODUCTION

Prior to the premiere of his first Symphony in 1955—even before immigrating to England in 1939 following the Republican defeat by the Nationalists in the Spanish Civil War—Roberto Gerhard had already gained international accolades for such works as his overtly Catalan *L’alta naixença del rei en Jaume* (*The Noble Birth of the Sovereign Lord King James*), a modernist work which won first prize at the 1933 International Society for Contemporary Music (I.S.C.M.) festival celebrated in Amsterdam.<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless, the *oeuvre* of the Catalan composer predating the close of the war remains among the least appreciated body of his works by musicians, public, and scholars alike due largely to circumstances of war: Gerhard’s initial musical study was cut short by World War I, the Spanish Civil War forced the composer to flee from Spain, and British nationalistic sentiments during and immediately after World War II drastically delayed due recognition of the composer in favor of British-born composers. In the evaluation of the Catalan-born composer’s total output, the early works of Gerhard reflect the shifting cultural discourse within Catalan nationalism at the beginning of the twentieth century. As a means of fostering cultural independence from the rest of Spain, Catalan national sentiment gradually switched to the promotion of modernist ideologies, which were previously rejected in the defense and preservation of traditional culture. During this period under investigation, Gerhard was “*un català mundial*” (an international Catalan), longing to

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<sup>1</sup> At the 1933 I.S.C.M. festival, Gerhard earned first prize in the Universal Edition contest. Alban Berg, Ernst Krenek, and Anton Webern served as judges for the competition.

participate in the greater musical world of the avant-garde.<sup>2</sup> His musical activities in composition, research, and criticism echoed the shifting cultural discourse within Catalonia—Barcelona in particular—were unfortunately cut short as a result of the Spanish Civil War.

Roberto Gerhard i Ottenwaelder was born on 25 September 1896 in Valls (Catalonia), Spain to Swiss-born Robert Gerhard and Alsatian-born Maria Ottenwaelder, who operated a wine business in this small Catalan town. Roberto, the eldest of three siblings, briefly studied commerce in Switzerland before dedicating himself to music. Carles, the middle child, later served in the Catalan autonomous administration of the Monastery of Montserrat during the Spanish Civil War before being exiled to Mexico, and the youngest, Ferran, continued with the family business in Valls.

Roberto Gerhard's earliest musical studies in Switzerland and Germany were interrupted by the outbreak of World War I—foreshadowing the impact of subsequent European conflicts upon the life and career of the Catalan composer. Returning to Spain in 1914, Gerhard began his study of composition in 1916 with Felipe Pedrell, an influential Catalan composer, scholar and teacher. In addition to composition, Gerhard studied piano with Enrique Granados, and eventually with Frank Marshall after Granados' premature death when the Germans torpedoed the passenger ship *Sussex*.<sup>3</sup> In 1916, Gerhard also began his participation in the folk music collecting activities of the Arxiu d'Etnografia i Folklore de Catalunya, an early ethnographic archive of Catalonia. At the beginning of the 1920s, secluded in his hometown of Valls and frustrated with his musical development, Gerhard was eventually accepted as a pupil

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<sup>2</sup> Rossend Llates, "Un catala mundial: Robert Gerhard," *Mirador*, June 22, 1933, 5. "Un catala mundial: Robert Gerhard" served as Llates's headline in the 22 June 1933 *Mirador* article announcing news of Gerhard's I.S.C.M. award for his *L'alta naixença del rei en Jaume*.

<sup>3</sup> The Catalan pianist Frank Marshall (1883-1959) replaced Granados as the director of the piano academy, later renamed the Acadèmia Frank Marshall, and maintained a distinct Catalan school of piano playing.

by Arnold Schoenberg and studied with the Viennese master from 1923 to 1928, in both Vienna and Berlin.

Controversy over Gerhard's modern music erupted following the return of the young Catalan composer to Barcelona after his study with Schoenberg and an all-Gerhard concert at the Palau de la Música Catalana in 1929. On 27 April 1930, Gerhard married Austrian Poldi Feichtegger, settling in Barcelona. Active in nearly all aspects of musical life in the Catalan capital, Gerhard continued to compose as well as write about music. From 1930 to 1936, Gerhard wrote for the *Mirador*, a periodical that promoted the avant-garde in the arts. The multi-lingual Gerhard also translated numerous German music textbooks into Spanish during the period. In the music section of the Institute of Catalan Studies, Gerhard edited the music of eighteenth-century Catalan composers. In addition, Gerhard participated in the development of the Escola Normal, becoming a member of its music board. Alongside painter Joan Miró, architect Josep Lluís Sert, and arts promoter Joan Prats i Vallès, Gerhard established the Amics de l'Art Nou (A.D.L.A.N.), promoting Catalan avant-garde art. In the dissemination and appreciation of music, the Catalan composer was active in the Club Discòfils-Associació pro Música (Friends of Music Recordings Club) and the Associació Íntima de Concerts (Intimate Concert Association). Gerhard, along with Pau Casals, brought Schoenberg to Catalonia for multiple performances of the Viennese master's music in 1925. Later, in 1931, the former student arranged an extended stay in Barcelona for Schoenberg, who was ill. Gerhard further helped introduce modern music to the Catalan public with the ISCM festival held in Barcelona in 1936.

In 1939, with the end of the Spanish Civil War, Gerhard's political and cultural ties with the Republicans forced him to leave Spain. Briefly exiled in France, he ultimately settled in Cambridge, England through the generosity of the musicologist and Cambridge professor, Edward Dent. As mentioned previously, Gerhard's reputation as a composer in Britain developed slowly because of British nationalistic sentiments during and immediately after World War II, which prompted institutions such as the BBC and London orchestras to put much of their energy into the promotion of native composers, culminating in the Festival of Britain (1951). But a return to prosperity in the late 1950s brought with it a more international outlook. Gerhard's presence in Britain and readiness to assume British nationality were properly appreciated starting in the late 1950s.

In the September issue of *The Score*, celebrating Gerhard's sixtieth birthday, William Glock opened the periodical with remarks that lamented the British reception of Gerhard's music:

For whatever reasons, his works have been almost entirely ignored, with the result that twentieth-century music has been robbed of the impact of one of its most vital representatives...only four, comparatively minor, works of Roberto Gerhard have ever been printed...many first performances have also been the last; and that, as far as England is concerned, only two or three of his major works have ever been heard in public. Nor does he receive any consideration in critical writings on contemporary music.<sup>4</sup>

Observing that the music of Gerhard did not belong to the Franco-Hispanic style, Glock partially explained the grounds for the difficulties of the British public, claiming that Gerhard "refuses to fit into any convenient category; for even his Spanish qualities are not of the familiar kind."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> William Glock, "Comment," *The Score* 17 (September 1956): 5.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

Eventually, his reputation reached the point where Cambridge University felt proud of having welcomed and nurtured him, and he was belatedly awarded an honorary doctorate in 1968.

Late in his career, Gerhard once again received international recognition, accepting commissions from the Koussevitzky Foundation, Fromm Foundation, Cheltenham Festival, and the BBC. He taught summer school at Dartington, England; however, his teaching of composition was largely restricted to his previous Catalan student Joaquim Homs in Barcelona and brief periods in the United States as visiting professor at the University of Michigan (1960) and Tanglewood (1962). Composing throughout his adult life, Gerhard had planned to begin his third string quartet shortly before his death in Cambridge on 5 January 1970.<sup>6</sup>

Scholarship on Gerhard lagged behind the achievements of the composer. In 1956 Gerhard turned sixty, and within the September issue of the aforementioned British journal *The Score*, authors directed their attention to the Catalan-born composer, in tribute to the aging composer. With the exception of an article by Roger Sessions, all contributors in the September issue dedicated their efforts on discussing the composer and his music, representing the first scholarship, albeit superficial, on Gerhard, with nearly all the articles lamenting Gerhard's currently limited status as a composer.

In addition to *Capriccio* from his string quartet, as well as the piano sketches *Dos apunts*, Gerhard contributed an article on his perspective of the developments in twelve-tone technique. David Drew supplied a catalog of Gerhard's works. In solely two pages, Donald Mitchell provided observations on four songs from Gerhard's *Fourteen Catalan Songs*, deploring that at that period many of the songs remained unpublished. Norman Del Mar

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<sup>6</sup> David Drew, "Obituary," *The Musical Times* 111 (1970): 308.

examined Gerhard's orchestral works *Don Quixote* (1940), *Homenaje a Pedrell* (1941), and the Violin Concerto (1942-45). Bemoaning the fact that Gerhard's only opera, *La Dueña* (1945-47), remained unstaged at that time, John Gardner presented a concise introduction to the opera.

In Roman Vlad's article, he confessed to never have heard or read any of Gerhard's music until participating in the Dartington Summer School of Music in 1956, which Vlad disclosed that:

[he] had unfortunately not heard a single note; nor had the possibility of reading over any of his compositions. As a composer he was practically unknown to me; and I must add that my own ignorance reflects only too well, shame to say, the position his work occupies in the general picture of contemporary music.<sup>7</sup>

At Dartington, Vlad had the opportunity to listen to a tape recording of Gerhard's recent symphony, as well as a live performance of a string quartet.<sup>8</sup>

The impression made by these two works was such as to convince me that the general neglect of Roberto Gerhard's music has nothing whatever to do with its intrinsic qualities, but is due rather to a combination of unfortunate circumstances and to the way in which musical life is organized to-day. That music of such overflowing vitality as Gerhard's could have remained ignored for so long, while so many futile and insignificant works are pushed forward, is no doubt a reflexion on the critical standards which obtain in our present-day musical life.<sup>9</sup>

Later in the article, Vlad examined the symphony and string quartet, claiming that the music of Gerhard "seems to erect a bridge between these two abysses of Webern and Berg."<sup>10</sup>

As did other contributors to the journal, David Drew mourned that Gerhard and his music apparently remained without acknowledgment for such a great period of time in Britain, writing that:

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<sup>7</sup> Roman Vlad, "My First Impressions of Roberto Gerhard's Music," *The Score* 17 (1956): 27.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Vlad, 29.

To be confronted for the first time by the music of a mature composer who has been in our midst writing music, virtually without recognition, for the past forty years—this is likely to strain the most receptive intelligence. What are the cultural, social, musical, even the political factors that have placed us, and the composer, in this embarrassing situation? We feel a sense a responsibility, and therefore of disquiet, for this is not a neglected composer resurrected from another age, a C.P.E. Bach, a Leclair, a Berwald. He belongs to our time.<sup>11</sup>

In the article, Drew offered a survey of the composer's works from Gerhard's Piano Trio (1918) to his String Quartet (1956). Concluding the entry with a quotation from Paul Valéry, Drew argued "'If anyone says something and doesn't prove it—he's an enemy, I cannot prove what I say: I can only ask that Gerhard's music be heard.'"<sup>12</sup>

Lastly, English ethnomusicologist Laurence Picken, also a friend of Gerhard, recalled evenings spent with the composer listening to the non-western music of Japan, China, Turkey, India, and Indonesia, observing in Gerhard:

The immediate recognition of absolute pitch-values, of non-just intonation, of irregular (aksak) rhythms; the discrimination of instruments in ensemble; the detection of components at the limits of the audible range; the identification of formal procedures—all these things one might have expected from any trained listener.<sup>13</sup>

However, what surprised Picken most about Gerhard "was the intensity of response; the degree of participation evinced; the visible signs of emotional possession by this alien music."<sup>14</sup>

Picken hypothesized about and attributed the composer's study with both Schoenberg and Pedrell to Gerhard's abilities, concluding that:

[it] is no accident that Roberto Gerhard should enter readily and sympathetically into these other worlds of music. For an oft-repeated lesson from comparative studies is that musics everywhere are systems of order, arbitrarily established—however improbable this conclusion may appear to those familiar with but a single tradition: "there are no

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<sup>11</sup> David Drew, "Roberto Gerhard: The Musical Character," *The Score* 17 (1956): 39.

<sup>12</sup> Drew, 49.

<sup>13</sup> Laurence Picken, "Roberto Gerhard Intermittently Observed," *The Score* 17 (1956): 53.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

systems based on immutable natural laws". There is, however, another and perhaps a simpler reason for an innate sympathy; for if his recognition of the *arbitrariness* of systems of music is given by his training with Schoenberg, his freedom of entry into and capacity for sympathetic identification with non-European musics must surely derive from that other teacher, Pedrell.<sup>15</sup>

All the articles in the September issue of *The Score*, except for the aforementioned entry by Sessions, paid homage as well as lamented Gerhard's British reception.

In 1973, the ensemble London Sinfonietta performed a series of diverse concerts devoted primarily to the instrumental and chamber works of Schoenberg and Gerhard. The Schoenberg/Gerhard series consisted of twenty-six concerts that took place from October 9 to November 16, performed in London, Carlisle, Dartington Hall, Guildford, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Brussels, Lancaster, Southampton, Manchester, Bristol, Birmingham, New Castle, Hull, Bradford, and Bangor. Initially, the concert series began by programming the works of Schoenberg. Explaining the basis for the pairing of Schoenberg with Gerhard, David Atherton wrote:

Roberto Gerhard was chosen for a variety of reasons. He was himself a pupil of Schoenberg and, like the master, has never been a fashionable composer. Indeed until the last few years of his life he was desperately neglected, most of his works remaining little known. Audiences, like players, usually react strongly and warmly to his music, which is normally grateful to perform and requires a high degree of individual virtuosity, a characteristic that makes him a natural for the Sinfonietta.<sup>16</sup>

Edited by Atherton, detailed program notes accompanied the concert series, which included a catalog of Gerhard's works.<sup>17</sup> In addition to the two essays by Gerhard, "England, Spring 1945" and "Developments in Twelve-tone Technique," the program included a chronology by David

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> David Atherton, ed., *The London Sinfonietta: Schoenberg/Gerhard Series* (London: Sinfonietta Productions Limited, 1973), 4.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.



Drew, writings on Gerhard and his works by Ateş Orga, an essay on Gerhard's second string quartet by Keith Potter, and reminiscences of Gerhard at Cambridge University by Sydney Smith.

In 1981, another British journal dedicated an entire issue to the music of Gerhard. David Drew and Calum MacDonald edited the December *Tempo* issue, dealing with both the early and late works of the composer. Peter Paul Nash provided a concise chronology of Gerhard's life and works.<sup>18</sup> Nash also contributed an article on the 1928 Wind Quintet.<sup>19</sup> Geoffrey J. Walker addressed the text of Gerhard's cantata *L'alta naixença del rei en Jaume* and Drew succinctly dealt with the music of the cantata.<sup>20</sup> MacDonald presented the complex history of *Soirées de Barcelone*.<sup>21</sup>

The other entries in the December issue addressed Gerhard's late works. Susan Bradshaw examined Gerhard's second symphony *Metamorphoses*.<sup>22</sup> Film director Lindsay Anderson provided recollections of working with Gerhard on the film *This Sporting Life*.<sup>23</sup> Hugh Davies examined Gerhard's work in electronic music, including in the article a list of electronic compositions from 1954 to 1964.<sup>24</sup> Misha Donat surveyed the late works of Gerhard.<sup>25</sup> On the late works the author reflected that "[t]here can have been few composers of unmistakable

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<sup>18</sup> Peter Paul Nash, "Roberto Gerhard: A Survey Chronology." *Tempo* 139 (1981): 3-4.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 5-11.

<sup>20</sup> Geoffrey J. Walker and David Drew, "Gerhard's Cantata." *Tempo* 139 (1981): 12-18.

<sup>21</sup> Calum MacDonald, "'Soirées de Barcelone': A Preliminary Report." *Tempo* 139 (1981): 19-26.

<sup>22</sup> Susan Bradshaw, "Symphony No. 2/Metamorphoses: the Compositional Background." *Tempo* 139 (1981): 28-32.

<sup>23</sup> Lindsay Anderson, "'This Sporting Life'." *Tempo* 139 (1981): 33-34.

<sup>24</sup> Hugh Davies, "The Electronic Music." *Tempo* 139 (1981): 35-38.

<sup>25</sup> Misha Donat, "Thoughts on the Late Works." *Tempo* 139 (1981): 39-43.

greatness who achieved recognition so late in life as Roberto Gerhard.”<sup>26</sup> Comparing Gerhard to

Leoš Janáček, Donat expressed an appreciation for the late works of Gerhard:

Today, if Gerhard’s true stature has still to be appreciated he can no longer be described as a neglected composer. Yet even now he is known almost exclusively for the music he wrote during his final decade. For in the 1960’s, as if stimulated by his belated acclaim, the composer enjoyed a flood of creative activity, producing an extended series of works all of which display an extraordinarily unflagging energy and invention. Like a few great composers before him (one thinks particularly of Janáček, whose late music shows a similar exuberance), Gerhard wrote his most youthful music when already well past the age of sixty.<sup>27</sup>

To-date, only a single biography of Gerhard has been published, authored by Gerhard’s only Catalan composition pupil, Joaquim Homs i Oller, appearing in print in three languages so far—Spanish, Catalan, and English.<sup>28</sup> Appearing first in Spanish, *Robert Gerhard y su obra* includes two previously published articles by Gerhard, *Música y poesía* (1935) and *Musa y música, hoy* (1962), a catalog of works, and discography.<sup>29</sup> In 1991, the Biblioteca de Catalunya published a revised version in Catalan and included twelve of Gerhard’s articles from the *Mirador*.<sup>30</sup> An abridged version of the Catalan biography was included in the book series *Gent Nostra* in 1992.<sup>31</sup> Meirion Bowen edited the English version of the biography. He included an English translation of the 1923 letter written from Gerhard to Schoenberg, translations of posthumously published memoirs of Gerhard, and two tributes by former students Jan Bach and Roger Reynolds. Of the four editions, the Catalan edition published by the Biblioteca de Catalunya serves as the most authoritative biography for its thoroughness.

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Joaquim Homs, *Robert Gerhard y su obra* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1987); Joaquim Homs, *Robert Gerhard i la seva obra* (Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1991); Joaquim Homs, *Gerhard*. Vol. 92, *Gent Nostra* (Barcelona: Labor, 1992). Joaquim Homs, *Robert Gerhard and His Music*. (Sheffield: Anglo-Catalan Society, 2000).

<sup>29</sup> Homs, Joaquim. *Robert Gerhard y su obra*. (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1987).

<sup>30</sup> Joaquim Homs, *Robert Gerhard i la seva obra* (Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1991).

<sup>31</sup> Joaquim Homs, *Gerhard*. Vol. 92, *Gent Nostra* (Barcelona: Labor, 1992).

The centenary of Gerhard's birth led to a renewed and growing interest in the composer in Catalonia with the publication of *Centenari Robert Gerhard, (1896-1996)*, a collection of essays, bibliography, and catalog of works.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, the cataloging and archival work of collections associated with the Catalan-born composer took place in both Valls, Spain and Cambridge, England. Joana Crespí documented her work at the Fondo musical Robert Gerhard del Institut d'Estudis Vallencs for the *Boletín de Asociación Española de Documentación Musical*.<sup>33</sup> Concerning manuscripts housed at Cambridge University, Margarida Estanyol provided guidance to the collection and supplies a bibliography of writings about the composer.<sup>34</sup>

In 2000, Meirion Bowen assembled a collection of Gerhard's previously published writings.<sup>35</sup> However, the book contains inaccuracies, includes only a fragment of Gerhard's English and Catalan writings, and unfortunately does not include the original Catalan text. Bowen topically organized the collection, often choosing writings that dealt with other composers, rather than Gerhard. Errors also take place in the list of works.

With the exception of Richard Peter Paine's dissertation, which surveyed Catalan music of the twentieth century, nearly all of the master's theses and doctoral dissertations concerning Gerhard have focused on his late period, that is to say, his "English period."<sup>36</sup> Erroneously

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<sup>32</sup> Lluís Millet, Marta Muntada i Torrellas, and Margarida Estanyol i Ullate, *Centenari Robert Gerhard, (1896-1996)* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1996).

<sup>33</sup> Joana Crespí, "El fondo musical Robert Gerhard del 'Institut d'Estudis Vallencs,'" *Boletín de AEDOM* (1996): 5-19.

<sup>34</sup> Margarida Estanyol, "El fondo de manuscritos no musicales de Robert Gerhard en la biblioteca de la Universidad de Cambridge," *Boletín de AEDOM* (1996): 20-48.

<sup>35</sup> Meirion Bowen, ed. *Gerhard on Music: Selected Writing* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

<sup>36</sup> Richard Peter Paine, "Hispanic Traditions in Twentieth Century Catalan Music with Particular Reference to Gerhard, Mompou and Montsalvatage" (Ph.D. diss., Lancaster University, 1986); Richard Paine, *Hispanic Traditions in Twentieth-Century Catalan Music: With Particular Reference to Gerhard, Mompou and Montsalvatage* (New York: Garland, 1989).

referenced as a dissertation in nearly all bibliographies—including second edition of *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, and *Diccionario de la música Española e Hispanoamericana*—Keith Potter’s “The Life and Works of Roberto Gerhard” is not a dissertation, but instead a bachelor’s thesis.<sup>37</sup>

Structured in two parts, the following dissertation deals with the historical and cultural context of Catalan nationalism at the beginning of the twentieth century—providing insight into the musical world of the Catalan composer—and ultimately, examines closely the early works of Roberto Gerhard. In the opening section, topics approached include Catalan nationalism, Catalan poetry, *Arxiu d’Etnografia i Folklore de Catalunya*, the Orfeonic choral movement, and the *sardana*. Following the contextual sections dealing with Catalan nationalism, the rest of the dissertation concentrates on the life and works of Gerhard up until his forced exile in 1939—examining his early *oeuvre* within a measured shifting cultural paradigm inside Catalonia that embraced modernist ideologies as a means of fostering cultural independence.

In translating, one encounters the dilemma of *traduttore traditore*—one can be true to the word or to its meaning, but not both. Except for the 1923 letter to Schoenberg, all translations in the dissertation are mine, and I have attempted to keep them as closely as possible to the original meaning and intent of the original text. In addition, I have included the diplomatic transcriptions of the translated texts whenever possible. I have included in the appendix incipits of Gerhard’s early works to serve as a reference.

For the purpose of uniformity, I employ the Spanish variant of the Catalan-born composer’s name Roberto Gerhard throughout the dissertation instead of the Catalan Robert

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<sup>37</sup> Keith Potter, “The Life and Works of Roberto Gerhard” (Bachelor’s thesis, University of Birmingham, 1972).

Gerhard. Before his exile to England, the name of the composer appeared in publications under both spellings, however, primarily in Catalan. Choosing the Castilian over the Catalan spelling was not an easy decision to reconcile; however, Gerhard scholarship in the English language has adopted “Roberto” as the standard appellation.

## CHAPTER 1: CATALAN NATIONALISM, 1868-1939

Cada any la natura ens dóna una imatge viva del que és el renaixement d'un poble. Cada any l'hivern estronca la circulació de la vida, deixa nues de verdor les branques, cobreix la terra de neus i de gebrades...Després el sol allarga el dies i entebiona l'aire; reculen les neus als bacs de les altes serres, l'oreig gronxa els sembrats i les branques grosses, a punt de brotonar; creix l'esclat de moviment, de vibració, d'activitat per tota la natura; i les seves innumbrables remors canten altra vegada l'himne etern a la vida renovada.<sup>1</sup>

Every year nature offers us a living image of the rebirth of the nation. Every year winter dries up the cycle of life, leaving bud scars on branches, and covering the frozen land with snow... After the days of sunlight grow longer and warm the air; the snow melts from the north facing slope of the high mountains, the breeze moves to and fro the seeds and thick branches, ready to bud; an explosion of movement and vibration of activity throughout nature increases; and among the innumerable rumbling sing again the eternal hymn of renewed life.

*Enric Prat de la Riba*

To understand the circumstances and context in which Roberto Gerhard composed his early works, it is imperative to first examine the history of Catalan nationalism—culminating with an upsurge in Catalan national sentiment at the beginning of the twentieth century. The unification of the two historic kingdoms of Aragon and Castile in 1479 led to a unified Spanish state; however, it never resulted in a cohesive realm. During the succeeding reign of the Hapsburg dynasty, the historic constitutional pluralism of the Spanish kingdoms remained

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<sup>1</sup> Enric Prat de la Riba, *La nacionalitat catalana* (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1978), 15.

relatively unaltered. Interests within Catalonia, in contrast to the rest of Spain, focused primarily on its local affairs for the duration of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, with the victory of the Spanish Bourbon dynasty after the Spanish Succession War of 1702-1715, the previously isolationistic Catalans gradually consolidated powers with the Spanish state, participating in the wide-ranging affairs of Spain. Except for a small minority, most Catalans in the eighteenth century recognized the advantages of supporting the Spanish crown, continuing until a renewed interest in the preservation of a Catalan identity and politics in the late nineteenth century.

Along with the Basque country, the Catalan elite at the turn of the nineteenth century devoted their efforts to advancing both commerce and industry, bringing about a new bourgeois social class in Spain. The Catalan middle class, receiving support through high protective tariffs, aligned with the Spanish liberal elite. However, in Catalonia at the beginning of the nineteenth century, disputes took place over the divergent interests of Catalan towns and the new Catalan middle class. The latter supported centralization of political and administrative powers while towns sought local provincial administrative autonomy. In addition, a cultural movement developed with a revival of Catalan literature known as the *Renaixença*. While Catalan was widespread as a domestic language, Castilian served almost as the exclusive language of both politics and literature. The *Renaixença* movement attempted to recover Catalan as a literary language; however, authors often employed an archaic version of Catalan in their poetry, and ultimately these works were relatively unknown among the Catalan

society, except for a minute elite.<sup>2</sup> Eventually as the long process of cultural revival increased in the late nineteenth century, the *Renaixença* gained further popularity throughout Catalonia.

The revolution of 1868, known as the *La gloriosa* (the glorious), led to the dethronement of Queen Isabel II as well as the beginning of a new era for the history of modern Spain: with the *sexenio* (1868-1874), a period of six years of a constitutional monarchy abundant with clashes and demands between the classes, regions, and political parties of Spain. Emerging from the period, modern Catalan nationalism ascended from Catalan federal republicans; however, Catalan federalists never sought independence during the *sexenio*.<sup>3</sup> In the elections of 1869, Federal Republicanism secured a majority in Catalonia, while only attaining a minority in the rest of Spain, an early sign of a distinctive Catalan collective identity.<sup>4</sup> The equally ill-fated First Spanish Republic (1873-74) followed the short reign of King Amadeo I, who abdicated in 1873. The republic never developed into a federal system with seventeen states as advocated by many Catalan federalists.<sup>5</sup>

With the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in 1874, the central government gained strength; however, the Catalan bourgeoisie in the Spanish parliament tempered the impact of the central government upon Catalonia, protecting regional interests.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, organizations within Catalonia emerged that advocated for Catalan autonomy. Federalist Valentí Almirall (1841-1904) led the transition from a Spanish federalism to regionalism (Catalan nationalism). Initially, Almirall advocated a federalism that granted the former Crown

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<sup>2</sup> Stanley Payne, "Catalan and Basque Nationalism," *Journal of Contemporary History* 6 (1971): 18.

<sup>3</sup> Albert Bacells, *Catalan Nationalism: Past and Present* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 29.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 28. He argues that the Basque Country sought independence from Spain and "adherence" to tradition while in Catalonia sought federalism and secularism and capitalism.

<sup>5</sup> Bacells, 32.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.



of Aragon political and administrative powers. His other activities included the publishing of the newspaper *El Estado Catalán* from 1869 to 1873, and later in 1880 the establishing of the first daily newspaper in Catalan, *El Diari Català*. In an effort to connect the *Renaixença* with federalist politics, Almirall from 1874 to 1879 directed the cultural association *La jove Catalunya*. Following the restoration of the reign of Alfonso XII, Almirall promoted through *El Diari Català* a system of Catalan nationalism, which advocated the federation of the four Catalan provinces and administrative autonomy. In 1880, Almirall convened the first Catalanist Congress, eventually leading to a commission to protect Catalan civil law, an academy to standardize the Catalan language, and support for Catalanist organizations. He addressed later the issue of civil liberties, using France and the United States as models, in his major work *Lo catalanisme* (1886), and attempted to articulate his stance on Catalan regionalism.

In 1891, the Lliga de Catalunya joined together with conservatives, forming the Unió Catalanista. During this period, politicians repeatedly employed the term “nationalist” in reference to autonomist Catalan regionalism.<sup>7</sup> The following year at the second annual assembly, the Unió Catalanista drafted a document known as the *Bases de Manresa*, which proposed Catalan as the official language, advocated that public office be restricted to Catalans, argued for public order to be under the control of the Catalan government, demanded for the

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<sup>7</sup> Payne, 21. I apply the term “nation” as defined by Benedict Anderson: “an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.” (Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* [London: Verso, 1983], 6). I employ the term “state” as designated by Ernest Gellner: “that agency within society which possesses the monopoly of legitimate violence.” (Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983], 3). On the concept of nationalism, Geller states that “Nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent.” and further explains that “Nationalism as a sentiment, or as a movement, can best be defined in terms of this principle. Nationalist *sentiment* is the feeling of anger aroused by the violation of the principle, or the feeling of satisfaction aroused by its fulfillment. A nationalist movement is one actuated by a sentiment of this kind.”

management of finances and taxation, advocated the definiteness of decisions by the Catalan high court, and proposed the replacement of obligatory with voluntary military service—all reforms that never became realized. Emerging from *Unió Catalanista*, Enric Prat de la Riba articulated an arising Catalan national sentiment in his book *La nacionalitat* (1906). According to Prat de la Riba, Spain was a modern political state; however, Catalonia was historically a nation, writing that “We see that Catalonia had a language, a law, an art of its own, that it had a national spirit, a national character, a national thought; Catalonia was therefore a nation.”<sup>8</sup> In place of proposing separatism, Prat de la Riba sought the restoration of the *Generalitat*, the autonomous parliament of Catalonia. In addition, he addressed the need to preserve Catalan cultural and social values. However, the Catalan upper middle class remained with the two-party Spanish system, which persisted until 1898 and the conclusion of the Spanish-American War. Catalan nationalism gained more support from the Catalan upper middle class in the aftermath of the Spanish defeat. The loss of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines essentially further unified Catalan society, as the national interests of the Spanish state no longer aligned with the economic plans of the Catalan bourgeoisie. Simultaneously, Catalan nationalists monitored other European nationalist movements to reveal to their cynics that Catalan nationalism was not an aberration or a form of nostalgia, but instead a European movement that recognized the rights of small nations historically eclipsed in the formation of modern European states.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Prat de la Riba, 49. “vèiem que Catalunya tenia llengua, Dret, art propis; que tenia un esperit nacional, un character nacional, un pensament nacional; Catalunya era, doncs, una nació.”

<sup>9</sup> Bacells, 42.

During the early twentieth century, Catalonia rose in prominence within Spanish politics. In population, Barcelona rivaled Madrid, and the Catalan capital also led in domestic and international trade.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, the arts flourished in Barcelona during the period. At the turn of the nineteenth century, Catalan national sentiment revolved around invented traditions (i.e. *Jocs Florals*, singing folk songs, and dancing of the *sardana*); at the beginning of the twentieth century, in addition to traditional culture, many Catalans also embraced ideologies of modernism as a means of fostering cultural independence from the rest of Spain. Unlike other regions of the country, large sectors of Catalans embraced the modernist movement, severing their cultural dependence on Spain. Furthermore, a myriad of Catalans sought to become *un català universal* (an international Catalan), striving for international participation, principally European, while integrating components of *catalanisme* with modernism. Ultimately, Catalan artists identified themselves with European movements while also making major advancements in the arts that reached far beyond the borders of Catalonia.

Leaving the Unió Catalanista, Prat de la Riba and other Catalan nationalists formed the Centre Nacional Català, and during the same period Catalan businessmen backed the Unió Regionalista. Through both organizations Catalan representation in the *cortes* (Spanish parliament) swelled in 1901, challenging the long-standing two-party Spanish system. The aforementioned groups formed the party Lliga Regionalista, dominating Catalan politics from 1901-1923, and the Lliga Regionalista aligned with Solidaritat Catalana in 1906.

During this period, the popularity of the song *Els Segadors* (the Reapers) rose as another symbol of Catalan nationalism. Dating back to the 1640 revolt, *Els Segadors* also served as a

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<sup>10</sup> Payne, 24.

popular anthem during the 11 September 1714 occupation of Barcelona by the troops of Philip V. The song gained popularity once again, making allusion to previous historical encroachments by the Spanish state on Catalan soil.

Furthermore, Catalans formed choral societies, hiking clubs (urban Catalans explored the countryside of rural Catalonia), *sardana* organizations, and local national associations as means to express national sentiment, and the influence of such organizations increased over time.<sup>11</sup>

In 1911, the leadership of the four Catalan provinces (Barcelona, Girona, Tarragona, and Lleida) set in motion plans for the creation of the *Mancomunitat* (commonwealth), coming to fruition on 6 April 1914 with Prat de la Riba elected as president. Standardization of the Catalan language developed as one of the major accomplishments of the commonwealth, placing Catalan beyond merely a poetic application to serve also as a written commercial and technical language.

Achieving self-rule through legislative means with the monarchy of Alfonso XIII, ultimately failed with the 1923 coup d'état in Spain that led to the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera and subsequent anti-Catalan policies. Shortly afterwards, the new powers attempted to prohibit the use of regional symbols such as the Catalan language and flag.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile in exile, Francesc Macià met in Paris in 1925 to plan an insurrection with Ventura Gassol of Estat Català, Rafael Vidiella of Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, and José Bullejos of the Partido Comunista Español in conjunction with nationalists from both the Basque and Galician

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<sup>11</sup> Bacells, 52.

<sup>12</sup> The Catalan separatist flag, resembling the Cuban flag, included a single star added to the traditional Catalan flag.

movements.<sup>13</sup> Ultimately, acts of rebellion such as the planned bombing of the train that held the Spanish king and Primo de Rivera during a visit to Catalonia or the later attempted invasion by guerilla fighters failed.<sup>14</sup> Importantly, not all Catalan leaders advocated violence as a means of achieving a Catalan nation; in fact, most Catalans never sought independence.

Facing his own coup d'état, Primo de Rivera resigned in 1930, which led to an eventual restoration of political rights of Catalan provinces and municipalities; however, the six-year dictatorship led to residual tensions between Catalonia and the Spanish state. Among Catalans, the conservatives aligned with the monarchy in opposition to Spanish republicans and socialists. Ironically, the reign of Alfonso XIII endured throughout the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, only for the king to leave in exile on 14 April 1931. Historic elections followed the collapse of the monarchy, leading to the Second Spanish Republic. In place of forming a Catalan Republic, Francesc Macià compromised and elected to accept autonomy for the region, applying the name of the historic medieval institution known as the *Generalitat* to the new Catalan government and consolidating the government of the four Catalan provinces. Legitimate self-government later occurred in 1932 with the approval of the Statute of Autonomy. The statute officially placed the Catalan language at a status equal to that of Spanish. In addition, the *Generalitat* held jurisdiction over Catalan civil law and administration of law and order.<sup>15</sup>

In 1936 the Second Spanish Republic faced yet another coup d'état that tragically put in motion a divisive war between Republicans and Nationalists—a civil war that forced Spanish

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<sup>13</sup> Bacells, 87.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Carles Gerhard (1889-1976), older brother of composer Roberto Gerhard, held numerous political posts, serving as member in the *Unió Socialista de Catalunya* in the Catalan parliament and as *comissari* (deputy) of the *Generalitat* at the monastery of Montserrat during the Spanish Civil War.

citizens to choose between subjugation and resistance, Republicans electing the latter. Foreshadowing the Spanish Civil War, fascism had escalated in and around Madrid, agrarian reforms in Catalonia threatened the interests of the rest of Spain, and both the Catholic Church and the Spanish military grudgingly played an ever-diminishing role in society. Nevertheless, one of the primary objectives of those among the military that initiated the Spanish Civil War was to prevent a perceived Catalan separatism.<sup>16</sup> With the eventual collapse of the central government as a consequence of the civil war, the *Generalitat* took further control of Catalan governance—more so than permitted in the 1932 Statute of Autonomy. However, as the Catalan government assumed additional duties within Catalonia, the overburdened *Generalitat* lacked the ability to maintain public order. In December of 1938, Nationalist troops advanced on Catalonia after the defeat of the Republican army at the Ebro River, shortly thereafter occupying Tarragona on 15 January 1939. Days later the Catalan government left Barcelona for Girona, and on 5 February 1939 the Republican government, as well as Catalan national aspirations, appeared to vanish.

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<sup>16</sup> Bacells, 114.

## CHAPTER 2: CATALAN CULTURE

In the nineteenth century and twentieth century, elements of Catalan culture (poetry, traditional music, choral music, and the dancing of the *sardana*) served as essential traditions within Catalan nationalism. Catalan poets revived Catalan as a literary language suitable to set for music, which Roberto Gerhard utilized almost exclusively in his early works. In Catalonia, Gerhard played a prominent role in the collection and study of traditional Catalan music. Only one of Gerhard's early works involved choral music; however, his Cantata would become an award-winning composition. Lastly, the *sardana*, a traditional dance, served as both a sonic and visual symbol of Catalan nationalism, its importance demonstrated by the fact Gerhard composed two *sardanes*.

### CATALAN POETRY: RENAIXENÇA, MODERNISME, AND NOU CENTISME

“...y no obstant de haver transcorregut tant poch temps, llurs descendents, no solsament han oblidat tot assó, sino que fins alguns d’ells, ingrates envers llurs avis, ingrates envers llur patria, se avergonyeixen de que se’ls sorprengue parlant en catalá, com un criminal á qui atrapan en lo acte.”<sup>1</sup>

... and notwithstanding the time that has passed, their descendents have not only forgotten all, but even worse are ungrateful to their forefathers, ungrateful to their fatherland, and ashamed to be heard speaking Catalan, like a criminal caught in the act.

Joaquim Rubió i Ors, prologue to *Poesías Catalanes*

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<sup>1</sup> Joaquim Rubió i Ors, *Poesías Catalanas* (Barcelona: Jaume Jepús y Roviralta, 1888), xiv.

Escolta, Espanya, la veu d'un fill  
que et parla en llengua no castellana:  
parlo en la llengua que m'ha donat  
la terra aspra;  
en'questa llengua pocs t'han parlat;  
en l'altra, massa.”<sup>2</sup>

Listen, Spain, the voice of a son  
that speaks to you in a language not Castilian:  
I speak in a language that was given to me  
by the harsh land;  
in that language few have spoken to you;  
in the other, too many.

Joan Maragall

Cap vent no mou el bri d'una esperança,  
de cada núvol només cau neguit,  
el destí s'enfondeix en malaurança,  
potser la nit serà cent anys la nit.”<sup>3</sup>

No wind stirs the least wisp of hope,  
from every cloud descends nothing but unrest,  
destiny sinks deep into adversity,  
perhaps the night will be night for a hundred years.

Josep Carner

In his early vocal works, Gerhard almost exclusively utilized Catalan poetry.<sup>4</sup> Gerhard set the poetry of some of the best Catalan poets of the period. In 1935, Gerhard wrote of the importance of and the relationship between poetry and music.<sup>5</sup> In elevating the Catalan

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<sup>2</sup> Joan Maragall, *Visions i cants* (Barcelona: L'avenç, 1900), 75-77.

<sup>3</sup> Josep Carner, *El tomb de l'any* (Barcelona: Ediciones Proa, 1966), 55-56.

<sup>4</sup> “Verger de les Galanies” (Josep Carner), “L’infantament meravellós de Schahrazada” (Josep Maria López-Picó), “L’alta naixença del reien Jaume” (Josep Carner), “Madrigal a Sitges” (Josep Carner), “Llassa mesquina” (Pere Serafi), and “Ventall” (Ventura Gassol).

<sup>5</sup> Robert Gerhard, “Música i poesia,” *Quaderns de poesia* 2 (1935): 18-22.



language, poetry served a vital role in Catalan nationalism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In Catalonia, the Romantic movement taking place during the nineteenth century eventually led to the revival of literature in Catalan. The *decadència*, an episode perceived as a long decline in Catalan poetry, from the death of the fifteenth century poet Roís de Corella until the early nineteenth century, preceded this restoration of Catalan as a literary language. Within the *Renaixença*, fundamentally a revival of writing reminiscent of medieval Catalan poetry, poets celebrated rural life and the medieval past and former glory of Catalonia. In the subsequent movement designated as *modernisme*, authors shifted the focus of their writing on poetic content above that of form, and directed their subject matter towards urban life. In addition, standardization—based on the Barcelona dialect—of modern Catalan occurred during the period, reflected in the *modernisme* poetry. Linked with the growing political independence movement, *noucentisme* followed and employed colloquial Catalan in poetry. Poets also emphasized abstract rather than literal depiction of their subject matter in the early twentieth century movement.

The *Renaixença*, deriving its designation from the title of the historic literary journal *Renaixensa*, in part sparked the national imagination and led to the revival of Catalan literature, linking an autonomous culture with use of the Catalan language. The cultural movement of the late nineteenth century shared the aspirations of the publication of the same name—advancing the restoration of the Catalan language within the arts. In the *decadència*, Catalan authors chose almost exclusively to write in Castilian, reflecting the weakened status of the written Catalan language, and initially the Catalan literary revival took place almost exclusively in the

composition of poetry. Catalan poets viewed the Catalan language with nostalgia, often lamenting the interrupted tradition of the *Jocs Florals* (troubadour poetry competitions).<sup>6</sup> Historically, the *Jocs Florals* originated in literary contests amongst troubadours of the region during the fourteenth and fifteenth century, and the restoration of the practice in 1859 sponsored by the town council of Barcelona in particular, advanced the Catalan literary movement. The revival of the Catalan tradition led to amateurish and conventional poetry, but the *Jocs Florals* also generated public interest and inspired the next generations of poets.<sup>7</sup> At the beginning of the twentieth century, Prat de la Riba compared the importance of *Jocs Florals* with the national dance *sardana*, another invented tradition, in their ability to express national sentiments:

The power of the Catalan *Jocs Florals* is without a doubt that constant communion with the feeling of an entire nation; it is the life to the absolute air of all the Catalan land; it is to grow throughout all parts, from city to mountain, from rural towns to large industrial centers; it is to enter all the Catalans without exception or concession, as if it was an immense *sardana*, in which the entire nation sings giving their hands.<sup>8</sup>

The ode *La patria* (1833) by Bonaventura Carles Aribau (1798-1862) serves as a landmark amongst Catalan poetry of the period, and conventionally marks the beginning of the *Renaixença*. Active in politics and business, he published only one book of poems—*Ensayos poéticos*—in 1817. Aribau briefly served in an official political post as the secretary of the *Junta de Comercio* in 1823. He founded and co-edited *El Europeo*, the first journal of any significance

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<sup>6</sup> Arthur Terry, *A Companion to Catalan Literature* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2003), 61.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 62.

<sup>8</sup> Enric Prat de la Riba, *La nació i l'estat* (Barcelona: La Magrana, 1987), 48. “La força dels jocs florals catalans és cabalment aqueixa constant comunió amb el sentiment de tot un poble; és el viure a ple aire de tota la terra catalana; és el créixer pertot, a ciutat com a muntanya, en les viles pageses com en els grans centres industrials; és l’entrar-hi tots els catalans sense excepcions ni privilegis com en altra grandiosa sardana, a on tot un poble canta donant-se les mans.”

in Spain dealing with the subject of Romanticism. Although short-lived, from October 1823 to April 1824, the Barcelona publication succeeded in advancing cosmopolitan Romantic theories (revival of medievalism, fantasy above reason, infatuation with nature, and idealization of rural life) by introducing modern concepts, in particular those emanating from Germany, Italy, and England. In 1816, he moved to Madrid, and while living in the Spanish capital Aribau nostalgically penned the celebrated ode. Within the verses of *La pàtria*, Aribau evoked the three central themes of the *Renaixença*: the geography (nature), history, and language of Catalonia. Throughout the poem appears symbolic topography of Catalonia such as the mountain range of Montseny and the hill Montjuic (*Hill of the Jews* in medieval Catalan) that overlooks the city of Barcelona, and the Catalan river Llobregat. Written as if in exile, Aribau never mentioned Spain (*Espanya*) by name in the poem, instead alluding the “towers of Castile” in line eighteen. Ultimately, the Catalan poet conflates the geography, family ties, and history in the ode.

#### *La pàtria*

Adéu-siau, turons, per sempre adéu-siau,  
oh serres desiguals que allí en la pàtria mia  
dels núvols e del cel de lluny vos distingia  
per lo repòs etern, per lo color més blau.

Adéu tu, vell Montseny, que, des ton alt palau,  
com guarda vigilant, cobert de boira e neu,  
guaïtes per un forat la tomba del jueu  
e almig del mar immens la mallorquina nau.

#### *The Fatherland*

Farewell, mountains, forever farewell,  
oh jagged mountains of my fatherland  
among clouds and high heaven you stand out  
for eternal rest, for the color most blue.

Farewell, ancient Montseny, who, from your high palace  
vigilantly guards, covered in fog and snow  
watches through a hole the Jewish tomb<sup>9</sup>  
and the Mallorcan ship in the middle of the sea.

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<sup>9</sup>“la tomba del jueu” refers to Montjuich.

Jo ton superbe front coneixia llavors  
com conèixer pogués lo front de mos parents;  
coneixia també lo so de tos torrents,  
com la veu de ma mare e de mon fill los plors.

Mes, arrencat després per fats perseguidors,  
ja no conec ni sent com en millors vegades;  
així d'arbre migrat a terres apartades  
son gust perden los fruits e son perfum les flors.

¿Què val que m'haja tret una enganyosa sort  
a veure de més prop les torres de Castella  
si el cant dels trobadors no sona en mon orella  
ni desperta en mon pit un generós record?

En va a mon dolç país en ales jo em transport  
e veig del Llobregat la platja serpentina  
que, fora de cantar en llengua llemosina  
no em queda més plaer, no tinc altre conhort.

Plau-me encara parlar la llengua d'aquells savis  
que ompliren l'univers de llurs costums e lleis,  
la llengua d'aquells forts que acataren los reis,  
defengueren llurs drets, venjaren llurs agravis.

Muira, muira l'ingrat que, al sonar en sos llavis  
per estranya regió l'accent natiu, no plora  
que al pensar en sos llars no es consum ni s'enyora  
ni cull del mur sagrat les lires dels seus avis.

En llemosí sonà lo meu primer vagit  
quan del murgó matern la dolça llet bevia;  
en llemosí al Senyor pregava cada dia  
e cànctics llemosins somiava cada nit.

I then knew your arrogant coast well  
as well as I could know those of my relatives;  
I also knew the sound of your torrents,  
like the voice of my mother and the weeping of my son.

More so, began after the fate of the persecuted  
suddenly I did not identify nor feel as in better times;  
thus as a transplanted tree in torn lands  
it loses its taste of fruit and perfume of flowers.

At what cost has found my misfortune  
to see closer the towers of Castile  
if the song of troubadours do not sound in my ear  
nor wake in my chest a generous memory?

As goes my sweet country I carry with me  
and I see the winding banks of the Llobregat  
that, except for the singing in Catalan  
nothing gives me more pleasure, I have no other comfort.

It still pleases me to speak the language of those wise men  
who filled the universe with their customs and laws,  
the language of those strong men who obeyed their kings,  
defended their rights, avenged their grievances.

Die, die thankless who, sound in your lips  
in strange lands the native accent, do not cry  
think about your home, do not consume nor yearn  
Nor recover from the sacred wall of the lyre of your  
grandparents.

In Catalan sounded my first infant cry  
when I drank the sweet milk of my mother's nipple  
in Catalan to God I prayed everyday  
and Catalan canticles I dreamt every night.

Si, quan me trobe sol, parl' amb mon esperit,  
en llemosí li parl' que llengua altra no sent,  
e ma boca llavors, no sap mentir ni ment,  
puix surten mes raons del centre de mon pit.

If, when you find me alone, I speak to my spirit  
in Catalan I speak to it that no other other language serves  
and my mouth, I do not know how to lie nor mentally,  
able to provide more reasons from my breast.

Ix doncs per expressar l'afecte més sagrat  
que puga d'home en cor gravar la mà del cel,  
oh llengua a mos sentits més dolça que la mel,  
que em tornes les virtuts de ma innocent edat.

Well to express the most sacred attachment  
that could etch the hand of heaven,  
oh language to my feelings as sweet as honey  
That returns to me the virtues of innocence

Ix, e crida pel món que mai mon cor ingrati  
cessarà de cantar de mon patró la gròria;  
e pàssia per ta veu son nom e sa memòria  
als propis, als estranys, i a la posteritat.

Ay, and call to the world that my unpleasant heart  
never ceases to sing of my patron the glory;  
and pass for your voice the name and memory  
to one's own, to foreign, and to posterity.

Joaquim Rubió i Ors (1818-1899), using the pseudonym of *Lo Gayter del Llobregat* (The Bagpiper of Llobregat), published a noteworthy collection of Catalan poems. The author exalted the literary achievements of the medieval past against the present day decline in Catalonia. In the preface of *Poesías* (1839), Rubió i Ors conceded that a military imbalance between Catalonia and the Spanish state existed, arguing, however, that a literary independence was indeed a possibility:

Catalonia can still aspire to independence: not political independence, because it weighs so little in comparison to other nations, which can place on the scale, in addition to the volume of their history, armies of many thousands of men and fleets of hundreds of ships; however, [Catalans] can aspire to literary [independence], even if the balance of power does not widen.<sup>10</sup>

Both Víctor Balaguer (1824-1901) and Manuel Milà i Fontanals (1818-1884), Catalan historians and poets, contributed poetry that reflected their attachments to Catalan history and

<sup>10</sup> Joaquim Rubió y Ors, *Poesías* (Barcelona: Estampa da Francisco X Altés y Alábart, 1902), xvi. "Catalunya pot aspirer encara á la independència: no á la política, puig pesa molt poch en comparació de las demes nacións, las quals poden posar en lo plat de la balansa, á més del volúm de llur historia, exèrcits de molts mils de homes y esquadras de cents de vaixells; mes sí á la literaria, fins á la qual no s'exten ni se pot estendre la politica del equilibri."

traditions. In contrast, Jacint Verdaguer (1845-1901) won first prize at the 1877 *Jocs Florals* for his *L'Atlàntida*, an epic poem in ten *cantos*. The poem, involving Hercules, the demise of Atlantis, Columbus, and the discovery of the New World, placed Verdaguer among the forefront of Catalan poets of the period. Resembling the *chansons de geste* of troubadours, his second epic poem *Canigó* (1885), depicted a Christian knight within the romantic and fabled past of Catalonia. The poetry of Verdaguer—his epic poems in particular—established the viability of Catalan as a modern literary language.<sup>11</sup> The *Renaixença* led to the elevation of the Catalan language and the construction of a national literature.

In the 1890s, the literary movement, termed *modernisme*, emerged in Catalonia. Foreign influences of the movement included Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin, Friedrich Nietzsche, Henrik Ibsen, August Strindberg, Leo Tolstoy, and Maurice Maeterlinck.<sup>12</sup> Emphasizing the intuition of the artist, writers within *modernisme* communicated their personal ideals while negotiating superficial realities.<sup>13</sup> *Modernisme* in poetry exhibited an intricate reconciliation of modern European sensibilities with Catalan traditions. However, the movement eschewed the strict employment of cursory cosmopolitanism for the sake of novelty; rather, poets embraced modern European aesthetics, taking into account the national traditions and requirements of Catalan society.<sup>14</sup> Within *modernisme*, poets ignored conventions; instead, they focused on content and, to a lesser degree, form.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Terry, 65.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 73.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Joan Ramon Resina, "Modernism in Catalonia," in *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature*, ed. David T. Gies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 515.

*Modernisme* served as a liminal moment between the *Renaixença* and the latter *noucentisme*.<sup>16</sup> In contrast with works penned during the *Renaixença*, authors altered the focus of their works from honoring rural traditions to those of the city. In addition, poets replaced an identity based on a historical past with a sense of community built upon the modern conception of the nation.<sup>17</sup> During this period, standardization of the Catalan language, based on the Barcelona dialect, occurred through orthographic reforms of Pompeu Fabra (1868-1948).

The most influential Catalan poet of the period was Joan Maragall (1860-1911), publishing his poems in five volumes: *Poesies* (1895), *Visions i cants* (1900), *Les disperses* (1903), *Enllà* (1906), and *Seqüències* (1911). The writings of Goethe, in particular, served as an early influence on Maragall. Unlike the poetry of Verdaguer, Maragall avoided the composition of long poems, choosing instead to thematically link shorter poems.<sup>18</sup> His stance on poetry accentuated the fragmentary quality of poetic ideas and the importance of rhythm in shaping the content of a poem.<sup>19</sup> In Maragall's poem *La sardana*, the poet portrayed in four stanzas the transformation of the Catalan dance from its rural origins to an urban dance that held national importance.

#### La sardana

|

La sardana és la dansa més bella  
de totes les danses que es fan i es desfan;  
és la mòbil magnífica anella  
que amb pausa i amb mida va lenta oscil.lant.  
Ja es decanta a l'esquerra i vacil.la

#### The Sardana

|

The *sardana* is the most beautiful dance  
of all the dances that one begins and finishes;  
it is the magnificent mobile ring  
with pause and measure slowly oscillating.  
At once one moves to the left and vacillates

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, 513.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 514.

<sup>18</sup> Terry, 79.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

ja volta altra volta a la dreta dubtant,  
i se'n torna i retorna intranquil·la,  
com, mal orientada, l'agulla d'imat.  
Fixa's un punt i es detura com ella.  
Del contrapunt arrencant-se novella,  
de nou va voltant.  
La sardana és la dansa més bella  
de totes les danses que es fan i es desfan.

## II

Els fadrins, com guerrers que fan via,  
ardits la puntegen; les verges no tant;  
mes, devots d'una santa harmonia,  
tots van els compassos i els passos comptant.  
Sacerdots els diríeu d'un culte  
que en mística dansa se'n vénen i van  
emportats per el símbol oculte  
de l'ampla rodona que els va agermanant.  
Si el contrapunt el bell ritme li estrella,  
para's suspena de tal meravella.  
El ritme tornant,  
la sardana és la dansa més bella  
de totes les danses que es fan i es desfan.

## III

El botó d'eixa roda, ¿quin era  
que amb tal simetria l'anava centrant?  
¿Quina mà venjativa i severa  
buidava la nina d'aquell ull gegant?  
Potser un temps al bell mig s'apilaven  
les garbes polsoses del blat rossejant,  
i els suats segadors festejaven  
la pròdiga Ceres saltant i ballant...  
Del contrapunt la vagant cantarella  
és estafeta passada d'ocella  
que canta volant:  
-La sardana és la dansa més bella  
de totes les danses que es fan i es desfan.

now turn after turn to the right unbelieving,  
and one returns and restless returns  
like a poorly oriented, magnetic needle.  
Firm one's step and stop with it.  
With the flute introduction one starts  
from new to turn again.  
The *sardana* is the most beautiful dance  
of all the dances that one begins and finishes.

## II

The bachelors, like warriors make way  
boldly dance; the virgins not so;  
more devout of a saint accord,  
All follow the beats and counting the passages.  
Priests preside over worship  
that in mystic dance come and go  
bearing a secret symbol  
of the wide round that doubles.  
If the contrapunt the beautiful rhythm and star,  
stops the failure of such amazement.  
The rhythm returning,  
The *sardana* is the most beautiful dance  
of all the dances that one begins and finishes.

## III

The button of that wheel, who was  
that with such symmetry towards the center?  
Which vindictive and severe hand  
emptied the little girl of that giant eye?  
Maybe a time to the beautiful half accumulated  
mixing the dusty sheafs of wheat  
and the reapers celebrated  
the prodigal Ceres jumping and dancing...  
Of the contrapunt the roaming sing song quality  
change passages of the bird  
that sings flying:  
-The *sardana* is the most beautiful dance  
of all the dances that one begins and finishes.



## IV

No és la dansa lasciva, la innoble,  
els uns parells d'altres desaparellant  
és la dansa sencera d'un poble  
que estima i avança donant-se les mans.  
La garlanda suaument es deslliga;  
desfent-se, s'eixampla, esvaint-se al voltant,  
cada mà, tot deixant a l'amiga,  
li sembla prometre que ja hi tornaran.  
Ja hi tornaran de parella en parella.  
Tota mà Pàtria cabrà en eixa anella,  
i els pobles diran:  
-La sardana és la dansa més bella  
de totes les danses que es fan i es desfan.

## IV

It is not a dance lascivious, un-noble,  
of which couple split couples  
it is the dance of an entire nation  
that loves and presses forward giving their hands.  
The garland gently unravels;  
undoing itself, extends, dispels, to turning,  
each hand, all releasing to a friend,  
it seems to promise that at once it will return.  
Now it will return pairs and pairs.  
The whole hand of the Fatherland fits in that ring,  
and the people say:  
-The *sardana* is the most beautiful dance  
of all the dances that one begins and finishes.

Ultimately, the downfall of *modernisme* during the years 1899 to 1906 resulted from sharing commonalities with the political aspirations associated with *Catalanisme* (Catalan nationalism), after previously discouraging connections with the political movement.<sup>20</sup> *Noucentisme*, a cultural movement closely linked with the political party *Solidaritat Catalana*, embodied the coordinated measures by both intellectuals and Catalan nationalists to create an autonomous cultural sphere. The goals of the turn of the century movement appeared in Enric Prat de la Riba's *La Nacionalitat Catalana* (1906). Having ties with Catalan nationalism, individuals associated with *noucentisme* established both the social and political conditions for intellectual independence.<sup>21</sup> In conjunction with Catalan politicians, *noucentistes* argued that the arts required the formation of modern educational and scientific institutions such as libraries, museums, and the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* (Institute for Catalan Studies).<sup>22</sup> *Noucentistes* strove for the restoration of Catalan culture to its original condition through the

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>21</sup> Resina, 533.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 533.

establishment of an autonomous cultural sphere. Northern European culture served as the model in *modernisme*; however, poets within *noucentisme* enthusiastically favored Mediterranean culture.<sup>23</sup> From 1906, Eugeni d'Ors, under the pseudonym of Xènius, advanced the *noucentisme* movement in the newspaper *La Veu de Catalunya*. Ors embraced Greco-Roman antiquity, in particular, the manner in which classicism prevailed over nature.<sup>24</sup> While despising *modernisme*, those in *noucentisme* nevertheless shared in the belief that intellectuals served a role in the advancement of Catalan society through the application of modern European standards.<sup>25</sup>

Such works as *La ciutat d'ivori* (1918), *Selvatana d'amor* (1920), and *Ofrena rural* (1926) by Jaume Bofill i Mates (1878-1933), under the pseudonym Guerau de Liost, represented the stance of the urban-based cultural movement of *noucentisme* as well as its adoration of nature. In *Fir and Beech*, Bofill i Mates in abstract language compares the foliage from the mountain range of Montseny to the Gothic architecture of the region.

#### Avets i faigs

Gòtics semblant el faig, l'avet,  
puja, segur, l'avet ombriu,  
rígid de fulles, d'aire fred,  
car és d'un gòtic primitiu.

Amb son fullatge trèmul, net,  
ben altrament, el faig somriu,  
més joguinós que massa dret,  
car és d'un gòtic renadiu.

#### Fir and Beech

Gothics resembling the beech, the fir tree,  
climb, sure, the fir shades,  
rigid with leaves, of cold air,  
because it is a primitive gothic.

With them are shivering foliage, clean,  
on the other hand, the beech smiles,  
more a toy than too straight,  
because it is a renascent Gothic.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 534

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 537.

L'avet és gòtic com el faig.	The fir is gothic like the beech.
Són les agulles del bagueny	They have dark needles
on de la llum es trenca el raig.	where the light breaks the ray.

Són les agulles sobiranes	They have sovereign needles
que, en les altures de Montseny,	that, in heights of Montseny,
del vent concerten les campanes.	the wind harmonizes the bells.

Josep Carner, a close friend of Bofill i Mates, developed as the most important Catalan poet of the new movement. His collection of poetry, *Els fruits saborosos* (1906), serves as an exemplary literary example of *noucentisme*. Writing primarily poetry, he employed cultured as well as colloquial Catalan in his works. Creating aesthetic distance with his subject matter, Carner situated circumstances from middle-class existence into the structure of a classical eclogue.<sup>26</sup> The poetry of Carner influenced succeeding Catalan poets such as Josep Maria Lopez-Pico (1886-1959), Marià Manent (1898-1988), and Tomàs Garcés (1901-1992).

### **“MÚSICA I POESIA” (MUSIC AND POETRY)**

Gerhard published in 1935 an insightful essay in the journal *Quaderns de poesia* on the obstacles as well as abuses that occur in composers’ setting of poetry.<sup>27</sup> Written after already completing the vocal works that belong to his Catalan period, this essay reveals Gerhard’s conception of the role of the composer and the relationship between text and music. Evoking the mythology of the nine goddesses over the arts and sciences, Gerhard reminded readers that the synthesis of text and music extends beyond immemorial, adding that when text—already rich in emotional content—combines with music, its imaginative possibilities expand.

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<sup>26</sup> Terry, 89.

<sup>27</sup> Robert Gerhard, “Música i poesia,” *Quaderns de poesia* 2 (1935): 18-22.

Perhaps even preceding all the Muses, it is clear that the union of words and music is as ancient as poetry and music themselves. A word dense in emotive content, allied with an exalted musical expression, to an interval or to a musical motif apt and pleasant for repetition, implies a whole series of ambiguous routes leading to enchantment and magic.<sup>28</sup>

Additionally, Gerhard's statement suggests that he advocated the pairing of musical motives with words of poignant significance.

Writing that the voice was the superior of musical mediums and of the value of a singing quality within music, he explained: "The idea of vocalization naturally arouses the question of the human voice itself, the very best musical instrument, and immediately afterwards the idea of singability, a supreme emblem in an expressive concept of music."<sup>29</sup> On the subject of extra-musical imagery and the union of poetry and music, the Catalan composer humorously warned also of its perils, citing French examples by both Hector Berlioz and poet Paul Valéry:

There exists a disconcerting statement relevant to this matter made by a composer and a modified interpretation of it by a poet that is worthy to ponder. It is a statement by Hector Berlioz that appears in the introduction to his *The Damnation of Faust*. Paul Valéry has used it as the subject matter for his essay "Introduction to Leonardo da Vinci's methods." Berlioz states: "Someone asks the author why he made his character travel to Hungary—because he wanted to hear a piece of Hungarian music—the author confesses frankly. And I would have sent him as far as I could, if I had the slightest musical reason to do so."<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 19. "És evident que la unió de la paraula amb la música és tan antiga com la poesia i com la música mateixa, i potser anterior i tot a les Muses. Una paraula densa de contingut emotiu, aliada a una expressió musicalment exaltada, a un interval o a un motiu musical apte i agradable a la repetició, insinua tota una sèrie de vies obscures que menen a l'encantació i a la màgia."

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. "La idea de la vocalitat suscita, naturalment, la qüestió de la veu humana, instrument musical òptim, i tot seguit la idea de cantabilitat, suprema divisa en un concepte expressiu de la música."

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 20. "Existeix una declaració desconcertant d'aquest fet per part d'un músic i una interpretació molt transposada del mateix fet, per part d'un poeta, que valen la pena d'ésser meditates. És un mot d'Hector Berlioz, que figura en el preàmbul de la seva "Damnació de Faust". Paul Valéry l'ha pres per tema del seu assaig "Introducció al mètode de Leonardo da Vinci". Diu Berlioz: "Hom pregunta a l'autor per què ha fet anar el seu personatge a Hongria.—Perquè tenia ganes de fer sentir una peça de música hongaresa—l'autor confessa francament. I l'hauria fet anar allà on hagués calgut, si hagués trobat la menor raó musical de fer-ho."

Indirectly addressed in Gerhard's observation is the possibility that a composer might also haphazardly risk selecting a Catalan subject to hear a piece of Catalan music. Gerhard contended that often the intentions of a composer coincidentally paralleled that of a poem. In addition, he questioned the degree to which poetry served as the pretext for musical works, replicating the emotions and imageries of text through music:

To reproduce musically that petite world of feelings and images, that lyrical experience which is poetry—to bend and adjust one's own mind upon the alien intentions carried out in the poem—is surely nothing but a veiled way of giving satisfaction to one's own deeply original intention. It is an affective predisposition or a secret plan, not always conscious—a plan that perhaps is childish or absurd as the majority of the voluntary operations of the artist. Perhaps deep inside a work, more often than we know, the desire to make them hear a piece of Hungarian music. It would be convenient to know as to what point a text is often a pretext.<sup>31</sup>

According to Gerhard, composers more or less nullified the form and musicality of the work by poets. Preferring to examine the detrimental affects of music upon poetry, he remarked that:

In the first example from that list, I observe the sacrifice of the autonomous formal and musical values of the poetic text set to music. The sonorous effects of versification, that which the poets call the music of the verse itself—that fine music of colored vowels and consonants; the internal harmonies and chords of the verse; the resonances of the rhyme; all that sustained melody that the poet knows how to obtain sometimes with the sensitive accidents of the language, as superior counterpoint to the other more serious melody which generates the significant and lyrical flow of the verse—the music of the composer almost invalidates it all.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 20. "Recrear musicalment aquell petit món de sentiment i d'imatges, aquella experiència lírica que és la poesia—inclinar i ajustar el propi esperit a la intenció aliena i realitzada del poema—no és, segurament, sinó una manera velada de donar satisfacció a una intenció pròpia, profundament original. És una predisposició afectiva o un secret disseny, no sempre conscient—un disseny potser pueril o absurd, com la majoria de les operacions voluntàries de l'artista. Potser hi ha al fons d'una obra, més sovint del que sabem, les ganes de fer sentir una peça de música hongaresa. Caldria veure fins a quin punt un text sovint és un pretext."

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. "A la primera partida d'aquest capítol veig figurar el sacrifici dels valors formals i musicals autònoms del text poètic posat en música. Els efectes sonors de la versificació, allò que el poeta entenen per la música pròpia del vers—aquella fina música de vocals i consonants acolorides; les harmonies i accords interiors del vers; les resonàncies de la rima; tota aquella melodia sostinguda que el poeta sap obtenir de vegades amb els accidents

Under the craft of the composer, the union of poetry and music results in a new entity—significantly transformed—with only resonance and articulations of the language surviving. He observed that:

When the music gets hold of the verse, it penetrates and deforms it; dilates, contracts, and multiples its members, imposing on them a new body; all that fine and diminutive music created before by the verse remains extinguished and faded, while deafened by the more powerful voice that covers it. Only the preeminent sounds of the language still emerge from the music in quality of simple inflections of vocal articulation.<sup>33</sup>

The composer, according to Gerhard, need not be preoccupied with the misfortunes of the poet. In the musical setting of poetry, the end ultimately justifies the means:

Here we have a first negative result for poetry: a noticeable loss, from the poet's point of view. It is good, surely, that the composer does not think much about it and only thinks about it *a posteriori* sometimes. A too clear conscience surely destroys, at the expense of another, is still problematic and would remove the ingeniousness necessary for creativity. But, luckily, these are not an artist's reflections: they are reflections of an aesthete.<sup>34</sup>

As the point of departure, it is the resourcefulness of the composer and not the poetry on which an artist relies, Gerhard exclaimed that "The artist, when he saves himself, saves himself through daring ingenuousness and without contemplation: he goes his own way. And it is surely both necessary and ill-fated that this is so. In its union with music, poetry loses, even

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sensibles del llenguatge, com un contrapunt superior de l'altra melodia més greu que fa la fluència significativa i lírica del vers—la música del músic ho anul·la quasi del tot."

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 21. "Quan la música s'apodera del vers, el penetra i el deforma; dilata, contreu i multiplica els seus membres, com per imposar-los un cos nou: tota aquella música tan fina i diminuta que el vers feia abans, resta apagada i fosa, com eixordada per la veu més potent que la cobreix. Només els efectes sonors preeminents del llenguatge emergiran encara de la cantilena musical en qualitat de simple accidents d'articulació vocal."

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. "Heus aquí un primer resultat negatiu per a la poesia; una pèrdua sensible, des del punt de vista del poeta. És un bé, segurament, que el músic això no ho vegi gaire, i només hi pensi *a posteriori* alguna vegada. Una consciència massa clara d'un bé cert que destrueix, a profit d'un alter bé encara problemàtic, li llevaria la ingenuïtat necessària a la creació. Però, per sort, això no són reflexions d'artista: són reflexions d'esteta."

more, all the autonomous beauty of its formal organization.”<sup>35</sup> The text was not entirely sacrificed; Gerhard observed that in the synthesis of music and poetry, “A text, poetic material, and a lyrical substance, still retained exactly in that text, but deprived of rhythm and own number, of that resistant body that the poet carves out in the language and that he loves, with fairness, as the supreme proof of his creation.”<sup>36</sup>

Reflecting on the unfavorable effects—from the perspective of the poet—of setting poetry to music, Gerhard posited that “one could almost ask himself whether it is possible that a poet could approve of the musical setting of a poem that he loves. That question, naturally, can only be answered by the poet.”<sup>37</sup> After warning of the sacrifices, Gerhard advised that a poem might maintain its integrity if both the music and poetry share in its expressive essence:

It is difficult to say. Perhaps one could state in this way: if the music, with that plenitude of life that transports and imposes almost physically on us, arrives to give us the illusion—which it gives us at times—making us live the same lyrical substance as the poetic expression, beyond its significant symbols, perhaps that in that case we can neglect the list of losses, the sacrifices in the formal skills of the poem, like an unfounded scruple, since in reality the poem stays intact in its independent existence.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid. “L’artista, quan se salva, se salva per una ingenuïtat atrevida i sense contemplacions: va a la seva i fa el seu fet. I és necessari, segurament, i fatal, que sigui així. En la seva unió amb la música, la poesia perd, encara més, tota la bellesa autònoma de la seva organització formal.”

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. “Un text, material poètica, i una substància lírica, encara exactament continguda en aquest text, però desposseïda de ritme i nombre propis, d’aquell cos resistent que el poeta esculpeix en el llenguatge i que ell estima, amb justícia, com la prova suprema del seu de creació.”

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 22; “gairebé hom podria preguntar-se si és possible que el poeta vegi amb bons ulls la composició musical d’un poema que ell estima. Aquesta pregunta—naturalment—l’hauria de contestar el poeta.”

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. “És difícil de dir. Podria dir-se, potser, d’aquesta manera: si la música, amb aquella plenitud de vida que transporta i ens imposa gairebé físicament, arriba a donar-nos la il·lusió—que ens dona alguna vegada—de fer-nos viure la mateixa substància lírica de l’expressió poètica, més enllà dels seus símbols significatius, potser en aquest cas podem negligir el capítol de pèrdues, el sacrifici dels artificis formals del poema, com un escrúpol infundat, puix que en realitat el poema resta intacte en la seva existència independent.”

As argued by Gerhard, music has the potential to overwhelm poetry; however, second-rate music is overshadowed by a well-executed poem, concluding his essay by stating “And a beautiful poem lasts, and mediocre music passes and does not change.”<sup>39</sup>

## ARXIU D’ETNOGRAFIA I FOLKLORE DE CATALUNYA

S’ha fet tard. Quinze anys enrera es veu que tot el país era ple de cançons; avui són recordades per molts poques persones i dintre cinc anys no’n serà recordada cap.<sup>40</sup>

We are too late. It seems that fifteen years ago the entire country was full of songs; today only a few people remember them and within five years they will all have been forgotten.

*Higini Anglès and Pere Bohigas*

In 1915, Tomàs Carreras i Artau founded the Arxiu d’Etnografia i Folklore de Catalunya (Archive of Ethnography and Folklore of Catalonia) for the purpose of conducting ethnographic research on the collective psychology of Catalans. Receiving funding from the Mancomunitat, Carreras and his assistant, Josep Batista i Roca, endeavored to surpass the efforts of previous folklorists and Romantics of the *Renaixença* by applying scientific procedures to the study and collection of Catalan culture. In part, the goal of the Arxiu d’Etnografia i Folklore de Catalunya was to demonstrate that a distinctive Catalan culture existed, separate from the rest of Spain. Both scholars and amateurs participated in the anthropological research of the project—major

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid. “I un bell poema resta, i una música mediocre passa i no l’aterà.”

<sup>40</sup> Lluís Calvo Calvo, “L’Arxiu d’Etnografia i Folklore de Catalunya i la cançó popular,” in *El cançoner popular català*, ed. Josep Massot i Muntaner et al. (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 2005), 48.



figures in Catalan folklore scholarship included Rossend Serra i Pagès, Sebastià Farnés, Aureli Capmany, and Felipe Pedrell.

The collection and study of folk songs developed as one of the primary activities of the organization. Carreras selected Gerhard to oversee the section on Catalan folk songs, describing him as a “young person of solid musical and literary preparation, habitual Rambler, and one of the favorite disciples of master Pedrell.”<sup>41</sup> At the outset, the other topics in the *Arxiu d’Etnografia i Folklore de Catalunya* included atmospheric phenomena, births, livestock, and traditional sayings.

Writing from Valls on 25 June 1916, Gerhard informed Pedrell that he had received an invitation from Carreras to join the *Arxiu d’Etnografia i Folklore de Catalunya*, which Gerhard accepted after conferring with Pedrell.<sup>42</sup> In the letter, Gerhard revealed his anxieties about the project to his teacher:

I received news from professor T. Carreras i Artau, a circular regarding the organization of the Folkloric Archive of Catalonia and an invitation for me from the professor to collaborate with it. I am going to answer it immediately, accepting it with enthusiasm, however I first must confide in you dear master to suggest to me as to which direction I should take my efforts because at this moment I am a disoriented boy.<sup>43</sup>

On 31 July 1916, Gerhard wrote to accept Carreras offer to participate in the activities of the *Arxiu d’Etnografia i Folklore de Catalunya*, and asked for future guidance:

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<sup>41</sup> Tomàs Carreras i Artau and Josep Maria Batista i Roca, “Ressenya dels treballs del segon curs: 1916-1917,” *Estudis i materials* 2 (1918): 25. “jove de sòlida preparació musical i literària, excursionista d’habitut i un dels deixebles predilectes del Mtre. Pedrell.”

<sup>42</sup> Roberto Gerhard to Felipe Pedrell, June 25, 1916, Institut d’Estudis Vallencs.

<sup>43</sup> Roberto Gerhard to Felipe Pedrell, July 25, 1916, Biblioteca de Catalunya. “Rebo notícies de T. Carreras i Artau catedràtic, una circular a propòsit de l’organització del Arxiu folk-loric de Catalunya i mia invitació del dil Profesor a col·laborar-hi. Vaig a contestar-li tot seguit acceptant amb entusiasme per mes que confio del tot en Vosté estimat Mestre per indicar-me en quina direcció han d’en-caminar se els meus esforços i de quina manera sobre el qual punt estic un xic desorientat.”

I recently received your most friendly letter and the pamphlet from the Folkloric Archive of Catalonia which, I enjoyed immensely. I was hindered from answering it as soon as you would have liked, for which I ask your forgiveness. Our admirable master F. Pedrell had spoken of the extremely interesting studies that you directed. With his authorization and encouragement for it, I enthusiastically accept to collaborate in the musical folkloric section, confiding that you will have the kindness to guide my first efforts. I will deeply appreciate the suggestions that you would offer me in this direction and of the movement of the Archive in general.<sup>44</sup>

Playing an important role, Gerhard prepared the questionnaire on the subject of Catalan folksongs and organized the transcriptions submitted by correspondents from throughout Catalonia.<sup>45</sup> The Arxiu d'Etnografia i Folklore de Catalunya distributed a significant number of the questionnaires to all parts of Catalonia.<sup>46</sup> In addition, Gerhard contributed a concise bibliography of published Catalan folk song research.<sup>47</sup>

In the Catalan folksong questionnaire Gerhard prepared, he argued for the importance of collecting both text and music:

It is essential that the folksong should be collected *in all of its entirety*, so much in the tune as in the text. The song is *inseparable of tune and text*: the one cannot be collected without the other. All the variants of a song—the melody as well as the text—must be written down without any sacrifice to either.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Roberto Gerhard to Tomàs Carreras i Artau, July 31, 1916, L'Arxiu d'Etnografia i Folklore de Catalunya. "Vaig rebre en son temps la seva amabilissima carta i el fascicle circular de l'Arxiu folkloric de Catalunya qui agraeixo moltíssim. He estat impedit de contestar-li tant aviat com jo hauria desitjat, de lo cual li demanó perdó. Nostre admirable mestre D. F. Pedrell ja m'havia parlat dels interesantíssims estudis que Vosté dirigeix. Amb la seva autorització i encoratjat per ell, jo accepto amb entusiasme de col·laborar en la secció de Folk-lore musical, confiant en que Vosté tindrà la bondat de guiar els meus primers esforços. Estimaré moltíssim las indicacions que Vosté volgui fer-me en aquest sentit i sobre el moviment del Arxiu en general."

<sup>45</sup> Lluís Calvo Calvo, "L'Arxiu d'Etnografia i Folklore de Catalunya i la cançó popular," in *El cançoner popular català*, ed. Josep Massot i Muntaner et al. (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 2005), 49.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. An unknown amount, possibly large, of completed questionnaires were lost due to the Spanish Civil War.

<sup>47</sup> Robert Gerhard, "Contribució a la bibliografia de la cançó popular catalana," *Estudis i materials* 2 (1918): 217-24.

<sup>48</sup> Robert Gerhard, "La cançó popular catalana," *Estudis i materials* 2 (1918): 165. "És indispensable que la cançó popular sigui recollida *en tota sa integritat*, tant en la tonada com la lletra. La cançó és *indivisible en tonada i lletra*: l'una no pot ésser recollida seperada de l'altra. Totes les variants d'una canço—així de la melodia com del text—deuen ésser anotades, sense sacrificar-ne cap."

Concerning the demanding nature of their task, he instructed that the transcription of folksongs “should be accomplished in the most rigorous and ethical manner. Under no circumstances should you correct the villager.”<sup>49</sup> Moreover, Gerhard instructed the researchers to document the Catalan folksongs—music and text—as encountered in the field, directing the transcribers to:

not interpret, nor correct, nor attempt to reconstruct in the case of encountering fragments. One should not correct the verses if there are too few or too many syllables. The words should be written as the villager pronounces, although it becomes adulterated and does not have significance. The proper word can be indicated at the margin.<sup>50</sup>

Gerhard suggested that the folksong transcriptions serve as an accurate record of the melody with a faithful placement of the first strophe underneath the tune, placing the other strophes on the next page.<sup>51</sup> Concerning the refrain and text, he instructed the researchers that “[o]ne should indicate between bar lines the refrain, or that is to say, the melodic part that is repeated in every strophe. Indicate it in the same manner when copying the text, only so with the first words of each time, separating the strophes with a space.”<sup>52</sup> Continuing with transcription instructions, he wrote in the questionnaire that “[o]ne should also indicate the general movement and expression and their possible changes.”<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid. “L’ anotació de la tonada i de la lletra deu ésser inspirada en la escrupolositat més rigorosa. Eviti’s el corretgir al poble sota cap pretext.”

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. “El recercador, davant del fet de la cançó popular, no deu interpretar, ni esmenar, ni tractar de reconstruir en el cas de trobar-se amb fragments. Els versos no s’han d’esmenar tant si hi manquen síl·labes com si n’hi sobren. Les paraules s’han d’escriure tal com les pronuncia el poble, encara que siguin adulterades i no tinguin significat. La paraula correcta pot indicar-se al marge.”

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 165-66. “La anotació musical ha d’ésser clara i correcta, amb aplicació exacta de la primera estrofa de la cançó dessota de la tonada.”

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. 166.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. “Les demes estrofes es copiaràn en una fulla adjunta. Deu indicar-se entre barres la rescobla, tornado o resposta, o sia la part melòdica que és repetida en cada estrofa. Indicar-ho aiximateix al copiar la lletra, tan sols

Gerhard instructed the researchers also to document the day, place, and context of the folksong.<sup>54</sup> According to the instructions, the description of the singer should be kept to only a concise depiction—with the exception that professional singers be asked for their known names and instruments used.<sup>55</sup> However, on the cultural context of the collected folksongs, Gerhard requested a variety of information:

All the possible data about the origin of the song; the person that it deals with, when the villager conserved a clear memory of it; special significance that it could allude; holiday on which it is sung, gestures and work that commemorate or accompany it; social position of the people that sing them, when the song continues to belong to the domain of a certain group or gender; legends and practices that have connections; photographs of the most typical scenes or climax, always if there is a reason...<sup>56</sup>

It is apparent from his instructions that in addition to the accurate transcription of music and text, documenting the cultural context surrounding the folksong was a vital aspect of the project of the Arxiu d'Etnografia i Folklore de Catalunya.

Providing further advice, Gerhard recommended that the investigators should keep singers apart “so as not to rouse competition.”<sup>57</sup> He gave additional reasons for separating singers, explaining, “it is very possible that in the desire to show off that one or another singer might want to do it especially well, adulterating the primitive aspect of the song in doing so,” or that possibly with a “singer—above all when dealing with songs that are not very well

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amb les primeres paraules cada vegada, separant les estrofes per un espai. Cal indicar també el moviment i expression generals i llur modificació eventual.”

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. “Localitat i comarca de la recerca: dia i lloc en què s’ha fet.”

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. “Lleugeríssima descripció de la persona que l’ha dictada. Totes les dades possibles sobre l’origen de la cançó; el personatge que l’ha treat, quan el poble en conservi memoria clara; significació especial que calgui esmentar; diades en què es canta, gestes i feines que commemora o acompanya; condició social de les persones que la canten, quan la cançó sigui del domini d’una categoria o d’un sexe determinats; llegendes i pràctiques que hi van lligades; fotografies de les escenes més típiques o culminants, sempre que hi hagi motiu; si hi han cantaires professionals, noms amb que són coneguts, instruments que usen, etc., etc.”

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

remembered or recalled with difficulty—one will hear the influences from the song that they just heard, producing inevitable similarities.”<sup>58</sup> Aware of the individuality of traditional performance, he explained that “[i]t is indispensable that the tune and the text come from the mouth of the same person, because two people always sing the same song in different ways.”<sup>59</sup> He advocated the importance of accurately documenting both the text and music of folk songs, noting that “[i]t is difficult enough to apply oneself with the accurateness of the text of the song; therefore, the tune should not be transcribed by the same person.”<sup>60</sup> Gerhard claimed that the collaboration between two investigators with “the simultaneous collecting of the tune by one and the text by the other” would save time and lead to more precise folksong transcriptions.<sup>61</sup> In addition, he advised the researchers never to interrupt the singers, and “in the case of missed transcribed intervals within the music or any word from the text,” he suggested that “one should not have a fragment of the tune or portion of the text repeated, but instead have the entire strophe sung.”<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, on the subject of the interconnectedness of text and music, he suggested that “[t]he text should never be dictated in spoken voice, instead always sung.”<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid. “Per les raons que segueixen, recomanem d’interrogar els cantaires sepradament, evitant posar-los en presència l’un de l’altre, per tal de no estimular-los a rivalisar. En primer lloc, és molt fàcil que les ganes de lluir-s’hi portin a l’un o a l’altre a volguer-ho fer ?especialment bé, desnaturalisant, per lo tant, l’aspecte primitiu de la cançó. En segon lloc, el cantaire—sobre tot tractant-se de cançons que no tingui molt presents i li calgui fer un esforç per a recordar-les—es sentirà influit per la cançó que acaba d’oir, produint-se reminiscències inevitables.”

<sup>59</sup> Ibid. 166-67.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. “És de tot punt indispensable que la tonada i la lletra siguin recollides de boca d’una mateixa persona, per la raó de que dues persones canten la mateixa cançó sempre de dues maneres diferents. Dificilment pot aplicar-se amb exactitut la lletra de la cançó, a la tonada que no ha sigut dictada per la mateixa persona.”

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 167. “Per tal d’estalviar-se temps i d’assolir una major perfecció en la tasca, recomanem la col·laboració cordial i constant entre dos investigadors encarregats de recollir simultàniament la tonada l’un i la lletra l’altre.”

<sup>62</sup> Ibid. “Aquest procediment serà, a més, una altra garantia d’exactitut. Deu procurar-se no interrompre el cantaire, i en el cas d’escapar-li intervals al músic o qualche paraula al literat, aconsellem que’s faci repetir no fragments de tonada o paraules soltes, sinó tota l’estrofa cantada.”

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. “La lletra no deu ésser mai dictada recitant-la, sinó cantada sempre.”

Focusing on the significance of both text and music, the questionnaire prepared by Gerhard demonstrates his awareness of contemporary European folk music scholarship. No longer privileging the documentation of text over music, the Arxiu d'Etnografia i Folklore de Catalunya represented a scientific and holistic approach to the study of culture. Gerhard emphasized the diplomatic documentation of folk songs, instructing researchers not to tamper with the dictated folk songs and to insure that outside influences did not take place during their transcription.

On 6 October 1922, while involved in the collecting of folksongs in the province of Girona, in the small village of Gombrèn, Higini Anglès and Pere Bohigas wrote to Carreras of the urgent task of documenting the traditional music and culture of Catalonia:

We are collecting the last few drops from a spring that is about to run dry. What a burden for the conscience of those who should have come here years ago to collect Catalonia's traditional poetry and music.<sup>64</sup>

The letter from Anglès and Bohigas reveals the perceived obligation and significance of documenting Catalan folk songs during this period.

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<sup>64</sup> Lluís Calvo Calvo, "L'Arxiu d'Etnografia i Folklore de Catalunya i la cançó popular," in *El cançoner popular català*, ed. Josep Massot i Muntaner et al. (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 2005), 48. "S'ha fet tard. Quinze anys enrera es veu que tot el país era ple de cançons; avui són recordades per molts poques persones i dintre cinc anys no'n serà recordada cap. Estem recollint els últims degotalls d'una aigua a punt d'extingir-se. Quina responsabilitat pels qui haurien degut anys enrera venir a recollir el folklore poètic i musical català."

## CHORAL TRADITION

Amb franquesa haig de dir molt temps he estat dubtant jo si era cosa bona portar l'ORFEÓ a la capital d'Espanya...Per més que els amics de l'intransigència ens mirin esglaiats amb la barretina caient de nostres caps, els hi haig de dir, ben amorosament: no tingueu por, companys, que al tornar a Barcelona ens hem palpat i ens hem trobat més catalans que abans.”<sup>65</sup>

Frankly, I have to say that I have long been wondering if it was a good thing to take the Orfeó Català to the capital of Spain... Even though uncompromising friends looked at us terrifyingly with our [Catalan] berets falling off our heads, I must say very lovingly: fear not friends, returning to Barcelona we felt and found ourselves to be more Catalan than before.

*Lluís Millet*

For many Catalans, singing in choirs functioned as an essential expression of nationalism.<sup>66</sup> The choral movement that took place at the turn of the twentieth century forged cohesiveness amongst its participants, galvanized the national aspirations of both singers and audiences, and served as a vehicle to transmit nation-building ideologies.<sup>67</sup> Catalan nationalism and the Orphéonic movement were inseparable.<sup>68</sup> The nineteenth-century French Orphéonic movement initially served as the model, via the efforts of Josep Anselm Clavé (1824-1874), of the Catalan choral movement, which ultimately culminated with the establishment of the eminent choir *Orfeó Català*, led by Lluís Millet (1867-1941) and Amadeu Vives (1871-1932).<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Lluís Millet, “Als descontents,” in *Pel nostre ideal*, (J. Horta: Barcelona, 1917), 47.

<sup>66</sup> Joan-Lluís Marfany, *La cultura del catalanisme* (Barcelona: Empúries, 1995), 307.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, 310.

<sup>69</sup> Both Lluís Millet and Amadeu Vives were students of Felipe Pedrell. Millet served as the editor of the periodical *Revista Musical Catalana* from 1904 to 1936. Vives was best known for his operas, operettas, and zarzuelas. His opera *Euda d'Uriac* (1900) utilized a Catalan libretto.

Previously in France, Bocquillon Wilhem established a choral society in 1833, which gradually developed into the widespread and well-received national institution *L'Orphéon*. Jane Fulcher argues that officials of Second-Empire France recognized the political benefits of the French choral movement:

The Orpheon societies flourished partly because of long established and still vital beliefs, which were subtly re-interpreted and used by the Empire for its immediate political gain. Utopian ideas concerning the communal, harmonizing ministration of music, "the social art," were re-focused in accordance with the Bonapartist conception of the democratic, humanitarian state.<sup>70</sup>

Targeting industrial workers in Second-Empire France, the Orphéon movement strove to improve the conditions of the working class—making art music accessible and serving as a symbol of democracy.<sup>71</sup>

The Catalan choral director Josep Anselm Clavé appeared as a central figure in the Catalan choral movement. In addition, he was a fiery political figure. Clavé, a Republican, spent two years in prison for his participation in the 1843 Barcelona uprising. Shortly after leaving prison in 1845, he established the choir *La Aurora*, with its membership consisting of industrial workers and artisans. In part, Clavé attempted to provide the working class an alternative to drinking at bars, as well as striving to have the choir serve his egalitarian aspirations.<sup>72</sup> In 1850, he formed the choral society *La Fraternitat*, and in 1857 renamed the ensemble *Euterpe*, which led to the creation of 85 other choral associations throughout Catalonia. In an 1864 letter to Mariano Soriano Fuentes, Clavé revealed his reasons for the establishment of the *Euterpe*:

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<sup>70</sup> Jane F. Fulcher, "The Orphéon Societies: 'Music for the Workers' in Second-Empire France," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 10 (1979): 47-8.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Montserrat Albet, "Arrel i objectius musicals de l'Orfeó Català," in *Orfeó Català* (Barcelona: Fundació Jaume I, 1990), 44.



the primary purposes of the institution Euterpe, are known to all; to moderate as well as to train workers, to awaken the dormant soul with a feeling of love and admiration for all that is great, for everything beautiful; to destroy the root of the vices that brutalize, corrupt and degrade the inexperienced youth of the countryside and workshops, and to strengthen the sacred bonds of brotherhood among all social classes. Here is the most powerful of its means: the cultivation of music.<sup>73</sup>

During this period, the number of choirs throughout Catalonia proliferated; however, the musical standards of these choirs lagged far behind other European choirs, which became more widely apparent during the 1888 World's Fair in Barcelona.<sup>74</sup>

Lluís Millet, one of the original founders of the Orfeó Català, recounted how the World's Fair impacted his perception of choral music in Catalonia:

Then the 1888 World's Fair came with competitions for choral societies and bands. Then we heard the foreign choirs that sang as an ensemble in a manner unfamiliar to us. The perfect tuning, the natural production and good timbre, balance and blending of the voices were a revelation that provoked in us a strong desire to create something similar at home.<sup>75</sup>

Millet as well as Vives shared similar aspirations for choral music in Catalonia. Millet recounted how the musicianship of the foreign choirs at the 1888 World's Fair influenced him as well as Vives:

It resurrected in us a beautiful dream of a Catalan music in which the choir served as the main instrument, as with Clavé; however, in a new way, making all the magnificence

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid. "los fines primordiales de la Institución Euterpe, sabidos son de todos; morigerar e instruir a los obreros, despertar en su alma aletargada un sentimiento de amor y admiración hacia todo lo grande, hacia todo lo bello; destruir de raíz el germen de los vicios que embrutecen, pervierten y degradan a la inexperta juventud de los campos y talleres y estrechar los sagrados vínculos de la fraternidad entre todas las clases sociales. He aquí el más poderoso de sus medios: el cultivo de la música."

<sup>74</sup> Choral competitions associated with the 1888 World's Fair took place 15 November 1888, with all the choirs performing "La Primavera" by Claudi Martínez i Imbert.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 46. "Llavors vingué l'Exposició Universal del 88 amb la seva tanda de concursos d'orfeons i bandes. Llavors sentírem pels cors forasters que vingueren una manera de cantar en conjunt desconeguda per nosaltres. La justesa d'afinació, l'emissió natural i ben timbrada, l'equilibri i fusió de les veus, foren una revelació que engendrà en nosaltres un fort desig de crear quelcom de semblant a casa nostra."

that we heard appear, that our traditional choirs nonetheless did not achieve, at least not until the choral archetype—the all-male choirs like those of Clavé—expanded its wings and became a mixed choir, allowing for the singing of great choral music from the great geniuses of humanity.<sup>76</sup>

Millet and Vives established the Orfeó Català on 6 September 1891 and on that same day, its secretary recorded the organization's purpose: "For the objective of establishing and safeguarding an Orfeó well instructed in the art of music, to sing all kinds of choral compositions perfectly, filling the gap that existed within the Barcelona Philharmonic."<sup>77</sup> The repertoire of the Orfeó Català consisted of Renaissance polyphonic music and traditional Catalan music, as well as the repertoire from the canons of Western art music. In 1896, Millet discovered the sixteenth-century music of Spanish masters through Felipe Pedrell's *Hispaniae schola musica sacra*.<sup>78</sup> The foundation of a national music, with traditional Catalan songs serving as its basis, remained as a primary activity of the Orfeó Català. Catalan traditional music played a central role in the Orfeó Català. In part, Catalan folksongs served to counter the perceived Castilianization of Catalan audiences by *género chico*—a popular genre enjoyed by many Catalans.<sup>79</sup> Furthermore, the traditional "Els Segadors" functioned as a national anthem, which the Orfeó Català always sang as its last number at concerts.<sup>80</sup> From 1904-1921, the Orfeó

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 46. "féu néixer en nosaltres el bell somni de l'exaltació de la música catalana tenint per principal instrument un cor model que cantés Clavé d'una manera nova, fent aparèixer totes aquelles bel·leses que nosaltres hi sentíem, però que els nostres cors populars no realitzaven, un cor model que, començant essent d'homes sols com els que fundà en Clavé, eixamplés després les seves ales i es convertís en cor mixt per arribar a cantar la gran música coral dels grans genis de la humanitat."; The Orfeó Català added children in 1895 and women in 1896.

<sup>77</sup> Miquel Coll i Alentorn, 17. "per objecte la creació i conservació d'un orfeó ben instruït en l'art musical, per cantar amb perfecció tota classe de composicions corals, omplint així el buit que es nota en la filharmònica Barcelona."

<sup>78</sup> *Hispaniae schola musica sacra*, edited by Felipe Pedrell (Barcelona: J.B. Pujol, 1894-1898).

<sup>79</sup> Marfany, 314-5.

<sup>80</sup> The melody of "Els Segadors" is traditional in origin; however, the melody received a new text in 1899. The text by Emili Guanyavents recounts the events that surround the 1640 *Corpus de sang*, a historical moment when many Catalans revolted against the Prime Minister of King Philip IV during the Thirty Years War.

Català held competitions for the collection of traditional Catalan melodies and their harmonization, as well as the creation of new compositions—secular and sacred music, with the character of older, traditional Catalan music.<sup>81</sup>

Choral singing in Catalonia functioned as a vital expression of nationalism, which created a perceived sense of cohesiveness, served to rouse national aspirations, and functioned as a sonic vehicle to transmit national ideologies through song. With the establishment of the Orfeó Català, the choral tradition flourished in Barcelona. Ultimately, Catalan nationalism and the Orphéonic movement became indivisible.

## SARDANA

*La Sardana és Dansa, Himne, Cançó: és Catalunya.*<sup>82</sup>

The *Sardana* is Dance, Anthem, Song: it is Catalonia.

*Enric Morera*

*... la dansa més pura i més bella, la dels moviments més dignes i gentils, la dansa que és el segell viu i graciós amb cos i esperit de nostre temperament de raça.*<sup>83</sup>

...the most pure and beautiful dance, with the most honorable and elegant movements, the dance that is the living and graceful symbol with the body and spirit of our racial disposition.

*Lluís Millet*

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<sup>81</sup> Albet, 50. This activity led to over 2000 works.

<sup>82</sup> Aureli Capmany, *Com es balla la sardana* (Barcelona: Salvador Bonavía, 1924), 34.

<sup>83</sup> Capmany, 28.

*Com té la seva llengua, com té les seves cançons, com té els seus costums, Catalunya té també, a hores d'ara i per a sempre més, la seva dansa pròpia i representativa, la seva dansa nacional.*<sup>84</sup>

Since it has its language, because it has its songs, because it has its customs, Catalonia has also from present and forever more, its own and representative dance, its national dance.

*Joan Llongueres*

The *sardana* (pl. *sardanes*) is a dance and musical genre from Catalonia that developed into a symbolic national dance during the early twentieth century. In the *sardana*, groups of men and women hold hands and form a circle (*anella* or *rotllana*) facing its center, and oscillate from left to right with the two basic dance patterns, *curts* and *llargs*, which consist of four and eight steps, respectively. Musically, the *curts* and *llargs* each consist of a distinct musical theme; the *curt*, however, is of shorter duration. The dance, which is in duple meter, 2/4 or 6/8, is accompanied by a *cobla*, an ensemble of eleven musicians playing a mixture of Catalan and Western band instruments. The eventual standardized *cobla* consisted of a *flabiol* (flute) with *tambori* (small drum) played by a single musician, two *tibles* (double reed), two *tenores* (double reed), two trumpets, a trombone with pistons, two larger trumpets, and a three-stringed double bass.

Catalan nationalism and the sudden and long-held popularity of the *sardana* throughout Catalonia are interrelated. In this instance, the understanding of the role of dance and music in the nation-building process is best understood as an invented tradition. According to the theory of invention of tradition, culture is not static; societies go through constant change in which traditions are revived, reconstructed, or revitalized and the images of the past are often

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<sup>84</sup> Joan Llongueres, *Per la nostra sardana* (Barcelona: Emporium, 1933), 43-4.

understood through the new terms of various agents of the present such as in the case of nation-building.<sup>85</sup> The *sardana* was merely one regional dance among numerous others that existed during the nineteenth century until Catalan nationalists selected it for its overt symbolism and disseminated it as a way of countering the perceived Castilianization of Catalonia. Folklorist Joan Amades wrote of the *sardana*: "...among the dances that could deserve the honor of symbolizing our people, the *sardana* was chosen."<sup>86</sup> As an invented tradition, the *sardana* functioned as a Catalan identity marker through its perceived continuous connections to a distant Catalan past before Castilian domination, and served also to distinguish Catalans as being culturally different from the rest of Spain.

The exact date of the creation or development of the modern *sardana*, *sardana llarga*, is unknown, as folklorist Joan Amades admitted: "The gestation period of the *sardana llarga* one can never absolutely know."<sup>87</sup> In 1924, the Catalan folklorist Aureli Capmany claimed that determining the historical origins of the *sardana* was both an easy and difficult task. He claimed its history was uncomplicated because one could currently observe the changes occurring in the dance; however, it was difficult because certain facts were impossible to prove.<sup>88</sup> However, lack

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<sup>85</sup> A common misconception of the theory of invention of tradition is that this theory implies that some traditions must therefore be inauthentic. This has led anthropologist Allan Hanson to suggest that perhaps the term "invention" should be replaced by a less inflammatory term such as "reformulation." Alan Hanson, "Postmodernism and the Invention of Tradition," in *Present is Past* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1997), 200. According to Eric Hobsbawm, an "invented tradition" is a set of practices that could be literally invented or that of uncertain origin but became established within a short span of time. Along with practices, there are conventions and symbolism that through repetition of the practice instill values as well as imply continuity with the past of a community. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

<sup>86</sup> Joan Amades, *La sardana* (Barcelona: Biblioteca la Sardana, 1930), 87. "...entre les danses que podien merèixer l'honor de simbolitzar el nostre poble, fou escollida la Sardana."

<sup>87</sup> Amades, 57. "El període de gestació de la Sardana llarga no es podrà saber mai d'una manera absoluta."

<sup>88</sup> Capmany, 7. "Historiar l'origen i la vida de la Sardana, per a tot català que estimi per damunt de totes les coses Catalunya, és tasca fàcil i difícil alhora. Es fàcil el poder escatir com progressa la seva vida, els adeptes que cada dia augmenten i la consideració poixanta que va assolint no sols a Catalunya, si que fins a for a d'ella, i això en el

of evidence did not prevent either Capmany or Amades from asserting that the origin of the dance dated back to Greek antiquity or to ancient societies that mimicked through dance the circular movements of the heavens.<sup>89</sup> A round dance is a widespread form of dance, which is encountered in most societies and historical periods, and is not unique to Catalonia. There is no evidence that the modern *sardana* or its predecessors were continuously danced over large periods of history; therefore, the decision to make connections to a Hellenic or primitive origin was a deliberate choice based on a Catalan national agenda.<sup>90</sup>

The first documented use of the word “*sardana*” to refer to some form of dancing dates back to 1552.<sup>91</sup> Very little is known, however, about that dance and the modern *sardana* perhaps shared only its name. The term *sardana* did not remain in continuous use, and the dance was not described in the 1552 document. During the eighteenth century, Amades stated in his book that nothing was mentioned of the *sardana* in extant documents.<sup>92</sup>

An early predecessor of the *sardana* was the *contrapàs*, a line dance that had many forms and variations throughout Catalonia. The *contrapàs* had in common with the *sardana* its dance steps, which moved from left to right. Another predecessor is the *sardana curta*, a round dance constructed of two musical sections of fixed number of measures, *curts* and *llargs* of

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transcurs escàs d'una centúria. Es difícil perquè les dades fins ara conegudes són prou imprecises per poder parlar amb certitud de com i on va prendre origen i de quina faïso es desplega a través del temps i de les habituds humanes arreu, fins arribar a l'estat en què la trobem actualment a Catalunya.”

<sup>89</sup> Capmany, 8. “Es opinio generalment acceptada que l'origen d'aquesta encisadora dansa prove de la Grècia clàssica i n'és una derivació.” “Altres parers referents al seu origen és la devoció amb què els antics servaven el moviment dels asters i, d'una manera especial, el del Sol, que de Llevant a Ponent, en forma circular, fa diàriament amb certa regularitat.”

<sup>90</sup> While no author on the history of the *sardana* of the period under investigation makes a distinction or connection between Hellenic or the later Moorish influences in Iberia, it is possible that Catalan authors wanted to make Hellenic connections for Catalonia and infer a connection with Castile and its Moorish past.

<sup>91</sup> Josep Mainar and others, eds., *La sardana: el fet musical* (Barcelona: Editorial Bruguera, 1970), 19. Amades, 33.

<sup>92</sup> Amades, 45.

eight and sixteen measures respectively.<sup>93</sup> The ensemble, *cobles antigues*, which accompanied these dances, consisted of three musicians: bagpipe, *tiple*, and combination of *flabiol* and *tamborí*.<sup>94</sup>

Many Catalans attributed the creation or revival of the modern *sardana* to the musician and composer Josep Maria (Pep) Ventura (1817-1875). Authors ascribe to Ventura the reforms made to the cobla and the musical structure of the *sardana*. While prior to Ventura no standardization of the ensemble existed, the instrumentation continued to be malleable during Ventura's lifetime.

In addition to performing in Catalonia, Ventura performed in *Catalunya Nord*, a Catalan speaking region in France. Capmany claimed that Ventura met Andreu Turon in 1840, and Ventura was then introduced to the *tenora*, an instrument in use by cobles in Rosselló.<sup>95</sup> Ventura worked with the French instrument maker Turon in the construction of the Catalan *tenora*, which became the most symbolic instrument of the cobla because of its unique sound quality. Amades claimed that the *tenora* was much more ancient than both Turon and Ventura: "It has been said often and written that this instrument [*tenora*] was invented by a great and renowned Perpignan musician and instrumentalist, Antoni Turon. This assertion is not correct, because the instrument is very ancient."<sup>96</sup> However, Amades did attribute to Ventura the change in status of the instrument from traditional to orchestral: "Pep Ventura had a sizeable

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<sup>93</sup> The *sardana llarga* is also constructed of the same two musical sections, except that the number of measures of each section varies greatly from one composition to the next.

<sup>94</sup> Amades, 51.

<sup>95</sup> Capmany, 22-23. "Per allà l'any 1840 anà a Perpinyà, on féu coneixença amb N'Antoni Toron, concertista i constructor d'instruments de plaça, el qual li mostrà el tenor, instrument que ja figurava en les cobles catalanes del Rosselló..." In the cobla, there are two *tenora* players in the ensemble. The *tenora* is the instrument that most often plays the melody, which is one of the reasons given for its importance.

<sup>96</sup> Amades, 52. "S'ha dit molt i fins s'ha escrit que aquest instrument l'inventà un gran music i instrumentista perpinyanenc anomenat Antoni Turon. Aquesta afirmació no és pas justa, puix l'instrument és molt antic."

part in the elevation of the *tenora* to the category of orchestral instrument...”<sup>97</sup> Joan

Llongueres, musician and former president of the Lliga Sardanística de Catalunya, remarked on the power and importance of the Catalan instruments, the *tenora* and *tiple*:

When the sound of the *tenores* and *tiples* vibrate in the air, the hands meet and tighten, and the magic ring oscillates to the left and right with the grace and majestic rigorousness that the authentic *sardana* has, one soon feels that Catalonia is alive, that Catalonia is strong, that Catalonia has a particular meaning of its own.<sup>98</sup>

Turon applied clarinet technology to the *tenora* by placing mechanical keys on the instrument.<sup>99</sup>

According to Capmany, the Catalan version of the *tenora* was tuned differently from the Rosselló instrument, the Catalan instrument in B-flat and the French instrument in C.<sup>100</sup>

Capmany wrote in his book that a learned citizen of Rosselló stated that the Catalan system was more logical and therefore the cobles from France were not able to play the same music as the Catalan cobles.<sup>101</sup>

Assigning the ethnic origin of Pep Ventura was problematic for the agenda of many early Catalan nationalists. For national reasons the “creator” of the *sardana* conveniently should be Catalan; however, Ventura was born in Alcalá la Real, Spain. Capmany expressed the irony of the birthplace of the musician and composer: “Ironical chance! The man that had saved our national dance from a sure death, the forerunner to the Catalan national music tradition, was

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<sup>97</sup> Amades, 55. “En l’elevació de la tenora a la categoria d’instrument orquestral, el mestre Pep Ventura hi té una bona part...”

<sup>98</sup> Llongueres, 11-12. “Quan les tenores i els tiples vibren per l’espai i les mans s’ajunten i s’estrenyen i l’anella màgica oscil·la a esquerra i a dreta, amb aquella gràcia continguda i amb aquella augusta severitat que té la veritable Sardana, de seguida sentiu que Catalunya és viva, que Catalunya és forta, que Catalunya té una significació particular ben pròpia.”

<sup>99</sup> Josep Mainar and others, 37.

<sup>100</sup> Capmany, 23-24.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid. “Segons opinió exposada per un erudit rossellonès, la digitació adaptada pels músics catalans és més lògica que la usada per ells, puix s’alça a la dels instruments semblants. Aquestes diferències ofereixen la dificultat de no poder tocar les cobles del Rosselló i Catalunya la mateixa música, a menys de transportar-la per corregir aquest convencionalisme.”



born in Andalusian lands.”<sup>102</sup> Briefly stationed in Alcalá la Real, Pep Ventura’s father was a sergeant in the army at the time of his birth. Inconveniently, in Spanish and Catalan society, birthplace is the primary determinant of national identity.<sup>103</sup> The parents of Pep Ventura were both Catalan, and nationalists ingeniously determined that Ventura was Catalan because he was conceived in Catalonia.<sup>104</sup> Furthermore, he returned to Catalonia months later, Catalan was his first language, and he lived the rest of his life in Catalonia.

According to Capmany, Ventura traveled among Catalan villages collecting traditional songs and this inspired his music, explaining why his music was so popular.<sup>105</sup> Linking the Catalan rural landscape with the *sardana* through Ventura’s assimilation of traditional songs, Capmany attributed further national importance to the dance and Ventura’s music.

In the *sardana* or *sardana llarga*, alternate dancers of men and women hold hands and form a circle with all dancers facing its center. With the ring assembled, it oscillates from left to right with the two basic dance patterns, *curts* and *llargs*, which consist of four and eight steps, respectively. In addition to the choreography of the feet, the arms are raised or lowered to coordinate with the musical sections, lowered during the *curts* and raised during the *llargs*.

The *curts* and *llargs* each consist of a distinct musical theme, and the *curt*, as its name implies, is of shorter duration. The meter of the dance is duple, 2/4 or 6/8, and contains a characteristic rhythm (see Musical Examples 2.1 and 2.2).

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<sup>102</sup> Capmany, 15. “Atzar ironic! L’home que havia de salvar d’una mort certa la nostra dansa nacional, el precursor de l’escola musical catalana, nasqué en terres andaluses.”

<sup>103</sup> Stanley Brandes suggests that Catalans determine national identity by achieved characteristics rather than ascribed characteristics as in the case of Spaniards.

<sup>104</sup> Brandes, 37.

<sup>105</sup> Capmany, 17-18. “Ell en ses andades, Durant anys i més anys, pels pobles i masies, recollia les cançons populars, enfilant-les després amb el fil d’or de la seva inspiració. Per aixó la seva popularitat fou tan prodigiosa...essent el primer music que instintivament es dedicà a recollir cançons populars.”

Ex. 2.1.



Ex. 2.1.



An important feature of the dance is that it is constructed of two musical sections and that the number of measures of each section varies greatly from one composition to the next. While varying numbers of measures among compositions are not unique to the *sardana* by any means, to *repartir* (to dance the final dance movement) correctly dancers must be able to recognize the musical sections as well as count the exact number of measures of each in order to conclude the sections properly, making counting a novel attribute of the dance. In a Catalan proverb, this aspect of the dance is satirized as an aspect of national character: “The Catalans are such money grubbers that even to dance they count.”<sup>106</sup>

The importance of being able to count the number of measures (*comptar*) led to a variant of the *sardana*, the *sardana revessa*. Composers created *sardanes* that purposely obfuscated the beginnings or endings of the *curts* and *llargs* for the *sardana revessa*. Antoni Agramont composed the first *sardana revessa* to ascertain the skills of two *sardanistes* who were in dispute about which had more ability in figuring out the number of measures of a melodically difficult *sardana*.<sup>107</sup> Not everyone was in favor of the *sardana revessa* such as

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<sup>106</sup> Brandes, 33. “Els Catalans son tan pesseteros que fins i tot per a ballar comptan.”

<sup>107</sup> Amades, 64. “El creador d’aquest tipus melodic de Sardana, dit <<revessa>>, va ésser el mestre Antoni Agramont, de Castelló d’Empúries. Va compondre la primera Sardana d’aquesta mena per a comprovar l’enginy enigmàtic de dos fermes sardanistes que estaven en disputa sobre qui dels dos tenia més traça per treure sardanes de difícil comprensió melòdica. S’establí juguesca sobre qui dels dos sabia treure la Sardana especialment escrita a

Manuel Capdevila who felt strong emotions against the variant *sardana*: “... thank God!—one finds the *sardana revessa* in frank decline. Prepare us to assist in its burial with an air of respect. However, one should not express any condolences.”<sup>108</sup>

The *sardana* has the following musical structure: *introit* (*flabiol* and *tamborí* introduction), *curt*, *curt*, *llarg*, *llarg*, *curt*, *curt*, *llarg*, *llarg*, *contrapunt* (brief *flabiol* and *tamborí* introduction), *llarg*, *contrapunt*, *llarg*, and *acord final* (final chord played by entire ensemble). According to Capmany, traditionally the melody of the *curt* was melancholic and sad, and the *llarg* was happy and festive.<sup>109</sup>

Llongueres gave four guidelines for the composition of *sardanes*. According to him, the melodies must be in good taste and distinctive.<sup>110</sup> The composed *sardanes* should display an understanding of the rules of harmony and counterpoint.<sup>111</sup> Concerning the musical structure, the *sardana* should share the logic as well as being just as solid as any other composition.<sup>112</sup> Lastly, the *sardana* should integrate the “racial spirit” deserving of the “national dance.”<sup>113</sup>

The *sardana*, with the exception of the musicians, involved both sexes. It was not a couples dance, but instead a communal dance with no leaders or followers. Couples did participate in the ring, and rules existed for those entering to prevent the breaking up of a couple—one should never enter on the right of a male dancer or on the left of a female

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l'efecte i la va treure un dels dos litigants, apotecari de Castelló, famós sardanista de l'època.” Capmany, 73. According to Capmany, the *sardana revessa* was created by Anton Agramont, a popular composer and director of a cobla from Castelló.

<sup>108</sup> Manuel Capdevila, *De la sardana* (Barcelona: Biblioteca La Sardana, 1925), 79. “...gràcies a Déu!—la sardana revessa es troba en franca decadència. Preparem-nos a assistir al seu enterrament amb un posat tot respectuós. Que no expressi cap condolència, però.”

<sup>109</sup> Capmany, 39.

<sup>110</sup> Llongueres, 109.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

dancer.<sup>114</sup> Women were more important than men in the *sardana*, according to Capdevila:

“Both [sexes] are necessary in the *sardana*. The woman, however, is doubly necessary. [The *sardana*] benefits her and benefits the ‘revival’; she at times has so much influence on the deeds of man!”<sup>115</sup> The dancing of *sardana*, at least in theory, represented equality among Catalans of both sexes.

Capmany described the *sardana* as a social activity that accommodated the diversity of Catalonia:

The *sardana* is a dance that adapts to all ages, sexes, social groups, and characters; it is a dance appropriate for the main square, it is always open and everyone leads; and it would be difficult to find homogeneity among the multitude of characters, educational backgrounds, dispositions, or to approach an absolute uniformity among those who take part in dancing *sardanes*; it would be more than difficult, almost impossible.<sup>116</sup>

The *sardana* functioned as a public enactment of Catalan solidarity, ignoring all social differences except ethnic affinities.

Until around 1906, the *sardana* was regarded only as a regional dance of Empordà and to a lesser degree La Selva, both rural areas of northern Catalonia, when numerous Catalan nationalists transformed it into a national dance.<sup>117</sup> Around 1840-50, Miquel Pardàs i Roure, of Torroella de Montgrí, published *Método para aprender a bailar las sardanas largas*, the first method book on how to dance the *sardana*.<sup>118</sup> It is around this time that the choreography of

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<sup>114</sup> Capmany, 92.

<sup>115</sup> Capdevila, 24. “Ambdós són necessaris en la sardana. La dona, però, ho és doblement. Ens interessa per ella mateixa i ens interessa de “retruc.” Ibid., 1. “té, de vegades, tanta d’influència damunt els actes de l’home!”

<sup>116</sup> Capmany, 82. “La Sardana és una dansa que s’adapta a totes les edats, sexes, estaments i caràcters; és un ball propiament de plaça, sempre obert, que hi cap tothom; i per això s’ha de dir que difícilment es trobarà en les multituds homogeneïtat de caràcter, d’educació, de temperament, i que cercar uniformitat absoluta entre els que prenen part en les ballades de sardanes és, més que difícil, quasi impossible.”

<sup>117</sup> Ibid. “Un temps el ball de la sardana era patrimoni d’uns quants Catalans.”

<sup>118</sup> Amades, 63. Capmany, 26-7.

the dance became more fixed. Other dance instruction books followed, and the publication of method books in both Spanish and Catalan permitted the *sardana* to be learned and propagated throughout Catalonia within a brief period of time. In a pamphlet written around 1933 by Martí Paloma, the author insisted that anyone interested in learning to dance the *sardana* could do so at home by themselves in merely eight days using his pamphlet.<sup>119</sup>

According to Capmany, the *sardana llarga* was created between 1840 and 1850.<sup>120</sup> Josep Anselm Clavé (1824-1874) composed *Lo pom de flors*, a *sardana* for choir and orchestra, and the choir sang and danced the *sardana* for a concert in Barcelona in 1859.<sup>121</sup> The traditional *sardana* was introduced to the city of Barcelona around 1860; however, it was nothing more than an exhibition of the dance.<sup>122</sup> Before its arrival in Barcelona, the *sardana* was only a regional dance with no pan-Catalan associations. The *sardana* again was danced in Barcelona in 1871, but this time at an important annual city festival.<sup>123</sup> The dancers were from Empordà, and the *sardana* was labeled as a regional dance by the festival programmers, clearly illustrating that it was still not yet viewed as a national dance. Capmany writes of the 1871 performance in Barcelona: “If a good collection of folk songs has already been written, then is there no one who could rescue the *sardana* from the threat of sacrilege?”<sup>124</sup> At that time, the music of the *sardana* followed musical characteristics of the Italian, German, and French operatic styles of

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<sup>119</sup> Martí Paloma, “Opuscle per a aprendre de ballar sardanes,” 1933?, 7. “...en vuit dies en podrà aprendre a casa seva mateix sense haver de menester ningú que que n’hi ensenyi.”

<sup>120</sup> Capmany, 27.

<sup>121</sup> Amades, 84-85.

<sup>122</sup> Jaume Nonell and Lluís Subirana, *Compàs* (Barcelona: Caixa de Barcelona, 1988), 69.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Brandes. 28.

the period.<sup>125</sup> The foreign musical styles were criticized as being alien and irreverent toward Catalan culture.<sup>126</sup> Capmany remarked that when the festival for the Mare de Déu de la Mercè was first celebrated, the cobles were from Empordas and that citizens of Barcelona attending only watched and listened.<sup>127</sup> Capmany believed that the *sardana* became popular in Barcelona after an 1892 performance of the opera *Garín, l'eremita di Montserrat* by Tomás Bretón at the Teatre del Liceu that included the dancing of the *sardana*.<sup>128</sup> In 1902, the city of Barcelona organized *cobla* and *sardana* dancing competitions for the annual city festival, *festes de la Mercè*.<sup>129</sup>

The *sardana* was used directly for political purposes as early as 1906 by the Solidaritat Catalana, a Catalan nationalist political party. For this organization, the *sardana* became a symbol of solidarity and brotherhood.<sup>130</sup> An influential figure in transforming the *sardana* into a national symbol was Francesc Cambó (1876-1947). Cambó, with the assistance of Josep Pella i Forgas, both members of the Barcelona government and originally from the city of Empordá, placed the *sardana* in official programs.<sup>131</sup> The *sardana* was soon introduced to the last two regions of Catalonia, Lleida and Tarragona.<sup>132</sup> During the early twentieth century, the *sardana* became a natural component of cultural and patriotic programs in Barcelona, and then in the rest of Catalonia.<sup>133</sup> Cultural centers, societies, and institutions were formed that would meet

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid. Josep Martí i Perez, "The Sardana as a Socio-Cultural Phenomenon in Contemporary Catalonia," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 26(1994): 41. Mainar, 41.

<sup>126</sup> Brandes, 28.

<sup>127</sup> Capmany, 32.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 33.

<sup>129</sup> Brandes, 32.

<sup>130</sup> Jaume Nonell and Lluís Subirana, 68.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 69.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

on Sunday afternoons to sing popular and patriotic songs, recite poems, and dance, which always included *sardanes*.<sup>134</sup> The use of the *sardana* by political parties continued until the Primo de Rivera dictatorship (1923-30). However, by that time the *sardana* had become a fixed national symbol. Other local dances lost their significance to the *sardana* as it was standardized and diffused throughout Catalonia. The following quotation from a 1929 book by British anthropologist and sociologist John Langdon-Davies entitled *Dancing Catalans* illustrates the animosity felt by some Catalans during this period towards the Spanish central government. His informant spoke about the emotions felt by having the *Guardia Civil*, state policemen, observing Catalans dancing the *sardana*:

When I see the Guardia Civil walking about my village square I feel as if I had found a strange man in my wife's bed; no, far worse than that, I feel as if I had found a man in my mother's bed."<sup>135</sup>

In the invention of a "national dance," complications arose with two competing methods to *repartir*, a style from Empordà and Selva. According to Capmany, the Empordà style was easier because it was more ancient and purer than the Selva style.<sup>136</sup> However, he advised that all Catalans should respect and preserve both styles because they represented the living motherland.<sup>137</sup> Capmany believed that *sardana* dancing competitions might aid in the maintaining of the two dance styles.<sup>138</sup> In an attempt to find compromise and unity, Capmany

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<sup>134</sup> Jaume Nonell and Lluís Subirana. 68. Sardanes are danced every Sunday in front of the Barcelona Cathedral today.

<sup>135</sup> John Langdon-Davies, *Dancing Catalans* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1929), 140. The informant Langdon-Davies writes of was a "Catalan friend with a cosmopolitan education."

<sup>136</sup> Capmany 30-31.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 32

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 92.

begged *sardanistes* (enthusiasts and devotees of the *sardana*) to preserve both styles, Empordà and Selva:

Now, some words directed towards *sardanistes*, who, in addition to the fondness that they carry for the *sardana*, have placed Catalonia in their hearts. I beg you to not forget that the two districts, La Selva and Empordà, have sent to all Catalans a dance that is the pride of our race; therefore, it is the patriotic and brotherly duty to not establish differences, but instead to show equal love for both, to preserve the *sardana* in the style of Empordà, without forgetting the La Selva style, as has been maintained till now. This especially concerns the practices of *sardanistes* who are not from either region, and who deserve a token of affection and gratitude.<sup>139</sup>

The *sardana* typically was described as a dance that created and displayed the peaceful unity of all Catalans, but occasionally authors described the dance as a weapon that would function in the recovery of the Catalan nation. The following quotation of Llongueres displays the double-sided symbolism of the dance: “The *sardana*, this war dance, which is the most beautiful dance of peace and brotherhood, has become in our times, this crown that we miss.”<sup>140</sup> He further described those that loved and promoted the *sardana* as fighters for Catalonia: “The first conscious *sardanistes*, those that adopted and implanted the *sardana* as a national dance, were all venerable fighters, tireless and zealous workers for our ancestral cause.”<sup>141</sup> Speaking of the *sardana*, Capdevila also described the dance as a weapon: “One thing is to consider it an element of *Catalanization*—we have already spoke of its strong spiritual

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<sup>139</sup> Capmany, 92. “Ara, unes paraules didicades als sardanistes que, a més de l’afecte que portin a la sardana, tinguin posat el cor en Catalunya. Són aquestes per a pregar-los no oblidin que dues comarques, La Selva i l’Empordà, han tramès a tots els catalans el llegat d’una dansa que és l’orgull de la nostra niçaga; per tant, és deure de germanor patriòtica no establir diferències i mostrar igual amor per una i altra, això és, conservar la Sardana a l’estil empordanès, mes tampoc deixar oblidat l’estil sevata, com s’ha fet fins ara. Això correspond portar-ho a la pràctica en especial als sardanistes que no són de la una ni de l’altra comarca, en penyora de l’afecte i agraïment que es mereixen.”

<sup>140</sup> Llongueres, 36. “La Sardana, aquesta dansa guerrera, que és la més bella, dansa de pau i de germanor, ha estat en nostres temps, aquesta corona que us mancava.”

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 28. “Els primers *sardanistes* conscients, aquells que adoptaren i implantaren la Sardana com a dansa nacional, eren tots ells lluitadors abrivats i treballadors infatigables i zelosos de la nostra causa pairal.”



attraction that could wake up sleeping consciousnesses—and another one could qualify it as a weapon of war.”<sup>142</sup> According to Capdevila, the *sardana* was a triumphant weapon in the war of recovering the Catalan land: “It is a fact that the *sardana* gains ground and soon it will be throughout its borders. It is a fact that this music, which is characteristically ours, is a perfection of visible form.”<sup>143</sup>

The *sardana* and *cobla* are visual, kinetic, and sonic cultural emblems of Catalonia. The modern *sardana* or *sardana llarga* dates from around 1840 and its musical form and ensemble can in part be attributed to Pep Ventura and its standardized choreography to Miquel Pardàs i Roure, both from Girona, the northern region of Catalonia. Shortly after its creation in northern Catalonia, it was introduced to the city of Barcelona and then to the outer regions of Lledia and Tarragona. Amades described this diffusion as opportunistic: “The *sardana* left its mark of strictly belonging to Girona to come to Barcelona in the precise moment that its journey could benefit ...”<sup>144</sup> Feelings of occupation and oppression by the Spanish state produced Catalan sentiment, which initiated the revitalization of the *sardana* as a symbolic national dance. The following comment by Amades represents a concise history of the *sardana*, which was disseminated throughout Catalonia as propaganda of Catalan nationalists:

The author of the *sardana llarga* that so many times one has sought, there is no single individual; it is the spirit of all our people, it is Empordà, Selva, Gironés, Garrotxa, and all those surrounding areas that will hear it and will make it their own. It enlivened

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<sup>142</sup> Capdevila, 19. “Una cosa és que hom la consideri un element de catalanització—ja que hem dit que el seu fort encís espiritual podia desvetllar consciències adormides—i una altra que se la qualifiqui d’arma de combat.”

<sup>143</sup> Capdevila, 14. “Es un fet que la sardana guanya terreny i aviat tot Catalunya sera dins el seu clos. Es un fet que aquesta música característicament nostra es perfecciona de faísó vistent.”

<sup>144</sup> Amades, 84. “La Sardana sortí del seu marc estrictament gironí, per venir a Barcelona, en el moment précis que el seu viatge podia resultar profitós...”

everyone. The invention, the creation of the *sardana llarga* therefore belongs to the spiritual patrimony of the people and no one else.<sup>145</sup>

At its creation, it was not a national dance, but its perceived association with the Catalan rural landscape, its overt symbolism, its ability to create a sense of national consciousness, and its standardization made the dance and music attractive to Catalan nationalists and their nation-building agendas at the beginning of the twentieth century.

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 73. “L’autor de la Sardana llarga, que tantes vegades s’ha cercat, no és cap personatge determinat; és l’esperit de tot el nostre poble, és l’Empordà, Selva, el Gironés, la Garrotxa i totes aquelles contrades que la sentiren i que se la van fer seva. Tothom hi va posar l’ànima. La invenció, la creació, de la Sardana llarga, pertany, doncs, al patrimoni espiritual del poble i a ningú més.”

### CHAPTER 3: EARLY WORKS AND LIFE OF GERHARD

The composer Roberto Gerhard i Ottenwaelder was born on 25 September 1896 in Valls (situated in the Catalan province of Tarragona), to Swiss-born Robert Gerhard and Alsatian-born Maria Ottenwaelder, who operated a wine business in the small Catalan town.

His mother recalled Gerhard's first musical experience, which occurred around age two or three. The young Gerhard wandered from his home and was ultimately found crying in a roadside ditch on the outer edge of town by the local doctor. Supposedly, captivated by the music playing of a barrel organ, the young Gerhard left his home and followed the street musician and got lost. Joaquim Homs, Gerhard's former student and biographer, joked that this first experience in music "ended up in tears" for Gerhard.<sup>1</sup> According to Homs, Gerhard's second music-related memory occurred while Gerhard played with tin soldiers on his family's balcony. Observing the proportional relationship between the toy soldiers and the tile floor, Gerhard translated this to music, later claiming that "inspiration emerged from the combination of an abstract concept, such as proportion, with an element of pure sensory experience."<sup>2</sup> In Hom's biography of Gerhard, he records that as a young schoolboy, Gerhard first encountered Catalan *modernisme* from the newly painted lettering on signage from the neighborhood pharmacy, which Gerhard later imitated at school.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Joaquim Homs, *Robert Gerhard y su obra* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1987), 15.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 16. "inspiración surgido de la conjunción de un concepto abstracto, como es de la proporción, con un elemento de pura experiencia sensorial."

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 16-17.

At age twelve, Gerhard left for Zöfingen, Switzerland in order to prepare for his studies in commerce in both Neuchâtel and Lausanne.<sup>4</sup> Gerhard began his musical training with Hugo Strauss in Lausanne. Lasting only six months, the lessons consisted of working through Ernst Friedrich Richter's book on harmony. Gerhard confessed in a 1923 letter to Arnold Schoenberg that he "lived for a long time then in the belief that the harmony book need almost concern me no longer."<sup>5</sup> After convincing his parents of his musical aspirations, he soon dedicated himself to music and, according to Gerhard, composing "a great deal, and on my own initiative, dabbling in counterpoint."<sup>6</sup> After Lausanne, Gerhard attended the Musikhochschule in Munich, studying piano with Karl Roesger, attending choral courses, and taking private counterpoint lessons with Walter Courvoisier; however, the outbreak of the First World War caused Gerhard to remain in Germany for only four months. He later would sardonically comment on his naivety at that period to Schoenberg: "I naturally maintained everywhere that I had completely mastered harmony; that was never tested!"<sup>7</sup> He returned to Valls, eventually settling in Barcelona to study piano with Enrique Granados in 1914.

### **LIED ["STILL! MITTERNACHT, EIN LOSGELASSNER WIND"] (C. 1913)**

The earliest extant composition by Gerhard remains a solitary German lied. Likely composed while the young composer was in Lucerne, Switzerland, Gerhard presumably penned the work between 1913 and 1914. In a brief biographical note from a 1918 concert program, it stated that the composer's earliest endeavors involved the composition of German and French

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>5</sup> Joaquim Homs, *Robert Gerhard and His Music* (Sheffield: Anglo-Catalan Society, 2000), 92.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

art songs and a string quartet.<sup>8</sup> However, no French art songs or the aforementioned string quartet by the Catalan composer have survived; there is only a single German art song in existence by the composer.

Generically titled “Lied” by Gerhard, the work exists only in manuscript and appears to be in the later stages of composition. The manuscript contains errors in notation, most notably with rhythm (omission of dots in dotted rhythms and incorrectly notated triplets). Further peculiarities with the manuscript include awkward notation of the extreme upper ranges of the piano. In addition to his employing of a foreign genre and language for composition, he applied expressive markings in Italian; in many of his later Catalan works, Gerhard used Catalan for expressive markings.

While no author is attributed with the text, indications suggest that Gerhard might have also authored the poem. The fourth line of the poem contains a mistake that in all probability would not have been made by a native German author. In place of “und klopft an meine Fenster,” Gerhard incorrectly wrote “und klopft an meinen Fenster.” Romantic in both subject and style, the poem depicts nature and fantasy in a style reminiscent of the nineteenth-century German poet Annette von Droste-Hülshoff.

Still! Mitternacht, ein losgelassner Wind  
heult draussen wie Gespenster.  
Der Regen traurig rinnt  
und klopft an meinen [sic] Fenster.

Silent! Midnight, a relinquished wind  
wails outside like a ghost.  
The rain sadly runs down  
and knocks at my windows.

Er trommelt mir heut, eine düstere Weise  
im dunkeln lausch ich Stumm  
mir geht im Herzen leise  
ein toter Traum her um.

It drums for me today, a gloomy tune  
I listen in the dark silently  
in my heart there is  
a dead dream roaming.

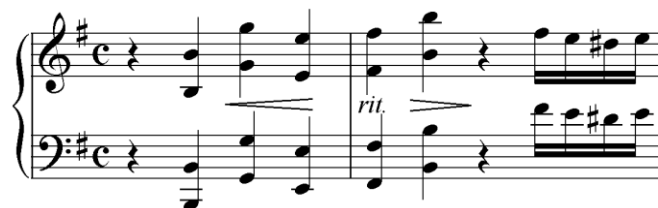
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<sup>8</sup> Concert program, Associació d'Amics de la Música de Barcelona, Palau de la Música, 22 January 1918.

The poem has the rhyme scheme of ababcbcd. The fifth line of the poem fittingly evokes music.

In the key of E-minor, the Lied employs rubato, contains asymmetrical rhythms, and changes meter (4/4, 3/4, and 12/8). Marked *lento*, the succinct song consisting of 42 measures opens with a 13-measure piano introduction that begins with parallel octaves that outline the tonic and dominant. Within the early measures of the introduction, significant motives and triplets emerge. The opening gesture in parallel octaves also marks structural points within the work (see Musical Examples 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3).

**Ex. 3.1. Roberto Gerhard, *Lied*, meas. 1-2.**



**Ex. 3.2. Roberto Gerhard, *Lied*, meas. 14-15.**

Musical notation for measures 14-15 of Roberto Gerhard's Lied. The piece is in E minor (one sharp, F#) and common time (C). The vocal line (treble staff) has lyrics: "Still! — Mit - ter- nacht,". The piano accompaniment (grand staff) features parallel octaves in the bass staff. In measure 14, the treble staff has a half note (E4) and the piano accompaniment has a whole note chord (E2, G2). In measure 15, the treble staff has a half note (B4) and the piano accompaniment has a whole note chord (B2, D3).

**Ex. 3.3. Roberto Gerhard, *Lied*, meas. 29-30.**

Musical notation for measures 29-30 of Roberto Gerhard's Lied. The piece is in E minor (one sharp, F#) and common time (C). The piano accompaniment (grand staff) features parallel octaves in the bass staff. In measure 29, the treble staff has a whole note chord (E2, G2) and the bass staff has a whole note chord (E2, G2). In measure 30, the treble staff has a whole note chord (B2, D3) and the bass staff has a whole note chord (B2, D3).

The first stanza opens in the same manner as the introduction with parallel octaves (see Musical Example 3.2). Employing a non-virtuosic melody (narrow range, syllabic, repeated pitches, and primarily in conjunct motion), the melody centers on the pitches B, E, and F-sharp. Word painting takes place in the piano when an arpeggio in sextuplets occurs under the word “Wind” (wind), and a chromatic scale passage in nonuplets followed with a passage in parallel octaves accompanies the phrase “heult draussen wie Gespenster” (wails outside like a ghost). The next portion of text lingers on the pitches B, A, and F-sharp. The use of vocables (see Musical Example 3.4) occurs on the motive presented earlier in the introduction and in response to the piano. The voice imitates the motive, also appearing in parallel major thirds in the piano, and the vocable section precedes the “gloomy tune” cited in the text (see Musical Example 3.4).

**Ex. 3.4. Roberto Gerhard, *Lied*, meas. 26-27.**

The musical score for measures 26-27 of Roberto Gerhard's *Lied* is presented in a three-staff format. The top staff is the vocal line, written in treble clef. It begins with a half note F#4, followed by a quarter note A4, then a dotted quarter note G#4, and a quarter note F#4. This is followed by a half rest, then a half note B4, and a quarter note A4. The lyrics are: "Fen - ster la la\_ a la la la a a a a a". The middle staff is the right hand of the piano, written in treble clef. It features a series of arpeggiated sextuplets, primarily on the pitches B4, E5, and F#5. The bottom staff is the left hand of the piano, written in bass clef. It also features a series of arpeggiated sextuplets, primarily on the pitches B3, E3, and F#3. The piano accompaniment includes chromatic scale passages in nonuplets and a passage in parallel octaves.

The second stanza begins with a brief piano introduction employing the initial gesture of the work (see Musical Example 3.3). Triplets in the voice take place on the words “trommelt mir” (drums for me), and the preceding motive returns (see Musical Example 3.5)—now with the text “düstere Weise” (gloomy tune). Primarily on the pitch B, the melody ends on G, ultimately cadences on B in the piano, and ends with an E-minor triad.

**Ex. 3.5. Roberto Gerhard, *Lied*, meas. 33.**



**SONATINE À CARLOS (1914)**

Gerhard completed *Sonatine à Carlos* in 1914 in his birthplace of Valls, and the young composer dedicated the work to his younger brother Carles. The solo piano piece exists only in manuscript and appears to be in the later stages of composition. In many ways, the work resembles the piano music of Enrique Granados.<sup>9</sup> *Sonatine à Carlos*, a piano miniature, shares with the music of Granados its jagged rhythms and heavy use of written-out ornamentation. A playful composition for piano, the work has in common, albeit on a much smaller a scale, numerous conventions of the sonata. In Gerhard's sonatine, the melody situates primarily in the right hand and relies on drones in the left hand. The sonatine is 118 measures in length; its exposition is 46 measures, followed with a concise development section of 26 measures, and the recapitulation shares the same number of measures as the exposition. In A-flat major, the sonatine opens with an energetic primary theme (see Musical Example 3.6).

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<sup>9</sup> A year after its composition, Gerhard would study piano with Granados in Barcelona at the Academia Granados.



**Ex. 3.6. Roberto Gerhard, *Sonatine à Carlos*, meas. 1-4.**



After the first statement of the primary theme, a variation of the primary theme follows.

As convention, the work modulates to the key of E-flat major. The secondary theme employs greater rhythmic variety than the primary theme (see Musical Example 3.7).

**Ex. 3.7. Roberto Gerhard, *Sonatine à Carlos*, meas. 26-30.**



Gerhard's earliest works display naivety as a composer, exhibiting only a basic understanding of counterpoint and harmony. He confined himself to composing small works for solo piano, songs, as well as a string quartet. The extant works of the period attempt to resemble music of the romantic era. In song, he chose German and French instead of Catalan, and for expressive markings he used Italian. In only a few years after composing *Sonatine à Carlos*, Gerhard would eventually achieve moderate success as a composer.

## CHAPTER 4: STUDY WITH FELIPE PEDRELL

Gerhard began his musical studies with Felipe Pedrell in 1916, investigating early Spanish liturgical music and traditional Spanish music with the leading scholar of the period, as well as studying composition with the Spanish maestro. Two years before his study with Pedrell, Gerhard studied piano with Enrique Granados and later with Frank Marshall. Beginning in 1916, Gerhard began to collect Catalan traditional music for the Arxiu d'Etnografia i Folklore de Catalunya. This period also marks Gerhard's earliest compositional successes with public performances and publication of several of his works. However, Gerhard faced a musical crossroads; while receiving praise for his music, the young Catalan composer's music lacked a singular compositional direction and lacked an individual voice. In 1921, he unsuccessfully sought out Andalusian Manuel de Falla to study composition. Gerhard's later works of this era display a sense of universality.

### FELIPE PEDRELL

Pedrell (1841-1922) served as a prominent figure in the development of a national music in Spain. Pedrell advocated for an art form influenced by Richard Wagner combined with national Spanish song. In addition to Gerhard, students of the Catalan composer and musicologist included Isaac Albéniz, Enrique Granados, Lluís Millet, and Manuel de Falla. Gerhard was Pedrell's last pupil and in the maestro's own words "the best fruit of his vine."<sup>1</sup> Gerhard began his studies with Pedrell in 1916, and under his tutelage, Gerhard closely

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<sup>1</sup> Adolfo Salazar, "Revista de música," *El Sol*, January 16, 1920, 9.

examined the contrapuntal works from the Golden Age of the Spanish Renaissance as well as traditional Spanish music.

Largely self-taught, Pedrell embarked on a career as both a composer and scholar of Spanish music, primarily early Spanish liturgical music. From 1876 to 1877, Pedrell conducted research in Italy on the music of Tomás Luis de Victoria, eventually editing many of the composer's works. In many letters to Pedrell, Gerhard often lightheartedly addressed his mentor as *Magnum*, making reference to Victoria's composition.

In an early letter to Schoenberg, Gerhard described the position of Pedrell within Spanish society and their relationship: "Rather an object of hostility, the old master lived among us abandoned and forgotten. He developed a cordial affection for me; I became his Benjamin, giving him comfort when he was disappointed."<sup>2</sup> According to Gerhard, Pedrell's uncritical assessments of his music led to a false sense of security:

I got no education from him: I had only to compose in a fresh way and without deliberation, and it was always to his great satisfaction. His unrestricted praise led me to acquire certain fame within our circle: my vanity and total lack of mental discipline led me to consider my studies to be complete.<sup>3</sup>

Despite his perceived deficiencies in the teaching of Pedrell, Gerhard appreciated their relationship and attributed all that he knew about music—traditional music in particular—to the Catalan master:

I loved and honored Pedrell enormously; it caused me great pain to have to leave him a year before his death; in spite of everything I have him to thank for almost all of the best in me; he revealed to me the wonderful neglected treasure of our true folk music, but he could give me no technique or discipline. He, too, albeit with genius, was an amateur, a great amateur.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Homs, *Robert Gerhard and His Music*, 92.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 92-93.

In a broadcast talk on the BBC that took place in the 1940s, Gerhard spoke of Pedrell and Spanish music, making parallel connections between his former teacher and Antonio

Eximeno:

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, a Spanish theorist, the Jesuit Padre Antonio Eximeno (1729-1808), in his book on the laws of music, expressed the idea that “every country ought to base its art-music on its own folk-song.” This was a remarkable opinion for an author to adopt at that time. It amounts to a clear forecast of musical nationalism.<sup>5</sup>

Gerhard added that “one can imagine how delighted Pedrell must have been with this, which confirmed the course he already set himself.”<sup>6</sup> Gerhard continued his talk by also comparing Pedrell with Béla Bartók and his work with Hungarian traditional music. In Spain, Pedrell collected traditional music for his *Cancionero*. Both Pedrell and Bartók sought out music—excluding popular music, perceived as not representing the nation, which Gerhard explained:

The service Pedrell rendered his country with the *Cancionero* is in many ways comparable to that Bartók had done with regard to Hungarian folk-music. In both countries we find a special repertoire of sophisticated popular music that does not belong really to the common people but to a special class of semi-professional musicians who provide entertainment for paying audiences.<sup>7</sup>

For both Pedrell and Bartók, the music of the Romani was not recognized as national music.

Agreeing, Gerhard contextualized the role of flamenco music—associated with the Romani—in art music, claiming that “Both Hungarian gipsy-music and the ‘Andalusian gipsy’ of Flamenco guitar-music and *cante jondo* were highly glamorous stuff that easily caught the fancy of

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<sup>5</sup> Meirion Bowen, *Gerhard on Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 39. In exile, Gerhard, while maintaining his Catalan identity, often identified himself as Spanish.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

audiences and composers at home and abroad, and which generally is held to represent the very essence of these two countries' national music," emphasizing that "in truth it does not."<sup>8</sup>

Pedrell's ethnomusicological work predated the work of Bartók. In his talk, Gerhard revealed the sources of Pedrell's collected songs:

When Pedrell—like Bartók later on—started collecting his songs amongst peasants, fishermen, artisans, children, itinerant peddlers, beggars and so forth, he revealed to us the real vernacular musical idiom of Spain. This is something much less glamorous than flamenco but it goes much deeper towards showing the musical grain of the nation.<sup>9</sup>

Gerhard argued that traditional music for Pedrell served as a springboard for Spanish art music, and furthermore that historically Spanish composers have always done so:

suffice to say that Pedrell's studies in both these fields of Spanish folk-music and music history led him to the conclusion that when Eximeno had advised that every country ought to base its art-music on its own folk-song, he had just formulated, without knowing it, one of the distinctive characteristics of the Spanish School. This was precisely what Spanish art-music has done throughout its history, as a traditional constant and nearly general practice of composition.<sup>10</sup>

In his BBC talk, Gerhard was careful not to claim that Pedrell was overt in his quest for national art music: "of course this ought not to be understood as evidence of a really conscious aesthetic attitude, such as that of Padre Eximeno."<sup>11</sup> Gerhard argued that the Spanish have always blurred the distinction between "low" and "high" art: "to my way of thinking it points to a much deeper and general characteristic of the Spanish mind. The divorce between the highbrow and the popular, between the vulgar and the aristocratic has never been accepted in Spanish art to the extent it has been in other nations," adding that "the smoothest ivory of Spanish ivory

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 40.

towers will always show streaks and veins of popular idioms that reach down to the earth.”<sup>12</sup>

Gerhard concluded his BBC talk characterizing his former teacher, asserting: “what Pedrell considered to be his main purpose in life was the re-awakening of the Spanish consciousness as a musical nation: and to this end he would have us regard equally his work as a scholar and as a creative artist.”<sup>13</sup>

### **ANDALUSIA: FEDERICO GARCÍA LORCA AND MANUEL DE FALLA**

Gerhard ended his studies with Pedrell in 1921, and the young Gerhard in his twenties faced a musical crossroads. Seeking a new musical direction, Gerhard traveled to Paris, Madrid, and Granada. In Andalusia, Gerhard met poet Federico García Lorca and Manuel de Falla—asking for musical instruction from the Andalusian composer. Ultimately, Gerhard sought out the guidance of Arnold Schoenberg, after living in momentarily self-imposed isolation in Valls.

Writing to his family on March 1921, Lorca revealed his admiration for both Gerhard and Adolfo Salazar as composers. In the letter, Lorca wrote “I completed a poetic suite for Salazar and Gerhard to set to music, two young musicians well oriented in the pure and brand new schools of art, which is what I aspire.”<sup>14</sup> However, no evidence survives that Gerhard ever received or composed songs from Lorca’s poetry. Later in August, Lorca mentioned to Melchor Fernández Almagro of his like-mindedness with the two composers, writing:

I made sixty subscriptions from among the finest of Granada, being careful that they are young people; so that almost all the subscribers belong to the aristocracy of the

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Federico García Lorca, *Epistolario Completo*, ed. Christopher Maurer (Madrid: Cátedra, 1997), 105. “He terminado una suite poemática para que le pongan música Salazar y Gerhard, dos músicos jóvenes bien orientados en las escuelas puras y novísimas del arte, que es lo que yo aspiro.”

university. We can therefore, dear Melchorito, make beautiful progress among these youth. I, like I told you, am overjoyed; I hope that you will also be on track with this work. Salazar is excited; also Roberto Gerhard, Manolo Ortiz and all who deeply believe in a magazine that makes us live more intensely, a magazine that brings us together and that gallantly attacks during this sad era of mediocre and piggish people.<sup>15</sup>

On 1 June 1921, Salazar asked Lorca if he would be there on his return to Madrid, and that he and Gerhard were experiencing problems with passports attempting to leave from Paris to London.<sup>16</sup> Gerhard in the same letter added “Dear poet, we conquered Paris like two Korfantys.”<sup>17</sup> Later in a September 1921 postcard, Salazar informed Lorca that he and Gerhard planned to visit Cordoba, Seville, Malaga, and Granada.<sup>18</sup> In an August 1921 letter, Lorca responded to Salazar’s request, writing that “I will be in Granada when you return, and we will stroll around everywhere. As for Robert, I would be glad if he came down here now.”<sup>19</sup> Gerhard and Salazar visited Lorca in Granada in October 1921.

Making reference to Lorca’s connection to Andalusia in a letter written on 22 September 1921, Gerhard humorously addressed the Andalusian poet as “Sidi Federico Ben García-El-Lorca

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 128. “He hecho sesenta suscripciones entre las personas finas de Granada, teniendo cuidado de que sean gente joven; así es que casi todos los suscriptores pertencen a la aristocracia de la Universidad. Podemos, pues, querido Melchorito, hacer una preciosa labor de avance entre esta juventud. Yo, como te digo, estoy loco de contento; espero que tú también lo estarás en tu propósito de hacer esta obra. Salazar está entusiasmado; también Roberto Gerhard, Manolo Ortiz y todos los que hondamente pensamos en una revista que nos haga vivir más intensamente, una revista que nos agrupe y que ataque gallardamente en esta triste época de gentes mediocres y gurrinicas.”

<sup>16</sup> Federico García Lorca, *Los músicos escriben a Federico García Lorca*, ed. Roger Tinnell (Seville: Junta de Andalucía, 2009), 104.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 105. “Querido poeta, Estamos conquistando París como dos Korfantys.” Gerhard makes reference to the Polish national activist Wojciech Korfanty, a political figure that sought the return of the Upper Silesia to Poland from its German rule. In another letter, Gerhard also addressed Frederic Mompou as Korfanty.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 113.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. “Yo estaré en Granada cuando tú vuelvas y pasearemos por todas partes. En Cuanto a Roberto me alegraría que ahora viniese por aquí.”

Poeta carísimo!”<sup>20</sup> Thanking Lorca for a copy of his *Libro de poemas* (1921), the appreciative

Gerhard revealed to Lorca that the book arrived at an opportune moment:

A million thanks for your white book that came to my hands when I needed it most: being sick, locked in a dark room filled with steam from eucalyptus, surrounded by bottles and bottles of bitter medicines, longing for the sea and the countryside and friendly trees, the hours of stars and the chirping of crickets: your book has been all my summer and your poems have cured me.<sup>21</sup>

In the same letter, Gerhard told Lorca of the popularity of *Libro de poemas* among Catalan poets:

Your book has gone through all the hands of my poet friends here, all are already your friends and you are figuratively present in all our walks and in our conversations, passes from one poet’s hand to another like a wonderful bird with its hot heart, hot like water from a faucet, which the hands never tire of having.<sup>22</sup>

Intending to leave Barcelona to visit Madrid shortly afterwards, Gerhard wrote that he planned to stop over in Granada and hoped to see Lorca.

In a letter written by Lorca on February 1922 to Spanish guitarist Regino Sáinz de la Maza, it appears that the Spanish poet, while friendly with Gerhard, was unaware of the spelling of his last name: “If you see Roberto Gerahar (I do not know how one spells it), hug him [for me].”<sup>23</sup> In a March 1922 letter to Lorca, Regino Sáinz de la Maza praised Gerhard as a composer, writing “Last night they premiered a trio by Gerhard with great success. I definitely

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 51.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. “Un millón de gracias por tu blanco libro que llegó a mis manos cuando más falta me hacía: estando enfermo, encerrado en una habitación oscura [sic], llena de vahos de eucaliptus, rodeado de frascos y botellas de amargas medicinas añorando el mar y el campo y los árboles amigos, las horas de estrellas y el canto de los grillos: tu libro ha sido todo mi verano y tus versos me han curado.”

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. “Tu libro ha pasado por todas las manos de mis amigos poetas aquí, todos son ya tus amigos y tu figura es presente en todos nuestros paseos y en nuestras conversaciones, pasa de unas manos de poeta a otras como un pájaro maravilloso con su corazón caliente caliente como el agua de la fuente y las manos no se cansarían nunca de tenerlo.”

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. “Si ves a Roberto Gerahar (no sé cómo se escribe) lo abrazas.”



liked it. We recounted a lot about you and he asked me to give you a hug. I think he is a Spanish composer of the future; he will arrive to synthesize in a clear way, the spirit of new music.”<sup>24</sup>

Both Lorca and Falla collaborated in the organization of the Concurso de Cante Jondo in Granada on 13 and 14 June 1922. In addition to Gerhard, those active in the project included Conrado del Campo, Adolfo Salazar, Kurt Schindler, Andrés Segovia, John B. Trend, and Joaquín Turina. Previously in 1919, Pedrell provided a letter of introduction for Gerhard to Falla:

My disciple Gerhard, who has more time than I. . . will send you a trio for piano, violin, and cello and will soon provide a transcription, the hunting scene from *La Celestina*, that you will recall perfectly, for the same combination of instruments.<sup>25</sup>

In October of 1921, Gerhard sent a letter to Falla to communicate his positive impressions of Andalusia from his recent visit:

How to convey it, dear maestro, of the splendid and unforgettable memories that I have of our trip and especially the days in Granada? Since my return, not a day has passed that I go without talking to some friend of all the marvelous views and sounds out there.

Gerhard continued his praise of Andalusia to Falla, mentioning Lorca and the guitarist Ángel Barrios:

A tour of this wonderful country is actually one of these adventures of the soul that leaves a deep and complex resonance that never ends and that one does not need to search anywhere else in the world!, but it is necessary to reawaken, although without going through Malaga, this ending however, on which our dear friends Ángel [Barrios] and Federico [Lorca] must agree on when the time comes, and in any case, you may decide the matter, if in the meantime, tired of the discussion, you will learn of it with your own eyes and provide an original and definitive perspective.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 94. “Anoche estrenaron un trío de Gerhard con gran éxito. A mí me gustó definitivamente. Te hemos recordado mucho y me encarga un abrazo para ti. Yo creo que es el músico español del provenir; él que llegará a sintetizar de una manera clara, el espíritu de la nueva música.”

<sup>25</sup> Felipe Pedrell to Manuel de Falla, January 1, 1919, Manuel de Falla Archive. “Mi discípulo Gerhard, que tiene más tiempo que yo. . . enviará a Vd. un trío para p[iano], viol[ín] y cello y se encargará de transcribir por de pronto, la escena de la cacería de La Celestina, que recordará V. perfectamente, para la misma combinación de instrumentos.”

<sup>26</sup> Roberto Gerhard to Manuel de Falla, October 28, 1921, Manuel de Falla Archive. “¿Cómo decirle, querido maestro el recuerdo espléndido e imborrable que conservo de nuestro viaje y sobre todo de los días de Granada?

In July of 1921, Gerhard sent a letter to Falla requesting to study with him in Granada:

You already know how much I want to spend a period of time in Granada near you; I would go with delight to set up myself for the summer in one of the ineffable corners of the Alhambra; however, I would only be comfortable knowing for certain that my presence would be less heavy than a straw, and that you would not sacrifice even an hour of work because of my visits. Do you believe, dear maestro, that you can make plans for a group of such discrete company? Would you answer me? Of course, I submit to all conditions that you desire!<sup>27</sup>

Later that month, Falla wrote of Gerhard to Pedrell: "Through him, I know that you have dedicated some moments to *Sombrero de tres picos*, and you will have already deduced, how pleasing it is for me to know."<sup>28</sup> A year later, Gerhard continued to correspond with Falla, desperately seeking his advice:

I work a great deal and in a much disciplined way. I had not worked in my life like now, that is to say, I had worked until now—discounting the years of my early teens, a little amateur plan, and above all, from two or three years in a completely Bohemian plan!... Now, if my plans are achieved, and for the time being it allows me to wait for it all, this way of life and work should find its ideal complement in two or three months a year living in Paris. Perhaps you disapprove of my determination? In any case, sincerely tell me; you already know how much I will appreciate it. I am aware of the serious risks that occur in exceedingly absolute isolation, for that reason, I will only do what is strictly

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Desde mi regreso no ha pasado ningún día sin que tenga que hablar con algún amigo de todas las maravillas vistas y oídas por ahí. Una excursión por este país admirable es realmente una de estas aventuras del alma que dejan una honda y compleja resonancia que no se acaba en toda la vida y que no hay que ir a buscar a ninguna otra parte ¡del mundo!, pero que es necesario provocar nuevamente pero sin pasar por Málaga, extremo, éste, sin embargo, sobre el cual habrán de ponerse de acuerdo en su tiempo nuestros queridos amigos Ángel y Federico, y en todo caso Vd. podrá *trancher la question* si entretanto, cansado de la discusión, se va Vd. a enterar de *visu* y aportar un punto de vista original y definitivo."

<sup>27</sup> Roberto Gerhard to Manuel de Falla, July 9, 1921, Manuel de Falla Archive. "Ya sabe Vd. cuánto deseo pasar una temporada en Granada, cerca de Vd; iría con delicias a instalarme por el verano en alguno de los rincones inefables de la Alhambra, pero únicamente estaría a gusto estando seguro [de] que mi presencia pudiera ser menos pesada que una paja y que Vd. no tendría que sacrificar a mis visitas ni una hora de trabajo. ¿Cree Vd., querido Maestro, que puede combinarse un sistema de tan discreta compañía? ¿Quiere Vd. contestarme? ¡Claro, que me someto a todas las condiciones que Vd. desee!"

<sup>28</sup> Manuel de Falla to Felipe Pedrell, July 18, 1921, Manuel de Falla Archive. "Por él sé que han dedicado Vds. algunos ratos al *Sombrero de tres picos* y ya supondrá Vd. lo gratísimo que me es saberlo."

necessary and try also not to lose contact with the world: friends, musicians, books, and magazines are the ties that bond.<sup>29</sup>

Gerhard once again requested guidance from Falla, making reference to his *Dos apunts* and a quartet:

I gave to a novice Barcelonian editor friend of mine some sketches for piano in which you will see the course my sentimental ship takes after the crisis of these recent times... slowly I am also working on a quartet and for the moment, more than anything else, I am studying a great deal. I will send you these things because, as you already know, in these initial moments and in my isolation, no matter how hard the dark necessity impels by its own way and not by choice, avuncular advice is doubly precious and necessary. Write to me dear maestro.<sup>30</sup>

After Gerhard's failed attempt to study with Falla, the Catalan composer returned to his hometown of Valls, placing himself in self-imposed isolation in a farmhouse outside the city.

The early works composed during and shortly after Gerhard's study with Pedrell reveal the young Catalan composer's attempts to discover his musical direction—influenced by the music of Ravel, Debussy, Stravinsky, and Schoenberg. During this stage, Gerhard concentrated on diminutive works utilizing small musical forces that ranged from solo piano and art song to limited chamber ensembles. His youthful works are tonal or pitch centric, and while his use of rhythm is conventional, he often places it at the forefront of his music. Gerhard employed texts

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<sup>29</sup>Roberto Gerhard (Valls) to Manuel de Falla, February 5, 1922, Manuel de Falla Archive. "Trabajo mucho y de una manera muy disciplinada. ¡No había trabajado en mi vida como ahora, es decir, que había trabajado hasta ahora, descontado los años de mi primera adolescencia, un poco en plan amateur, y sobretodo, desde 2 ó 3 años completamente en plan de bohemio!...Ahora, si mis planes se realizan, y por lo pronto todo me permite esperarlo, este sistema de vida y de trabajo debe encontrar su ideal complemento en 2 ó 3 meses al año de vida en París. ¿Quizás desaprobe Vd. mi determinación?; dígamelo en todo caso sinceramente, ya sabe Vd. cuánto se lo agradeceré. Me doy cuenta de los graves riesgos que se corren en un aislamiento demasiado absoluto, por eso procuro que no lo sea sino lo estrictamente necesario y procuro además no perder de vista el contacto con el mundo: amigos, músicas, libros y revistas son el lazo de unión."

<sup>30</sup>Roberto Gerhard to Manuel de Falla, April 15, 1922, Manuel de Falla Archive. "He dado a un novel editor barcelonés amigo mío unos apuntes para piano que verá Vd. el rumbo que toma mi barco sentimental después de la crisis de estos últimos tiempos...Lentamente trabajo además en un cuarteto y estudio mucho, más que otra cosa, por el momento. Le mandaré estas cosas porque ya sabe Vd. que en estos momentos iniciales y en mi aislamiento por más que se sienta la obscura necesidad que impele por el camino propio y no elegido, una voz de alerta es doblemente preciosa y necesaria. Escríbame V. querido Maestro."

of modern Catalan poets Josep Carner, Josep Maria López-Picó, and Josep Maria Junoy. In addition, Gerhard's first published works (*L'infantament meravellós de Schahrazada*, Trio No. 2, and *Dos apunts*) occurred during this period.

### TRIO NO. 1 (1916-17)

Trio No. 1 for violin, cello, and piano remains unpublished and appears in the latter stages of composition. It is a single movement with the musical form of ABA. The B section is brief in relation to the outer A sections. The work opens in B minor and is in mixed meter (3/2 and 2/4). The primary theme first appears in the violin (see Musical Example 4.1) and consists of repetition and development of the opening two measures. Soon after, the melody migrates to the piano for a brief moment without the violin and cello. In the A section, Gerhard was careful to elide the various themes.

**Ex. 4.1. Roberto Gerhard, *Trio no. 1*, meas. 1-3.**

The musical score for measures 1-3 of *Trio no. 1* by Roberto Gerhard is presented for Violin, Violoncello, and Piano. The key signature is B minor (two sharps: F# and C#). The time signature is mixed, starting with 3/2 and shifting to 2/4. The Violin part plays a melodic line in the first measure, which is repeated in the third measure. The Violoncello part is silent in all three measures. The Piano part provides harmonic support with chords and a bass line. A piano (*p*) dynamic marking is present in the first measure of the piano part.

The secondary theme makes its first appearance at measure 27 (see Musical Example 4.2), in the closely related key of G major. The meter shifts to 4/2 and the dotted rhythmic figure

appears frequently. The third theme begins at measure 41 (see Musical Example 4.3), and is eventually stated in all three instruments. The primary theme returns briefly, and revisits the original alternating time signature. After opening in B minor, the A section as well as the trio itself ends on a B major triad.

**Ex. 4.2. Roberto Gerhard, *Trio no. 1*, meas. 27.**

**Ex. 4.3. Roberto Gerhard, *Trio no. 1*, meas. 41.**

The B section is in G major and triple meter. The fourth theme appears in the piano first (see Musical Example 4.4), and subsequently emerges in the strings. The manuscript indicates to repeat the A section.

Ex. 4.4. Roberto Gerhard, *Trio no. 1*, meas. 76-78.



**VERGER DE LES GALANIES (1918)**

The Catalan art songs belonging to *Verger de les Galanies* (“Canço d’un doble amor” and “Excelsior”) exist only in manuscript and look as if to be in the last stages of composition, with red pencil marks as corrections. Gerhard utilized two poems from *Verger de les Galanies* (1911) by *noucentisme* poet Josep Carner (1884-1970). In “Canço d’un doble amor,” the poem deals with the love of two separate women:

L'amiga blanca m'ha encisat,  
també la bruna  
jo só una mica enamorat  
de cadascuna.

The white friend bewitched me,  
as well as the brown one  
I sound as if I am a little bit in love  
with each one.

Estimo l'una o gai etzar,  
estimo l'altra o meravella  
bella com l'una no m'apar,  
fora de l'altre cap donzella.

I love the one oh happiness,  
I love the other oh marvelous  
beautiful like the one it does not seem to me,  
outside of any other girl.

Quan una amiga em plau besar,  
els meus dos braços estenia.  
L'un va per ci l'altre per Uà,  
i cadaseli porta una aimia.

When a friend kisses me,  
both of my arms extend.  
One was for the each  
and each carries a spirit.

I quan ja sou aprop de mi  
i ja mos dits les agombolen,  
sóta les túniques de lli  
hi ha dugues vides que tremolen.

And when you are near me  
and you bite the fingers,  
under the robes  
there two lives tremble.

Gerhard set the poem “Canço d’un doble amor” syllabically. For voice and piano, the work is tonal in the key of B major. The piano provides rhythmic interest (see Musical Example 4.5). The lyrical vocal melody is starkly contrasted against the faster moving and energetic piano accompaniment. With a musical form of AbAbcA, the opening music and strophe of the song returns throughout the work. The piece ends with a brief four-measure coda.

**Ex. 4.5. Roberto Gerhard, “Canço d’un doble amor” from *Verger de les***

***Galanies*, meas. 1-3.**

**Bastant viu**

L'a - mi - ga blan m'ha en-ci - sat tam - bé la

**Bastant viu**

“Excelsior” is the second song belonging to *Verger de les Galanies*. In “Excelsior,”

Carner’s poem evokes the bucolic life amid the pine-covered mountains:

Una vall, una vall he deixada endarrera  
amb ses cases adins la profunda verdor  
on l'amor assolit tendrament persevera  
sentint l'aigua quei va per mis camps d'abundor.

A valley, a valley I left behind  
with six houses inside the profound green  
where the love tenderly abides  
feeling the water that passes my fields in abundance.

I volguè per un temps el racès temptador  
dins la pau de la vall riolera.  
I pode respirar la divina frescor  
d'aquell porxo ignorant on la parra prospera.

And I wanted for the tempting time  
within the peace of the valley.  
And one can breathe the divine freshness  
of that porch unaware that the grapes thrive.

Més tot just assegut el meu cor s'oprimia  
i un llunyà fluviol cap amunt ni empenyia  
O la sitja enlairant la blavor de son fum.

Above all calming my oppressed heart  
and a distant flute up or pushed  
Oh the silo sleeping off the blue smoke.

I segueixo altre cap mon carni solitari  
i com duu a vostre cim jo no puc reposar-hi,  
o muntanyes de pins coronades de llum.

And I follow another alone  
and how it leads to your top I cannot stand it,  
Oh mountains of pines crowned with light.

As with “Canço d’un doble amor,” Gerhard set “Excelsior” syllabically. The song is in the key of G major. The piano provides harmony without doubling the melody. Again, the energetic piano accompaniment remains juxtaposed against the lyrical vocal line. At moments, the piano explores the extreme ranges of the instrument (see Musical Example 4.6). The musical form of the art song is AbcA, the opening music and strophe of the song returns at the end, concluding with a brief five-measure coda.

**Ex. 4.6. Roberto Gerhard, “Excelsior” from *Verger de les Galanies*, meas. 26.**

The musical score for measures 26 of "Excelsior" is presented in two systems. The top system shows the vocal line in a single staff with a treble clef, key signature of one sharp (F#), and common time (C). The lyrics "I vol-guè per un" are written below the staff. An "8va" marking with a dashed line indicates an octave shift. The bottom system shows the piano accompaniment in two staves (treble and bass clefs) with a grand staff bracket. The right hand plays chords, and the left hand plays a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes.



## ***L'INFANTAMENT MERAVELLÓS DE SCHAHRAZADA, OP. 1 (1918)***

Published by Unión Musical Española in 1918, *L'infantament meravellós de Schahrazada* (The Wonderful Birth of Scheherazade) remains as Gerhard's first opus. The Catalan song cycle is composed in a late romantic style with its expanded harmonies and propensity for freer chromaticism. For text, Gerhard utilized twelve poems by *noucentisme* poet Josep Maria López-Picó (1886-1959) that relate to Scheherazade of the Arabian Nights. Furthermore, in place of Italian or German expression markings, Gerhard employed Catalan. The *Schahrazada* cycle premiered on 16 December 1917 at the Sala Bell Repòs in Barcelona, with soprano Mercè Plantada de Colomer and Gerhard accompanying on piano. The work was performed again in Barcelona with soprano Concepció Badia d'Agustí—Gerhard dedicated the song cycle to Badia d'Agustí—and pianist Frederic Longàs on 22 January 1918 at the Palau de la Música Catalana.

“Les roses de les temples de l'amiga” opens with the expressive marking *Temps mogut però no massa viu* (Agitated tempo but not too lively). In B major and duple meter, the song begins with both voice and piano. The contour of the melody comprises of a series of descending lines, of which the first occurs in measures 1-2 (see Musical Example 4.7). The accompaniment consists largely of arpeggios. In three sections, the song is through-composed outlining the three strophes of the poem, which Gerhard set syllabically.

### **I. Les roses de les temples de l'amiga...**

Les roses de les temples de l'amiga  
més roges són que els dàtils en raïms,  
i la dolçor del bes que el bes obliga  
més dolça que els més dolços regalims.

The roses wound about my fair one's tresses  
are redder than the dates in clustered reams,  
and the sweetness of that kiss that prompts more kisses  
is sweeter than the sweetest flowing streams.

Miracle de la llum, l'amiga és feta  
de seda i perles, clara i transparent.  
Si el cap decanta, en el seu braç, perfeta,  
s'emmiralla la lluna del creixent.

A miracle of the light, the fair one's fashioned  
of silk and pearls, so limpid and so clear.  
If she tilts her head, upon her arm the reflection  
of the crescent-moon shines perfect there.

És com la flama dreta si es detura  
i quan camina té de l'aigua el joc.  
Dòcil com l'aigua, i sospirant i pura  
i arboradora com el crit del foc.

Straight as a driven flame she'll stand and wait  
And when she walks, she's full of water's mirth.  
Gentle as water, sighing, immaculate  
And welcoming as fire-song on the hearth.

**Ex. 4.7. Roberto Gerhard, "Les roses de les temples de l'amiga..." from *L'infantament meravellós de Schahrazada*, meas. 1-2.**

Téps mogut però no massa viu

Les ro - ses de les tem-ples de l'a

*f* *seguint empre el cant* *sense massa rigor de compàs*

"Jove flautista" begins with the expressive marking *Amb repòs i expression àgil* (With rest and dynamic expression). In G major and duple meter, the song opens with a one-measure rising piano passage, evoking the flute. The soprano melody contains numerous repeated pitches. The song includes whole-tone scales (see Musical Example 4.8). "Jove flautista" is through-composed, intermittingly punctuated by the flute-like passage on the piano.

**II. Jove flautista...**

Jove flautista, amb el teu buf la canya  
animes tu i li dónes esperit;  
i la tonada mòbil s'acompanya  
de la vivacitat de cada dit.

Young flutist, with your breath upon the cane  
you will give it life and spirit;  
and the quick tune accompanies  
the vividness of each finger.

Bufo en mon cor.  
Que s'ompli de ta vida!  
Més que la canya et farà el cant sonor;  
i un registre et serà cada ferida  
on al joc dels teus dits sagni l'amor.

Blowing in my heart.  
Fill it with your life!  
More than cane will make the song sound;  
and a register will be each wound  
where to place your fingers of bleeding love.

**Ex. 4.8. Roberto Gerhard, “Jove flautista...” from *L’infantament meravellós de Schahrazada*, meas. 4.**

“Sota l’amplada del teu rostre” commences with the expressive marking *Amb calma* (Calmly). In F-sharp major and triple meter, the song is through-composed, with a gradually varying piano accompaniment. As in the previous song, the use of repeated pitches is pervasive in the soprano melody, producing a monotone effect. The accompaniment consists of rhythmically jagged ostinatos (see Musical Example 4.9) and block chords in the middle section. The song concludes with a brief eight-measure piano postlude.

**III. Sota l’amplada del teu rostre...**

Sota l’amplada del teu rostre,  
semples un clar de lluna en nit feliç.  
Ets la casa que el cel tingués per sostre  
i el pleniluni esblanqueís.

A mí el desig em feia caminant,  
i ara el desig, amor, detures,  
ara que veig, del lluny, com fan  
arcada de repòs tes celles pures.

Assedegada duc la vida  
que al teu portal febrosament es ret.  
Com una copa de cristall, convida  
cada pit teu a sadollar la set.

Beneath the span of your face,  
appears like the moonlight in a joyous night.  
You are the house that heaven has for a ceiling  
and the shame of the full moon.

For me, I desire walking  
and now the desire, love, stopping,  
now that I see, from far,  
how to make your pure arched eyebrows.

Restless thirst of life  
that yields up its fever at your door.  
As a crystal cup, invites  
each of your breasts to quench the thirst.

**Ex. 4.9. Roberto Gerhard, “Sota l’amplada del teu rostre...” from *L’infantament meravellós de Schahrazada*, meas. 1-3.**

Amb calma

So - ta l'am pla - da

“Si els teus cabells són negres com la nit” begins with the expressive marking *Serenament i joiòs* (Serenely and joyfully). In A-flat major and duple meter, the song has the form of ABA with the opening strophe returning at the end. Repeated pitches again take place frequently in the soprano melody. The habanera rhythm appears in the right hand piano accompaniment (see Musical Example 4.10). The song opens and closes with four measures of solo piano.

**IV. Si els teus cabells són negres com la nit...**

Si els teus cabells són negres com la nit,	If your hair is black as night,
és el teu front tan blanc que la il·lumina;	your face is so white that it illuminates;
adolescent, que al ròssec del vestit	adolescent, the trawling dress
duus polç d’estels i randes de boirina.	bunched lace and frills.

Mai no han vist els mortals amb els llurs ulls	Mortals have never seen with their eyes
la festa que excel·lís la teva festa.	the celebration how excellent your celebrations.
Només de veure’t han quedat curulls	Just to see you have been overflowing
de l’espectacle de la teva vesta.	the decorativeness of your dress.

**Ex. 4.10. Roberto Gerhard, “Si els teus cabells són negres com la nit...” from *L’infantament meravellós de Schahrazada*, meas. 1-3.**



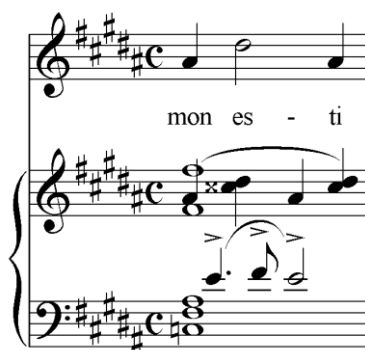
“Perquè la por del soroll t’esgarrija” begins with the expressive marking *No gaire depressa i suaument* (Not very quickly and smoothly). In B major and duple meter, the song is through-composed. Characteristic of the *Schahrazada* cycle, “Perquè la por del soroll t’esgarrija” contains repeated pitches in the soprano melody. The piano occasionally appears in the high register and includes adjacent pitches that create moments of dissonance (see Musical Example 4.11). The song concludes with a lengthy piano postlude.

**V. Perquè la por del soroll t’esgarrija...**

Perquè la por del soroll t’esgarrija  
mon estimat viatger de la nit,  
amb el vellut dels meus ulls la catifa  
vull fer-te jo per menar-te al meu llit.

Because the fear of noise  
my dear traveler of the night  
with my velvet eyes will wrap  
Like a rug I will lead you to my bed.

**Ex. 4.11. Roberto Gerhard, “Perquè la por del soroll t’esgarrija...” from *L’infantament meravellós de Schahrazada*, meas. 13.**



“El repòs del teu rull damunt del front” begins with the expressive marking *Blanament* (Softly). In B-flat major and in 6/4 meter, the lyrical song is through-composed. Steady quarter notes appear throughout (see Musical Example 4.12), and Gerhard explores the possibilities of hemiola. The work also incorporates the whole-tone scale. The song opens and concludes with lengthy piano solos.

#### VI. El repòs del teu rull damunt del front...

El repòs del teu rull damunt del front,	The calm of your brow
o cabellera bruna i ombrejada!,	or dark brown hair!,
és com la dolça harmonía del món	is like the sweet harmony of the world
quan l’ala de la nit, oblit pregón,	when the wing of the night, forgetting the oblivion,
reposa en la serena matinada.	rests in the calm morning.

**Ex. 4.12. Roberto Gerhard, “El repòs del teu rull damunt del front...” from *L’infantament meravellós de Schahrazada*, meas. 1-4.**

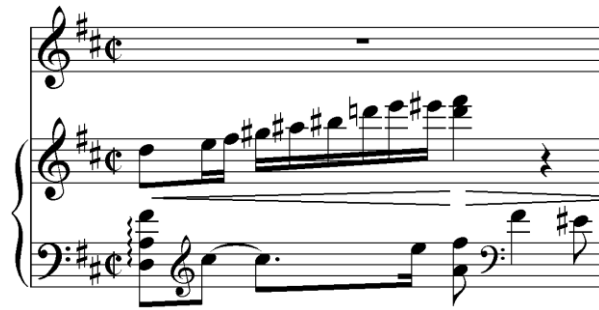
“Jo t’he donat el meu cor” commences with the expressive marking *Amb calma* (Calmly). In B minor and duple meter, the song is through-composed. The piano accompaniment is primarily chordal. In addition, Gerhard employs the use of the whole-tone scale (see Musical Example 4.13). The song concludes with a brief seven-measure piano postlude.

### VII. Jo t'he donat el meu cor...

Jo t'he donat el meu cor  
i tu en fas una joguina:  
càntir d'olors amb pom d'or.  
Si oblidessis que és de vidre,  
pobre cor!

I've given you my heart  
and you make of it a toy:  
perfume flask with a gold handle.  
If you forget that is it made of glass,  
poor heart!

**Ex. 4.13. Roberto Gerhard, "Jo t'he donat el meu cor..." from *L'infantament meravellós de Schahrazada*, meas. 21.**



"Joc soc el vas del teu secret" commences with the expressive marking *Ardentment mogut* (ardently moved). In B major and duple meter, the song is through-composed. The piano accompaniment is the sparsest of all the *Schahrazada* cycle. The piece explores the contrast between triple and duple rhythm (see Musical Example 4.14). A lengthy song within the cycle, the song concludes with a brief seven-measure piano postlude.

### VIII. Joc soc el vas del teu secret

Joc soc el vas del teu secret  
(em deia)—diu l'enamorada;—  
mai en la vida no et faré retret  
de ta paraula que he servada.

I am the vessel of your secret  
(she told me) say the enamoured, -  
never in life I will make no reproach  
For your word that I served.

Jo soc el vas de les ofrenes:  
l'espera em torna transparent.  
Mira en el fons, que van omplint les penes,  
com són les llàgrimes ferment.

I am the vessel of your offerings:  
the waiting makes me transparent.  
Look deep, filling with,  
such as the boiling tears.

Si un jorn la set et fes venir,  
 quan em tindràs arran dels llavis,  
 embriagar, amb el meu plor, de mí,  
 sabràs el gust del teus agravis.

If one day the thirst makes you come,  
 when our lips meet,  
 drunk with my tears, for me,  
 you will know the taste of your wrongs.

**Ex. 4.14. Roberto Gerhard, “Joc soc el vas del teu secret” from *L’infantament meravellós de Schahrazada*, meas. 1-3.**

**Ardement mogut**

“Càntirs de vidre” opens with the expressive marking *Llargament* (largely). In B-flat major and triple meter, the song is through-composed. The opening piano figure returns throughout the piece (see Musical Example 4.15). Repeated pitches take place frequently in the soprano melody. Furthermore, the speech-like character of the melody is due to the narrow range of voice. The song commences with a brief two-measure piano prelude.

**IX. Càntirs de vidre ...**

Càntirs de vidre, sospirs d’aire, noies,  
 venc, i almorratxes de cristall.  
 Ompliu-los d’aigua, que us faràn mirall  
 i al sol resplendiràn com joies.  
 Vidre i cristall com els pits vostres, noies!

Glass jars, sighs of air, girls  
 come and sell the finest crystal.  
 Fill them with water, that it makes like a mirror  
 and the sun shines like jewels.  
 Glass and crystal like your breasts, girls!



**Ex. 4.15. Roberto Gerhard, “Càntirs de vidre ...” from *L’infantament meravellós de Schahrazada*, meas. 1-3.**



“Igual que la mar fosforescent” begins with the expressive marking *Apassionat* (Passionate). In G minor and duple meter, the song is compact and through-composed. The piano serves a more important role, often overpowering the voice, often in triplets (see Musical Example 4.16).

**X. Igual que la mar fosforescent...**

Igual que la mar fosforescent  
cada nit enlluerna la tenebra,  
tu enlluernes la febre  
del meu desig, que el teu esguard encén.

Like the phosphorescent sea  
dazzling darkness every night,  
you confuse the fever  
of my desire, that your eyes light up.

De la fulgor embriac, insospitada,  
com gavina que perd l’esma del jorn,  
jo cerco el meu sojorn  
capbussant-me en la mar de ta mirada.

Of the glowing drunk, unexpected,  
as the sea gull loses daylight,  
I am looking for my way  
Plunging into the sea of your gaze.

**Ex. 4.16. Roberto Gerhard, “Igual que la mar fosforescent...” from *L’infantament meravellós de Schahrazada*, meas. 1-3.**

**Apassionat**

I - gual que la mar fos-fo-res - cent ca-da

“Melodiós com entremig d’arbredes” commences with the expressive marking *Suaument mogut* (Gently moved). In B-flat major and duple meter, the song is through-composed. The opening melody first appears in the piano. The piece utilizes folk-like references, using drones of perfect fifths (see Musical Example 4.17). The melody moves in disjunct motion, and the song contains both piano prelude and postlude.

**XI. Melodiós com entremig d’arbredes...**

Melodiós com entremig d’arbredes  
passa entremig dels teus cabells l’oreig;  
i, com damunt la mar, fa un bellugueig  
damunt ton cos amb fregadís de sedes.

Melodious as in the midst of trees  
happens between the parts of your hair;  
and, on the sea, making a stir  
rubbing upon your body like silk.

**Ex. 4.17. Roberto Gerhard, “Melodiós com entremig d’arbredes...” from *L’infantament meravellós de Schahrazada*, meas. 1-3.**

**Suaument mogut**

*expr.*

“Enamorat incaut” begins with the expressive marking *Febrosament mogut* (Intensely moving). In F-sharp minor and duple meter, the song is through-composed. Repeated pitches occur throughout the sorrowful soprano melody. The piano accompaniment relies heavily on the use of octaves (see Musical Example 4.18). The song commences and concludes with a lengthy piano prelude and postlude.

## XII. Enamorat incaut...

Enamorat incaut, has fet mal fet  
de confià a les llàgrimes ta pena:  
com la riuada que la pluja empena,  
corren i escampen el secret.

Unsuspecting lover, you have done wrong  
thus revealing tears of pain:  
like the flood that the rain fills ,  
They overflow and spread the secret.

### Ex. 4.18. Roberto Gerhard, “Enamorat incaut...” from *L’infantament meravellós de Schahrazada*, meas. 1-3.

Febrosament mogut

mm. 1-3

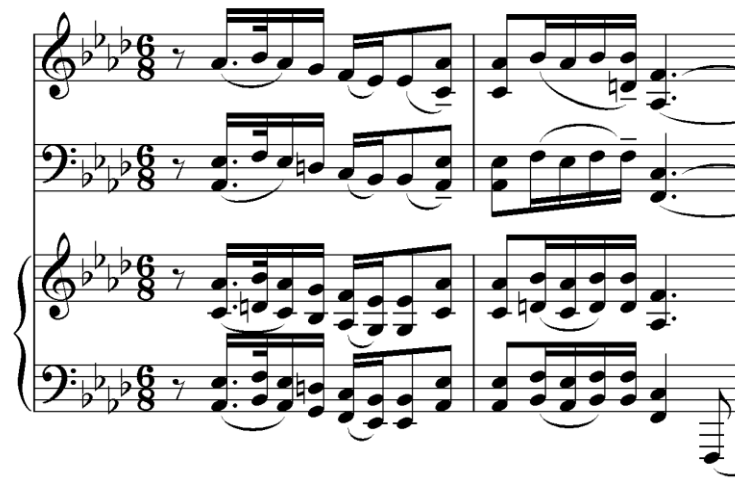
## TRIO NO. 2 (1918)

Gerhard composed Trio No. 2 in 1918 and published the work with the French publisher Éditions Maurice Senart in 1921. Gerhard dedicated his second published work to his teacher Felipe Pedrell.<sup>31</sup> On 2 March 1922, the Trio de Barcelona, consisting of Ricard Vives (piano), Marián Perelló (violin), and J. Pere Marés (cello), premiered Gerhard’s second piano trio for the Associació de Música “Da Camera” de Barcelona at the Palau de la Música Catalana.

<sup>31</sup> In the published score, Gerhard writes “Al meu caríssim mestre Felip Pedrell.”

The piano trio consists of three movements: *Modéré*, *Très calme*, and *Vif*. The trio demonstrates that Gerhard had assimilated French music, in particular that of Maurice Ravel, especially in the first two movements. The first movement, marked *Modéré* and in A-flat major, displays harmonic planing (see Musical Example 4.19). Vicents Maria de Gibert observed that the opening was evocative of medieval organum.<sup>32</sup>

**Ex. 4.19. Roberto Gerhard, *Trio no 2*, mvt. I, meas. 1-2.**



Parts of Gerhard's trio share striking resemblance to Ravel's 1914 Trio (see Musical Examples 4.20 and 4.21); the same asymmetrical rhythms make it clear that Ravel's Trio served as its archetype.

**Ex. 4.20. Maurice Ravel, *Trio*, movement. I, meas. 1.**



<sup>32</sup> Concert program, Vicents Maria de Gibert, *Associació de música da camera*, Palau de la Música, 2 March 1922.

**Ex. 4.21. Roberto Gerhard, *Trio no 2*, movement. I, meas. 134.**



An energetic movement, Gerhard employs shifting meters and develops the dotted-rhythm figure throughout (see Musical Examples 4.22 and 4.23).

**Ex. 4.22. Roberto Gerhard, *Trio no 2*, movement. I, meas. 1-2.**



**Ex. 4.23. Roberto Gerhard, *Trio no 2*, movement. I, meas. 65-68.**



Discussing the music of Gerhard's second movement, as early as 1922, Vicents Maria de Gibert commented that the Catalan composer blended traditional (Catalan) and Modern (universal) elements:

...look especially at the second movement...an articulation so loose and so complete in significance, of real personal inspiration while at the same time with aspects that evoke our folk songs. Are we not able to say in praise of Gerhard—linking two terms perhaps paradoxical—that he is a “cosmopolitan” Catalan?<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup>Ibid. “...vegi-s especialment el del segon temps (Exemple VII), d’una articulació tant folgada i d’una significació tan completa, d’inspiració ben personal i alhora amb caients que remembren les nostres cançons populars. ¿No podriem dir en elogi d’En Gerhard—acoblant dos termes tal vegada paradoxals—que és un «Weltbürger» català?”

In the slow second movement, Gerhard continued to employ planing and the triplet figure is prominently featured (see Musical Example 4.22). In the key of C-sharp major, the second movement ends with an ambiguous perfect fifth.

**Ex. 4.24. Roberto Gerhard, *Trio no 2*, movement. II, meas. 1-3.**

Très calme ♩=60 approx.

Violin

Violoncello

Piano

*p*

*mf expressif*

Following the conventional fast-slow-fast scheme, the trio concludes with an energetic last movement. As is common with Gerhard's writing for piano, he often explores the extreme registers of the keyboard instrument. In character with the rest of the trio, the last movement contains numerous metric shifts and explores numerous keys. As with the second movement, the last movement ends ambiguously; the third movement cadences on a quartal harmony centered on the pitch G-sharp.

**Ex. 4.25. Roberto Gerhard, *Trio no 2*, movement. III, meas. 1-4.**

The musical score for Ex. 4.25, Roberto Gerhard's *Trio no 2*, movement III, measures 1-4, is presented for Violin, Violoncello, and Piano. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is 3/4. The tempo is marked 'Vif' with a metronome indication of 152 approx. The Violin and Violoncello parts are marked 'pizz.' (pizzicato). The Piano part features a complex harmonic structure with many accidentals.

Years later, Gerhard would deviate from his French-inspired works, breaking from a long Spanish tradition. Writing to Schoenberg about *Trio No. 2*, Gerhard revealed “my *Trio*, a work which was written during the shallowest period of my life. Or, on the contrary, you may understand it straightaway from that piece.”<sup>34</sup>

***DOS APUNTS* (1921-2)**

Gerhard's *Dos apunts* (Two Sketches) bears a resemblance to the piano miniatures of Schoenberg's Op. 19 (1911). Completed in the months of December 1921 and March 1922, Gerhard's *Dos apunts* are diminutive in length and consist each of fourteen measures, and are marked by slow tempos and soft dynamics. Creating an impression of atonality, *Dos apunts* are highly chromatic and use non-traditional harmonies within sparse textures. The works display tight formal compression, and Gerhard's piano miniatures arise organically through rhythmic and melodic development. He utilizes all twelve pitches of the chromatic aggregate in the two

<sup>34</sup> Roberto Gerhard to Arnold Schoenberg, 21 October 1923, Cambridge University Library.

piano miniatures; however, Gerhard employs tonal references in the work. Of organic design, he develops motives and constructs thematic unity throughout each movement.

Gerhard chose to apply the expressive marking in Catalan *Sense rigor* (without strictness) and selected a slow tempo of 55-66 b.p.m. to the quarter note for the opening miniature. In the first movement, the right and left hand clearly have different musical functions. The right hand contains the melody while the left hand serves to provide the accompaniment. Opening with balanced phrasing, the first movement begins with two parallel periods. Ultimately, the phrasing develops into irregular lengths, crossing bar lines and forming elisions. The initial melody and motive consists of a Phrygian trichord and pitch-class set [0,1,3]. The melody appears rhythmically straightforward with slight ornamentation. The opening two measures form a parallel period, which organically develops into another parallel period consisting of a chromatic trichord and pitch-class set [0,1,2]. The next variation retains the pitch A-flat and consists of the pitch-class set [0,1,3] with the phrase gradually growing in length by a beat, crossing the bar line and displacing the entrance of the next phrase. Another variation follows, and the symmetry of the work is maintained ultimately by an abridged restatement of the motive.

The pitch G emphasized in the opening measures now only serves as a pedal point. At measure eight, the pitch-class set of this longest phrase consists of the pentachord [0, 1, 3, 7, 8]. The following pitch-class sets are [0, 1, 3, 7], [0, 1, 3, 5], [0, 1, 3], and [0, 1, 3, 5, 8]. In measure eleven, the pitch-class set [0, 1, 3] appears in diminution on the fourth beat. The movement eventually cadences on the pitch C, highlighted in octaves.



The accompaniment primarily consists of tritones in an ostinato pattern. For seven measures, to exactly the midpoint of the composition, the accompaniment consists of E-flat and A with an occasional E natural. After the midpoint, the ostinato comprises of two tritones: B-flat / E and C / F-sharp. At measure nine, the ostinato includes a perfect fifth with an occasional tritone. The opening accompaniment returns for the penultimate measure, signaling a return and providing a formal ending.

The second movement is much more complex in rhythm and meter than the first miniature. In the brief movement, multiple tempo changes occur; the eighth note pulse shifts between metronome markings of 72 and 88 b.p.m. to the eighth note. In addition, constant meter changes take place in the work. The principal motive of the work consists of notes that comprise the pitch-class set [0, 1, 3, 4, 6]. In the opening, the right hand is melodic and a drone occurs in the left hand. The second movement commences with a triplet figure consisting of large leaps followed by a subsequent phrase forming a parallel period with a cadence—a tetrachord comprised of a major sixth and minor sixth separated by a tritone. The second movement swiftly explores textural possibilities in fourteen measures. Eventually polyphonic exchanges transpire in the right and left hands, and ultimately culminating with both parts moving homorhythmically. The piano work concludes with the melody in the inner voice.

In the second movement, Gerhard quotes *El Cotiló*, a Catalan folksong (see Musical Examples 4.26 and 4.27); however, it is not used in its entirety nor with its original rhythms maintained. Apparently of personal importance to Gerhard, the Catalan composer used the folksong *El Cotiló* in *Six Catalan Folksongs* (1928), *Cantata* (1932), *Albada*, *Interludi i Danza* (1936), *Pedrelliana* (1941), and his Fourth Symphony (1967). The folk song melody displays chromatic inflections applicable for use in highly chromatic and atonal music.

Ex. 4.26. Roberto Gerhard, *Dos apunts*, movement II, meas. 3-5.



Ex. 4.27. Roberto Gerhard, “El Cotiló” from *Six Catalan Folksongs*, meas. 1-5.

Si'n sóc fill de Mont-a - gut d'on tinc el sant Bap - tis - me, on tinc

### SEPT HAI-KAI (1923)

The *Sept hai-kai* reflects the influences of Ravel, Debussy, Stravinsky, and Schoenberg upon the young Gerhard searching for a modernist voice. Direct contrasts occur between the vocal and instrumental sections consisting of flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, and piano, the instrumental portions framing the text as well as musically embodying the haiku. Gerhard selected seven haiku from a larger collection of the Catalan poet Josep Maria Junoy's *Amour et Paysage* (1920). The haiku are in French; however, the title page of the poetry claims that the poems were “traduit du catalan.” No evidence exists that the haiku were indeed translated from Catalan to French; however, it implies the attached importance of having the poems originally conceived in Catalan. Primarily set syllabically, the vocal parts are also generally narrow in range and non-lyrical. Sketches of the first, second, third, and sixth haiku vocal

melodies survive, and demonstrate how Gerhard initially conceived the melodies.<sup>35</sup> Gerhard maintained all the pitches of the sketches in the final versions, choosing instead to alter their rhythms, which in general became more complex. None of the movements are atonal, although they are highly chromatic at moments. The seven haiku were a set of miniatures that explored the possibilities of this Japanese poetic genre.

The first haiku is in duple meter and consists solely of 33 measures, opening with an extremely slow tempo of *Molto tranquillo*. Instrumental sections frame its two vocal segments. The movement is highly chromatic, and employs flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, voice, and piano.<sup>36</sup> An arpeggio in the piano opens the movement, and the piano serves as a drone in fifths, a folk-like reference. Above the drone, the woodwinds move as a block in perfect fifths, almost presenting all twelve pitches sequentially. The vocal melody that accompanies the bucolic text of the haiku spans a major sixth and displays rhythmic activity that slowly opens and closes the melody.

<i>au milieu de la prairie verte</i>	in the middle of the green meadow
<i>une vache tachetée</i>	a spotted cow,
<i>aux mamelles roses</i>	with pink udders.

The second instrumental section also begins with a piano arpeggio, then a drone in fifths with the woodwinds moving in blocks. As in the first vocal section, the piano provides sparse accompaniment with sustained drones. While the early sketch and final version share the same melodic shape, rhythmically the two melodies vary considerably (see Musical Examples 4.30 and 4.31).

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<sup>35</sup> The sketches are housed at the Arxiu Robert Gerhard in Valls, Spain.

<sup>36</sup> In the 1969 published version of *Sept hai-kai*, the voice is scored for either soprano or baritone.

**Ex. 4.30. Roberto Gerhard, *Sept hai-kai*, movement I, sketch.**



**Ex. 4.31. Roberto Gerhard, *Sept hai-kai*, movement I, meas. 9-26.**

In the instrumental postlude, the piano and woodwinds move as a homorhythmic block, concluding the movement with a solo piano arpeggio and drone.

An instrumental prelude and abridged postlude frame the vocal section of the second haiku. Marked *Scorévole* (flowing), the fluid music emulates water, making reference to the poetry of Junoy.

<i>j'ai caressé ta flottante chevelure de cressons bleus</i>	I caressed your floating hair of blue watercresses
<i>d'une main pure</i>	of a pure hand,
<i>ô clair ruisseau!</i>	oh clear stream!

In quadruple meter, the diminutive movement consists of only nineteen measures. It opens with an ostinato in the piano outlining triads, and continues throughout the haiku; above the piano, the flute and clarinet move in thirds. A pedal on the pitch A in the piano sounds throughout the movement. The vocal melody uses seven pitches and spans the range of a minor seventh. The opening portion of the vocal melody does not deviate from Gerhard's

sketch, only altering the rhythm of the latter segment of the melody (see Musical Examples 4.32 and 4.33). The movement concludes with an abridged version of the prelude. The haiku ends with the pitches C and C-sharp.

**Ex. 4.32. Roberto Gerhard, *Sept hai-kai*, movement II, sketch.**



J'ai ca-res-sé ta flot-tan - te che-ve-lu - re de cres-sons bleus d'u - ne main  
 pu - re o clair ruis-seau

**Ex. 4.33. Roberto Gerhard, *Sept hai-kai*, movement II, meas. 7-15.**



J'ai ca-res-sé ta flot-tan - te che-ve-lu - re de cres-sons bleus\_\_\_\_\_  
 D'u - ne main pu - re, Ô\_\_\_\_ clair ruis-seau.\_\_\_\_\_

Relatively more dissonant, instrumental sections frame the three vocal portions of the third haiku. The movement begins with a rising triplet figure in the clarinet that is imitated by the flute; the piano functions as a pedal point. Marked *con moto*, increased rhythmic activity eventually takes place in all the instrumental parts in the movement. The leaps in the triplet and quintuplet figures possibly emulate the fireflies mentioned in the haiku.

*sous les lucioles  
 j'ai pompé dans tes lèvres une salive  
 nacrée*

under the glow of fireflies  
 I sucked from your lips a saliva  
 pearly sheen

The vocal melody uses eight pitches, and spans a major ninth. In addition, the melody contains leaps and repeated notes. The piano drops out during the vocal section, and the bassoon serves as a countermelody. The vocal melody in Gerhard's sketch appears to be constructed of two phrases; however, in the published version the melody is in three parts and gradually becomes rhythmically elongated (see Musical Examples 4.34 and 4.35). Primarily in triple meter—with the exception of a single measure in duple—the movement is 35 measures in length. The movement concludes with a triplet figures in the piccolo, oboe, clarinet, and piano.

**Ex. 4.34. Roberto Gerhard, *Sept hai-kai*, movement III, sketch.**



**Ex. 4.35. Roberto Gerhard, *Sept hai-kai*, movement III, meas. 9-26.**

A juxtaposition of meters—simple quadruple, compound quadruple and simple triple—occurs in the fourth haiku. In this movement marked *Allegretto* and of 39 measures, the instrumental sections frame the two vocal segments. The prelude opens with quintuplet figures in both the clarinet and piano. The piano serves as an ostinato on a diminished triad; the

piccolo, oboe, clarinet and bassoon move as a block at dissonant intervals, in particular the tritone. The piccolo and oboe include a whole-tone scale. Gerhard chose to set the text of the fourth poem with a vocal part with a narrow range in an almost recitational manner.

<i>douce voix</i>	gentle voice
<i>qui glisses sur mon coeur</i>	that whispers on my heart
<i>comme le reflet de la lune sur un lac sombre</i>	like the reflection of the moon on a gloomy lake

The instrumental interlude resembles the opening. In the second restatement of the vocal melody, the range extends to the narrow span of a minor third. In addition, Gerhard alters the rhythm, applying triplets. The haiku concludes with a duet between the oboe and bassoon, ultimately involving all the instruments of the ensemble.

The miniature and sparse fifth haiku consists of 25 measures and omits the flute and oboe, aptly portraying the poetry.

<i>pensée</i>	thought
<i>ourlée de noir</i>	black hemmed.
<i>au fond de mon cocktail d'oubli</i>	at the far end of my cocktail of oblivion.

Marked *Tranquillo* and in simple quadruple meter, Gerhard employed the low registrar of clarinet and bassoon as well as the voice in the movement. The haiku opens with a duet between the bassoon and clarinet; the voice, in a narrow range, and the piano, serving as a drone, eventually enter with the counterpoint of the two woodwinds. In addition the narrow vocal range, the melody only employs four pitches. The fifth haiku concludes abruptly with a descending passage in clarinet and dissonant drone in the piano.

The highly chromatic sixth haiku is 40 measures in length, and juxtaposes simple and compound quadruple meters. Principally constructed of ostinatos in the instrumental parts that

are maintained throughout the movement, the haiku, marked *Un poco vivace*, sets the musical background for the text.

<i>sous la pluie d'été</i>	during the rain of summer
<i>je marche fredonnant par la route de platanes</i>	I walk humming by the sycamore road
<i>oublieux de ma peine</i>	forgetful of my sorrow

The vocal melody uses eleven pitches and marks the endings of phrases are marked with longer note values. In the final version, the f-double sharp receives more importance than the earlier sketch (see Musical Examples 4.36 and 4.37). In contrast to the other haiku, the vocal sections of movement VI are not framed by instruments; rather, the instrumental section functions as a ground.

**Ex. 4.36. Roberto Gerhard, *Sept hai-kai*, movement VI, meas. 9-26.**

Sous la pluie d'é - té Je mar - che fred - don - ant

par la rou - te de pla - ta - nes ou - bli - eux de ma pei - ne



Ex. 4.37. Roberto Gerhard, *Sept hai-kai*, movement VI, meas. 9-26.

Sons la pluie d'é té. Je marche en fre-do- nant

Par la rou-te de pla - ta nes.

Ou bli - eux de ma

pei - - - ne.

The last haiku, marked *Larghetto*, is the longest of the seven movements, consisting of 50 measures. In simple duple meter and employing all the instruments, in the final movement Gerhard uses the instrumental sections to frame the vocal portions. The instrumental sections consist of ostinatos and the development of cells. The pastoral text primarily takes place over drones, placing the poetry to the forefront.

<i>mais en exil</i>	but in exile
<i>à quoi bon cette fleur cet insecte</i>	what good is this flower this insect
<i>ce nuage?</i>	this cloud?

Both the instrumental sections and vocal melody center on the pitch A-flat. The vocal melody spans a major sixth and employs five pitches.

Gerhard's music from this period reflects elements of Catalan nationalism with the use of Catalan poetry and traditional music. In addition, the works composed by Gerhard related to his study with Pedrell demonstrate that the young composer overcame the naivety works of his earlier youth; however, Gerhard remained unsatisfied with his own music, and unsure of his

musical direction. After failing in his attempts to study with Falla, Gerhard would eventually seek out a new direction outside Spain once again, eventually studying with Arnold Schoenberg.

## CHAPTER 5: STUDY WITH ARNOLD SCHOENBERG

### SCHOENBERG: VIENNA & BERLIN

Reflecting on one of the most innovative and controversial composers of the twentieth century, Gerhard characterized Schoenberg as “[t]he man who revolutionized contemporary music” that “was nothing of a revolutionary himself.”<sup>1</sup> The Catalan composer became a pupil of Schoenberg in 1923, accompanied the Viennese master to Berlin in 1924, and arranged for Schoenberg’s extended stay in Barcelona in 1931.<sup>2</sup> Profoundly familiar with Schoenberg as both a man and composer, Gerhard portrayed his teacher’s formidable personality in an essay written around the time of Schoenberg’s death, stating that “he was an intimidating person to meet, and on each occasion one literally had to brace oneself up to it.”<sup>3</sup> Belonging to the Schoenbergian circle, Gerhard was not alone in feeling a sense of awe around the Viennese master:

Many years later it came as an amusing discovery and as a relief to hear that even Alban Berg had never quite been able to shake off that awesome feeling Schoenberg inspired, although their relationship had for a long time been that of devoted intimate friends rather than that of master and disciple.<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore, Gerhard stated that his former master possessed a personality that “was somewhat overpowering. His manner was not exactly engaging, in the social sense, but very

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<sup>1</sup> Roberto Gerhard, “Schoenberg Reminiscences,” *Perspectives of New Music* 13 (1975): 57.

<sup>2</sup> In the introduction of Gerhard’s essay “Schoenberg Reminiscences” published in *Perspectives of New Music* (Vol. 13, No. 2., 1975), Hilary Tann erroneously states that Gerhard and Schoenberg first met in 1922; the two composers actually first met in 1923.

<sup>3</sup> Roberto Gerhard, “Schoenberg Reminiscences,” 62. According to Hilary Tann, Gerhard’s essay “Schoenberg Reminiscences,” which was encountered among Gerhard’s papers at the time of his death, dates from around 1951.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

much so in the other, the challenging sense of the word.”<sup>5</sup> The former student, speculating on the source of Schoenberg’s character, recorded that “[o]ne realised, of course, that the long years of fierce antagonism and denigration of his work had hardened the man and must have overdeveloped his combative instincts.”<sup>6</sup>

On 21 October 1923, Gerhard composed an anguished letter to Schoenberg, requesting to become his pupil. In the letter, Gerhard mentioned his despair as well as his tentativeness in writing to the Austrian master; however, encouragement from a letter from Paul Stefan, a student of Schoenberg, galvanized the Catalan composer to write the 1923 request. Gerhard began the letter describing his angst:

I really do not know where I can find the courage, in my spiritual depression, to turn to you, if not from the belief of finding advice, in your artistry and deep humanity, which will bring me greater self-enlightenment than any further despair might achieve. I have hesitated for a long time, tormented by doubt, before taking this step.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to the letter, Gerhard sent two works: *Dos apunts* (1921-22) and *Sept hai-kai* (1922).

Not seeking appraisal of his music, he instead put in writing his personal impasse, seeking advice as well as inquiring if Vienna would suit his needs:

What I should like to dare now is simply to send you some of my music and to tell you the essential circumstances of my intellectual and moral crisis. Then I should like to ask you to give me the great benefit of your advice; I do not say primarily your judgment of my music: I have long condemned it myself, indeed, it would hardly be necessary to add how it torments and shames me! But to hear a word from you, in my chaotic state of mind, which would help me to find a solution, that is what I should like to hope for. And then to know whether I can find in Vienna the sure hand of a master, and the artistic and human community which will meet my true needs, and for which I have a burning desire.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 62.

<sup>7</sup> Homs, *Robert Gerhard and His Music*, 91.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

He informed Schoenberg that he sought to improve his musical knowledge and review his previous work, despairingly leaving Barcelona for the isolation of his birthplace of Valls, Spain:

What I think I must tell you about myself is as follows: The determination to acquire a thorough musical education, to revise the whole of my earlier, careless musical output, and to gain a firm, thought-out basis for my further development led me, two years ago, to decide to flee the city and my circle of friends, and to shut myself up here in the country (where I was born) in hermetic isolation.<sup>9</sup>

Situated within the interior of the province of Tarragona, the rural town of Valls provided the seclusion that the composer sought.

Gerhard asserted in the letter that his “inner uneasiness” began after World War I. He informed Schoenberg that he decided to educate himself, after previously considering study in France or Germany: “The thought of finding discipline in Paris or Germany had long engaged me; but finally my self-confidence won out: I would help myself!”<sup>10</sup> Agonized, Gerhard wrote that his approach to music composition resembled more of that of an amateur than a trained artist, explaining that his method of composition resembled improvisation resulting in works without any formal structure:

The extreme inadequacy, the fractured nature of my musical education have already long tormented me, since forever! My spontaneous, completely unreflective approach to composition irked my conscience: I no longer saw any difference between that and naive dilettantism. Composing at the piano, and from a formal standpoint, improvising, seemed basically immoral to me. I had not learnt to think harmonically. I had not studied form at all: for me it always became rhapsodic. I wanted to muster all my powers against these two failings, with particular emphasis on the first.<sup>11</sup>

Gerhard revealed in the letter that he sought a formal music education—unattainable in Spain at that period.

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 91-92.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 92.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

He remorsefully explained that “I was 24 years old; behind me were eight years in which I should have enjoyed a normal musical education, if only the war had not thrown all my plans out of the window.” Gerhard continued by providing Schoenberg with a history of his musical education. At age sixteen, Gerhard began his musical training with Hugo Strauss in Lausanne, Switzerland. Lasting only six months, the lessons consisted of working through E.F. Richter's book on harmony. After Lausanne, Gerhard attended the Munich Academy of Music, studying piano with Karl Roesger, attending choral courses, and taking private counterpoint lessons with Walter Courvoisier; however, World War I caused Gerhard to only remain in Germany for only four months. Gerhard returned to Spain in 1914, and he waited for the end of the war. In 1916 he went to Barcelona and studied with Felipe Pedrell. Gerhard returned to Valls and briefly halted his composition of music, instead, deciding “to plug the gaps in my education with iron diligence.”<sup>12</sup> Making reference to Robert Schumann's poor judgment in injuring his right hand, Gerhard compared his mindset to the legendary German composer, adding that he was making no progress in his development as a composer:

My mental state during this time may have closely resembled that of Schumann while he was pursuing intensive finger-exercises. I wanted to recover lost ground at full speed and power, only gradually realizing how much time had disappeared—how often I re-invented the wheel—and that I actually only really learned from making errors. And then, which perhaps upset and hindered me most: the ever sharper, more painful understanding of my endless ignorance and the unrestrained urge to catch up on everything all at once; the dissipation of my few powers on an ever expanding front.<sup>13</sup>

During this period, Gerhard studied diverse subject matter such as the modulation exercises from Schoenberg's *Harmonielehre*, J.S. Bach's counterpoint and inventions from Ernst Kurth's *Grundlagen des linearen Kontrapunkts*, the string quartets of Beethoven, Wagner's *Tristan und*

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 93.

*Isolde*, Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire*, and Stravinsky's *Le sacre du printemps*, as well as music history, acoustics, and literature. In the letter, he revealed to Schoenberg his thoughts on studying in Paris, implying that his published piano trio reflects the wrong musical direction:

For some time, I thought of going to Paris. The city attracts me very much, but the impressionist, decorative technique which I could learn with [Charles] Koechlin is no longer what would fully satisfy me. I can no longer be tempted to try and discover my identity *sous l'influence conjugée de Stravinsky et de Ravel*.<sup>14</sup> That will perhaps surprise you with regard to my Trio, a work which was written during the shallowest period of my life. Or, on the contrary, you may understand it straightaway from that piece.<sup>15</sup>

He expressed in his correspondence with Schoenberg of his interest in German and modernist music, believing that he has an affinity towards Germanic music. He reiterated his misgivings about Parisian music, preferring the possibilities of Vienna:

I know extremely little of the most recent German music and of the "Moderns." I could not say, therefore, why I still feel so particularly drawn by the German manner. Perhaps I am getting all my terms confused. I am frightened, in Paris, of being carried away with a superficial empirical technique, and without having addressed my fundamental inadequacies, although this new land attracts me very much. Instead of this however, I should like innermost composure, well-planned preparation, intellectual foundations, mental mastery of my means, i.e. to receive classical discipline and the deepest meditation upon and understanding of the Classics at the hands of the purest traditional source. I believe I would find in Vienna, near to you, within your circle, perhaps the most suitable conditions for the fulfillment of my wishes.<sup>16</sup>

Thanking Schoenberg, Gerhard ended the letter by also apologizing for his German as well as for its sentimental contents: "I must sincerely ask for your forgiveness, however, for having put you to the trouble of reading these impetuous outpourings of my heart, and express my endless gratitude to you for it, along with heartfelt, fervent respect and admiration."<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> "under the joint influence of Stravinsky and Ravel"

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 93-94.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 94.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

On 4 November 1923, Schoenberg responded to Gerhard's desperate letter.

Commenting on Gerhard's two compositions, *Dos apunts* and *Sept haiku*, Schoenberg wrote that "I have no time to look into your compositions more closely. But a fleeting glance and your letter give me a very good impression."<sup>18</sup> The Austrian composer also informed Gerhard of his policy of accepting composition students, writing "[f]rankly: the final decision whether I take someone on as a pupil usually depends on the personal impression I get of him."<sup>19</sup> Schoenberg asked Gerhard to come to Vienna; however, reassuring him that "I think I am certain to accept; and I also think I shall be able to help you a bit, since I understand your depression."<sup>20</sup>

Much later in an essay written around the time of Schoenberg's death, Gerhard recalled his first meeting with the Austrian composer. Gerhard met Schoenberg in person for the first time in Mödling, Austria in 1923, and in the aforementioned essay he reminisced about his anxiety as well as their unforgettable first encounter:

I remember the state of trepidation in which I went down to Mödling for my first interview. I had rung the bell, the door opened, and before I knew what was happening I felt the thrust of a huge dog who had leapt at me and planted its paws on my chest. In the back—just a little shorter than the dog on its hind legs—I could see Schoenberg standing, short, stocky, a bronzed face with dark burning eyes, a Roman emperor's head. I don't think I shall ever forget that dog. It was a formidable looking fellow, yet in reality it was an incredibly gentle creature. Somehow I have never been able to dissociate Schoenberg from his dog in that first impression.<sup>21</sup>

In addition to their first encounter, Schoenberg's home was also the site for other vivid memories.

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<sup>18</sup> Arnold Schoenberg to Roberto Gerhard, October 21, 1923.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Gerhard, "Schoenberg Reminiscences," 62.



At a Saturday afternoon party for friends and students at Schoenberg's home in Mödling, involving tea and performances of chamber music, Gerhard recalled an instant that he characterized as "one of the most horribly awkward moments in [his] life." In attendance that day was Anton Webern, Alban Berg, Rudolf Kolisch, Clara Steuermann, several other pupils of Schoenberg, and perhaps Fritz Rothschild.<sup>22</sup> The topic of conversation switched to the sharp criticism of Stravinsky, leading to Gerhard's discomfiture when:

suddenly Schoenberg turned to me—who had not been dreaming of opening my mouth—and asked my opinion. It took me completely off my guard and I was thrown into considerable confusion, linguistic and otherwise. I don't remember what I said. I only know that I must have fumbled most wretchedly, but I spoke up for Stravinsky. There was a long, embarrassed, agonising silence. I was stunned myself. I felt as if I had been using bad language in polite society. If the Danube had happened to flow under the wide-open window of that room, I am sure I could not have resisted the temptation. Schoenberg broke the silence; he took up his viola and they sat down to play, I think it was a Haydn Quartet. Then a most unexpected thing happened: Schoenberg got up and went to the library, he took out the miniature score of the Haydn and came over and offered it to me with a smile and an expression of kindness I shall never forget. He would never know that at that moment he had saved my life.<sup>23</sup>

The works of Stravinsky remained as an influence on Gerhard—before, during, and after his study with Schoenberg.

Schoenberg was radically unlike any of Gerhard's previous mentors:

As a teacher he was unique. The fact that he was a difficult man was, again, not simply a matter of idiosyncrasy one might justifiably have deplored and wished it had been different, but it was almost the essence of his method; it made him precisely the kind of teacher he was.<sup>24</sup>

Gerhard described the teaching methodology of Schoenberg as "*Il faut décourager les arts*" which "seemed to be his ruling pedagogical principle," writing that "his method was something

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 60

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 61.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 62-63

like this: shake your man thoroughly and mercilessly out of complacency, make everything as hard as possible for him, pile up the obstacles, let him get himself into real trouble, and see whether he survives.”<sup>25</sup> As a teacher and of his ability to impart his honed compositional skills, Gerhard wrote that “[h]e would never attempt simply to tell you what he knew but rather to find out and show you what you didn't know. He had no use for text-book rules or aesthetics. His only claim was to be a craftsman who could teach you his craft.”<sup>26</sup> Gerhard summarized his study with Schoenberg as “the perfect illustration of the relationship between master-craftsman and apprentice, which was the basis of his teaching.”<sup>27</sup>

In Vienna, Gerhard studied privately with Schoenberg, allowing for personal insights into the art of composition:

During lessons Schoenberg talked a good deal, rationalising everything that could possibly be rationalised, trying all the time to go to the heart of the matter and show you what to expect there, what to look for. Sometimes he would say, "I'll just show you." He would take pencil and paper and start sketching whatever it was he wanted to show. No word was spoken then, one just looked on. It was in this way that I had some of the greatest and most vividly illuminating experiences with Schoenberg as a teacher.<sup>28</sup>

Gerhard provided insight into the compositional process of Schoenberg, revealing that even his teacher struggled with his own innovations:

I remember that analysing his Three Piano Pieces, Op. 11—one of his first “revolutionary” works—he once pointed out how often he had had to pause in the very act of writing down some of the more unusual sound-combinations, startled at the radicalism of his own spontaneous thought and, rubbing out, tried to take off the edge and tone the thing down, only to find, on re-reading his work the next day, that there was something palpably “wrong” in the passages thus emended, and that they would only sound “right” when he was able to restore the first notation.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 64.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 63-64

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 58.

Observing Schoenberg compose, Gerhard was in awe of the compositional process of

Schoenberg that unfolded before his eyes:

It was fascinating to watch how his mind worked, the amazing speed and even flow of thought; to observe the occasional hesitations or corrections, suddenly to realise the reason for the correction and how many draws ahead he had been thinking; to be able to follow with one's one eyes the actual morphogenetical process and sequence of events; to see how the thing grew; the order in which the various elements appeared, their interplay, their repercussions and metamorphosis; in short, the teamwork of chance, choice, and deliberation. It was a breathtaking adventure. Suddenly an entirely new dimension seemed to open up. It is hard to describe, because the experience does not seem to belong to the sphere of words or concepts any longer.<sup>30</sup>

The Viennese period of Gerhard's study with Schoenberg permitted the Catalan composer extraordinary insight into the compositional process of the Austrian master.

After the death of Ferruccio Busoni in 27 July 1924, Schoenberg soon secured the prestigious teaching position at the Prussian Academy of Fine Arts in Berlin.<sup>31</sup> Momentarily, the position provided prestige as well as sanctuary, as it was to be a lifetime appointment and represented, for the first time in his life, financial security. Gerhard followed Schoenberg to Berlin; the Catalan composer remembers the Berlin of his early youth and recalls the city that he then encountered with Schoenberg:

The Berlin of the middle Twenties hardly bore any resemblance to the topsy-turvy Berlin of the postwar years and the crazy inflation, when the underworld sat at the West End Cafes and the population of the Reich's capital seemed to consist mainly of spivs.<sup>32</sup> From the squalid, catastrophic city of those chaotic years Berlin had become a brilliant metropolis, almost overnight, with characteristically German powers of recovery. For a brief period stretching from the middle Twenties to the seizure of power by the Nazis,

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 63-64.

<sup>31</sup> Joan Allen Smith, *Schoenberg and His Circle: A Viennese Portrait* (New York: Schirmer, 1986), 226.

According to Joan Allen Smith, the success of his teaching post in Berlin led to a more confident Schoenberg that confined more to his small circle of students.

<sup>32</sup> Spiv, British slang for "hustler."

Berlin was a cultural center of the world. Even Paris looked a little dim by comparison then.<sup>33</sup>

According to Gerhard, the city of Berlin was unsurpassed musically.<sup>34</sup> Berlin was the site for numerous important premières; Gerhard cited Alban Berg's *Wozzeck* and chamber concerto, Darius Milhaud's *Christophe Colomb*, Leoš Janáček's *From the House of The Dead*, Schoenberg's *Erwartung*, *Die glückliche Hand*, *Variations for Orchestra*, and the *Accompaniment to a Cinematographic Scene*, Bartók's second piano concerto, as well as Stravinsky's violin concerto and *Oedipus Rex*.<sup>35</sup> In addition to European art music, Gerhard recorded that jazz impacted musical life in Berlin, naming ragtime, foxtrot, blues, and the Charleston.<sup>36</sup>

Gerhard enjoyed the changes that took place resulting from the move from Vienna to Berlin.<sup>37</sup> Members of the Academy often received complimentary tickets to concerts; however, it was through Gerhard's friendship with a Spanish dignitary that Gerhard received opportunities to attend concert life in Berlin. Nevertheless, free tickets came at a cost, as Gerhard recalled:

Personally I had the good luck to make friends with an extraordinary personage at the Spanish Embassy, Colonel Valdivia, who was most popular in Berlin society circles and was known to everybody as "Herr Musik Attaché." A constant visitor at the house of the famous Berlin hostess Frau Louise Wolf, of the concert agency Wolf & Sachs, the Colonel always had plenty of complimentary tickets and I was dragged along everywhere. In return I had to go home with him after shows and act as his patient audience into the small hours, while the Colonel performed exuberantly on an electric pianola.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Gerhard, "Schoenberg Reminiscences," 59.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 59-60.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 60.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 59.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 60.

In Berlin, the Catalan composer was a member of the *Meisterklasse* at the Academy, and he recalled that friction existed between undergraduates at Charlottenburg Hochschule für Musik and the members of the Meisterklasse, the latter feeling superior. Gerhard recollected that the students at the Hochschule referred to those in the master class as *die Meistersinger von Schönberg*.<sup>39</sup> In addition to feelings of superiority associated with being a member of the master class, further benefits existed with the change of venue. In Berlin, students met Schoenberg in group settings, resulting in less stressful encounters with the master: “It was certainly less of a nervous strain to meet him in the Berlin Meisterklasse corporately, as it were—than it had been to meet him individually, *en tête-à-tête*, as a private pupil in Vienna.”<sup>40</sup>

Schoenberg’s teaching method in Berlin differed from Vienna, becoming more academic in style and consisting of lectures.<sup>41</sup> According to Gerhard, the *Meisterklasse* consisted of a series of talks employing works selected from the German canon:

He would pace up and down the room and expound the subject which would be developed in a whole series of lectures, and also give indications as to the work he expected us to do. Every point would be abundantly illustrated and exemplified with passages or entire works taken from a repertoire ranging roughly from Bach to Brahms.<sup>42</sup>

Schoenberg rarely utilized modern works for analysis, and insisted on teaching composition along classic models. In fact, as Gerhard suggested, “Anyone who would have come to him asking to be taught how to write ‘modern’ music would probably have been roundly dismissed.”<sup>43</sup> Moreover, on the subject of Schoenberg’s musical idiom, Gerhard wrote that “Least of all would he expect us to write in his own style or try to imitate him. Anyone who did

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 59.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 61.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 64-5.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

try would have to be prepared for an extra severe scrutiny.<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, composition students of Schoenberg were free to choose their personal musical language; on this subject, Gerhard remembered that “In our own work, however, we were by no means supposed to copy the classics or to do pastiche work. Everyone could use his own idiom (if he had any of his own) or adopt whatever manner he chose. Matters of idiom would hardly ever be the subject of criticism with him.”<sup>45</sup> Many years later, Gerhard reminisced with the American composer Marc Blitzstein about Berlin, calling himself a “non-conformist” or a “Schoenbergian despite himself”:

How well I do remember our Berlin days, what a couple we made, you and I, you (at that time) the anti-Schoenbergian, or the very reluctant Schoenbergian, and I, the non-conformist, or the Schoenbergian *malgré moi*. Maybe I’ve got it all wrong, but that’s how I remember it; anyway, the two recalcitrants in the fold.<sup>46</sup>

The musical legacy of Schoenberg has impacted enormously the music of the twentieth century; however, the Austrian composer held trepidations about the dogmatic application of his ideas, such as his twelve-tone technique or having others attempt to replicate his music. Speculating on Schoenberg’s intentions, Gerhard wrote that “[t]here is no doubt that if the Schoenbergian school has spread, it has not been, I should say, against his wish, but certainly without positive encouragement on his part.”<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, referring to the Berlin master class, Gerhard argued that Schoenberg “was the least dogmatic of Schoenbergians and he warned us repeatedly of the dangers of orthodoxy.”<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Marc Blitzstein to Roberto Gerhard, February 11, 1963, Marc Blitzstein Papers, Wisconsin State Historical Society.

<sup>47</sup> Gerhard, “Schoenberg Reminiscences,” 64-65.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

Gerhard's music composed under the influence or tutelage of Schoenberg displays a stark contrast to the music written previously. However, Gerhard continued to compose relatively conventional genres with small musical forces: piano and voice, string quartet, wind quintet, and various small chamber works. His music employed extreme chromaticism. Gerhard's first atonal works took place during this time. In addition, he first used *Hauptstimme* and *Nebenstimme* symbols during this period. He applied serial procedures to some of his works. He used modernist techniques in his overtly Catalan works that utilized traditional music and genres—a complete divergence from the tradition of the Orfeó Català. Gerhard's Suite for Winds, Strings, and Piano (1927) remains as an oddity amongst his compositions for its Andalusian references (composed while outside Spain, Gerhard would also later abandon overt Catalan references, replacing them with Andalusian/Spanish elements while he lived in England).

### **DIVERTIMENTO (1926)**

Gerhard began composing his divertimento for ten wind instruments for Schoenberg after composing a set of variations for piano that is lost. The *Divertimento* exists in two versions: scored for two flutes, two oboes, two clarinets, two horns, and two bassoons (see Musical Example 5.1) and for piano for four hands. Neither version is finished; the light piece consists of only 70 measures. The Divertimento marks the first time Gerhard used the *Hauptstimme* and *Nebenstimme* symbols in his music, an attempt to call attention to the primary and secondary voices in the work. The unfinished work displays a highly chromatic vocabulary and grows organically through motivic variation.

**Ex. 5.1. Roberto Gerhard, Divertimento, meas. 1-3.**

The musical score for Roberto Gerhard's *Divertimento*, measures 1-3, is presented for a wind ensemble. The key signature is three flats (Bb, Eb, Ab) and the time signature is 3/4. The score includes parts for Flute (2), Oboe (2), Clarinet in Bb (2), Horn in F (2), Bassoon (2), and Piano. The first measure shows a forte (f) dynamic. The second measure shows a piano (p) dynamic. The third measure shows a forte (f) dynamic. The score is written for measures 1-3.

**SUITE FOR WINDS, STRINGS, AND PIANO (1927)**

Two movements from the Suite for Winds, Strings, and Piano survive. On the manuscript, Gerhard dedicated the suite to his former classmate Adolphe Weiss (1891-1971).<sup>49</sup> Among Gerhard's pre-1939 *oeuvre*, the suite is aberrant for its overt references to Andalusia. Its two movements, entitled *Sevillana* and *El conde sol*, belong to the flamenco tradition of

<sup>49</sup> A classmate of Gerhard, Adolphe Weiss was the first American to study with Schoenberg; Gerhard signed his name R. Gerhard Castells—the latter was the fictitious last name used by Gerhard in Vienna.



southern Spain—divergent from Catalan music. Its dedication to the American composer Weiss suggests that its intended audience might have been American and not Catalan.<sup>50</sup>

The highly chromatic *Sevillana* makes references to the flamenco genre, employing its rhythms in the piano (see Musical Example 5.2). Gerhard utilizes the *Hauptstimme* symbol to aid in identifying the primary melody. The use of ostinatos is also prominent throughout the movement. At measure 58, Gerhard asks the pianist to strike with a sharp blow the underside of the keyboard with the knees.

**Ex. 5.2. Roberto Gerhard, *Sevillana*, meas. 1-4.**

The musical score for measures 1-4 of 'Sevillana' by Roberto Gerhard is presented for a full orchestra and piano. The tempo is marked 'Andante vivo'. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The instruments are: Trumpet in Bb, Horn in F, Bassoon, Violin, Viola, Violoncello, and Piano. The Trumpet in Bb part has a 'H' symbol above it, indicating the Hauptstimme. The Piano part has a 'pédale gauche seulement' instruction below it. The score shows the first four measures of the piece.

Traditionally, “El conde sol” is a sung romance common to southern Spain. Gerhard’s *El conde sol* begins with a lengthy solo viola part, evocative of the melismatic sung tradition (see Musical Example 5.3).

<sup>50</sup> In exile at Cambridge, the music of Gerhard evolved to become a Spanish Identity.

**Ex. 5.3. Roberto Gerhard, *El conde sol*, meas. 1-3.**

**Andantino**

Trumpet in B $\flat$

Horn in F

Bassoon

**Andantino**

Violin

Viola

Violoncello

Piano

Gerhard does not employ the *Hauptstimme* symbol in the second movement. As with *Sevillana*, the second movement is highly chromatic, employs ostinatos, and elevates rhythm as a primary musical feature, tone clusters often serving a rhythmic purpose. Unlike *Sevillana*, the second movement contains numerous shifts in meter.

**STRING QUARTET NO. 3 (1927) AND CONCERTINO FOR STRINGS (1927-28)**

Gerhard composed his first string quartet around 1915–17 (lost), and another in 1922 (lost). Schoenberg often assigned a string quartet as a final project. Like many of Gerhard's compositions of this period, the string quartet is pitch centric; however, it is highly chromatic with modal ambiguity. Except for cadential points, Gerhard avoids octave doubling. The string quartet is in three movements: the first is in sonata form with reversed recapitulation, the

second movement is in an ambiguous ternary form, and the third movement is in rondo form.

Unlike what one might expect from a composition by Schoenberg, Gerhard incorporates

Hispanic musical traits such as the Phrygian mode and hemiola. String Quartet No. 3 is

unpublished; however, a printer's proof from the period survives and is housed in Valls.

Gerhard's Concertino began as String Quartet no. 3. Only making minor changes (see Musical Examples 5.4, 5.5. & 5.6), the Catalan composer arranged the string quartet for string orchestra for his all-Gerhard concert in Barcelona that took place on 22 December 1929.

**Ex. 5.4. Roberto Gerhard, *String Quartet no. 3* and *Concertino for Strings*, movement I, meas. 1-3.**

**Ex. 5.5. Roberto Gerhard, *String Quartet no. 3* and *Concertino for Strings*, movement II, meas. 1-3.**

**Ex. 5.6. Roberto Gerhard, *String Quartet no. 3* and *Concertino for Strings*, movement III, meas. 1-3.**

**Allegretto vivace e con spirito**

**SONATA FOR CLARINET AND PIANO (1928)**

Once students demonstrated satisfactory competency, Schoenberg had his pupils begin composing small works for piano, art songs, sonatas, and chamber music.<sup>51</sup> Gerhard composed both Sonata for Clarinet and Piano and Andantino for Clarinet, Violin, and Piano late in his study with Schoenberg. It seems that the handwriting of both Gerhard and Schoenberg appear on the manuscripts of both student works. The sonata, an atonal and compact composition, exists as a self-contained single movement. While Gerhard rapidly circulated through the chromatic aggregate, as well as attempting to avoid octave doubling and note repetition, he never applied serial applications to the clarinet sonata. Melodically, Gerhard chose chiefly disjunct motion with large leaps, often the interval of either a major or minor seventh (see Musical Example 5.7). As accompaniment, Gerhard frequently employed quartal harmonies (see Musical Example 5.8).

<sup>51</sup> Schoenberg often assigned variations for piano to his students. Gerhard's piano variations are assumed to be lost.

**Ex. 5.7. Roberto Gerhard, *Sonata for Clarinet and Piano*, meas. 1-3.**

Allegro vivace  
*p* *cresc.* *f*  
Allegro vivace  
staccato  
*pp*

**Ex. 5.8. Roberto Gerhard, *Sonata for Clarinet and Piano*, meas. 5.**

*pp*  
*pp*  
*pp*

**ANDANTINO (1928)**

Andantino was the last work Gerhard composed under the tutelage of Schoenberg. As with *Sonata for Clarinet and Piano*, Gerhard's *Andantino* is atonal, utilizing all twelve pitches while avoiding the application of a strict serial technique of composition, and is short in duration. In the opening of the work, all twelve pitches are presented in the part (see Musical Example 5.9); however, the series of pitches does not serve as the basis of the work. Furthermore, three tetrachords divide the twelve pitch classes (see Musical Example 5.10).

Ex. 5.9. Roberto Gerhard, *Andantino*, meas. 1-4.



Ex. 5.10. Roberto Gerhard, *Andantino*, meas. 1.

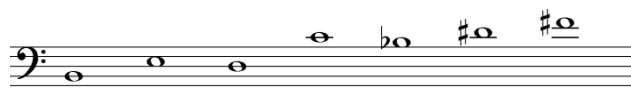


While Gerhard employed unordered tetrachords and aggregates of twelve pitches, they do not serve serial purposes. In *Andantino*, the contrapuntal clarinet and violin parts are juxtaposed against the predominately chordal piano part.

## WIND QUINTET (1928)

An atonal work, Gerhard's wind quintet employs all twelve pitches with frequent circulation of the aggregate; however, its opening two movements also reveal a seven-note row (see Musical Example 5.11). The seven-note row appears in the bassoon at the start of the movement (See Musical Examples 5.12 and 5.13).

### Ex. 5.11. Roberto Gerhard, *Wind Quintet*



### Ex. 5.12. Roberto Gerhard, *Wind Quintet*, movement I, meas. 1-2.



### Ex. 5.13. Roberto Gerhard, *Wind Quintet*, movement I, meas. 1-3.

Moderato

Flute

Oboe

Clarinet in B $\flat$

Horn in F

Bassoon

*p dolce*

*pp*

*pp*

*pp*

Gerhard organized the wind quintet with the conventional four-movement scheme, utilizing sonata form for its opening movement. The slow second movement employs the seven-note row as a pseudo-ground (Gerhard later used a row as a ground in his cantata *L'alta naixença del rei en Jaume*). Gerhard frequently utilized elements of early music that predate the common-practice era. Peter Paul Nash portrays the third movement as “a scherzo, with a central section equivalent to a trio.”<sup>52</sup> Nash as well as Rachel Mitchell characterized the last movement as a rondo.<sup>53</sup> The wind quintet premiered at the 1929 all-Gerhard Concert in Barcelona.

### **SARDANA I (1928)<sup>54</sup>**

In an unidentified 1930 article titled “The Composer Gerhard and the Sardana,” the author voices the astonishment of many that the modernist composer Gerhard had composed sardanes: “Some expressed their surprise that Gerhard, Catalan composer, faithful disciple of Shoenberg [sic], devoted his attention and activities to compose a *sardana*.”<sup>55</sup> The author recognized Gerhard’s approach to Catalan nationalism, seeking out both a Catalan and universal character to his music: “We should also thank Gerhard for his noble ambition, wanting to open new perspectives to the *sardana*, in the end to give it a sound of universality.”<sup>56</sup>

Gerhard’s first *sardana* is in duple meter and in the key of G major. The *sardana* maintains its

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<sup>52</sup> Peter Paul Nash, “the Wind Quntet,” *Tempo* 139 (1981): 5.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.; Rachel Elice Mitchell, “An Examination of the Serial Procedures and Folkloric Elements in the Music of Roberto Gerhard (1896-1970)” (PhD diss, University of Texas, 2009).

<sup>54</sup> Gerhard gave both of his *sardanes* the generic title of “Sardana,” unusual as most traditional sardanes received evocative titles.

<sup>55</sup> s.n. , “El compositor Gerhard y la sardana,” *La Sardana: Portantveu del foment de la sardana de Barcelona* 62-3 (January-February 1930). “Algún ha mostrat la seva estranyesa que Gerhard, el compositor català, fidel deixeble de Shoenberg [sic], dediqués la seva atenció, i les seves activitats per a compondre unes sardanes.”

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.; “S’ha d’agraciar també a Gerhard la seva noblé ambició, de volguer obrir noves perspectives a la sardana, qmb el fin de donar-li un tó d’universalitat.”



characteristic long-short-short rhythm. Gerhard employed a traditional *cobla*, an ensemble of eleven musicians playing a mixture of Catalan and Western band instruments, for his first *sardana*. In Gerhard's first *sardana*, the Catalan derived dance does not contain an *introit* or *contrapunt*, and has the structure of *curt*, *llarg*, *curt*, *llarg*, *curt*, *llarg*, and coda. The *curt* section is 42 measures in length and the *llarg* is 84 measures in length.<sup>57</sup> For the *acord final*, this takes place in the coda, all the instruments—except the flabiol—cadence on a G major triad. Gerhard's *sardana* was a stylized *sardana* intended for the concert stage, not for dancing.

## **SARDANA II (1928)**

Of Gerhard's two sardanes, his second remains the most controversial, starkly breaking away from the traditional definition of the genre. In his 1933 book on the traditional *sardana*, Joan Llongueres provided four basic guidelines for the composition of traditional sardanes: employ distinctive and tasteful melodies, follow traditional rules of harmony and counterpoint, abide by the structure of the dance, and reflect traditional Catalan culture. Based on Llongueres' four points, Gerhard's second *sardana* failed miserably. While being distinctive, the Catalan public attending the 1929 all-Gerhard Concert felt the melodies of the *sardana* were in poor taste, due largely to the fact that the second *sardana* was bitonal, juxtaposing F major and G-flat major. Gerhard employed new harmonic procedures that clashed with traditional rules of harmony and counterpoint. Gerhard deviated even more than in his first *sardana* from the standardized musical structure by not retaining conventional full repeats of the *curts* and *llargs*. In the second *sardana*, Gerhard added tenor saxophone and bassoon to the traditional *cobla*.

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<sup>57</sup> To dance the sardana requires the dancers to count the number of measures of each section. Interestingly, Gerhard numbered each measure in the manuscript, which he never had done before.

Lluís Millet criticized the use of the saxophone as well as the inappropriate musical character of the national dance. The director of the Orfeo Català argued that the saxophone was a foreign instrument associated with African-Americans, and that the martial character of the music contradicted the fraternal spirit of the national dance.<sup>58</sup>

#### **14 CANÇONS POPULARS CATALANES (1928)**

Gerhard arranged for soprano and piano fourteen Catalan folk songs, later setting them for orchestra in 1931. Gerhard published six Catalan folk songs (*La calàndria*, *La mort i la donzella*, *El petit vailet*, *El cotiló*, *enemic de les dones*, and *Els ballaires dins d'un sac*) with Universal Edition in 1933. Not altering the melodies of the traditional Catalan songs, Gerhard chose to accompany the tonal or modal melodies with modern piano accompaniments. Gerhard's arrangements resemble those of Béla Bartók, with which Gerhard surely was familiar. Highly dissonant compared to the harmonized Catalan folk songs of the Orfeó Català, Gerhard uses a compressed musical language that employs bitonality and triadic non-functional harmonies, as well as quartal harmonies (see Musical Example 5.14).

**Ex. 5.14. Roberto Gerhard, "El petit vailet" from *Six Catalan Folk Songs*, meas. 1-3.**

**Allegro**

The musical score for "El petit vailet" is presented in a two-staff format. The top staff is a soprano line, and the bottom staff is a piano accompaniment. The tempo is marked "Allegro". The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 2/4. The piano accompaniment features a complex harmonic structure with bitonality and triadic non-functional harmonies. The melody in the right hand of the piano part is marked with "mf" and "p" dynamics. The bass line in the left hand is marked with "p". The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings.

<sup>58</sup> Lluís Millet, "Sessió Robert Gerhard," *Revista Musical Catalana* 27 (1930): 9.

Under the guidance of Schoenberg, Gerhard gradually gained a sense of competence to compose again. He returned to Barcelona to an initially welcoming reception, as a disciple of Schoenberg; however, he would soon face difficulties with the Catalan public in their acceptance of his chosen musical direction. Nonetheless, he would receive his first international recognition as universal composer with his award-winning cantata *L'alta naixença del rei en Jaume* (1932).

## CHAPTER 6: GERHARD IN BARCELONA

### MILLET-GERHARD CONTROVERSY

Gerhard, as a promising young Catalan composer, returned to Barcelona in late 1929 after his five years of study with Schoenberg, culminating in a much-anticipated all-Gerhard concert. Newspapers throughout Catalonia promoted the concert, organizers predicted repeat performances throughout the region, and citizens of the composer's birthplace of Valls made special arrangements to facilitate travel to attend the event in Barcelona. However, instead of a triumphant success, Gerhard faced almost unmitigated disapproval of his music, leading to a passionate debate on the direction of Catalan concert music—a concern of many Catalan nationalists. The Catalan press harshly and overwhelmingly criticized the concert for the composer's avant-garde approach; however, it was a review by Lluís Millet that most affected Gerhard, causing the modernist composer to respond in his column from the journal *El Mirador*. Gerhard's music and Millet's review of the controversial concert sparked a debate on the course of Catalan concert music between the two Catalan musicians. The elder and conservative Millet, founder and conductor of the acclaimed Orfeó Català, attacked the music of Gerhard for its modernist qualities, arguing that atonal music had no theoretical framework and was therefore unworthy of use in musical composition. The young Gerhard, the most prominent avant-garde composer and advocate working in Catalonia or Spain, defended his music against Millet's criticisms. Underlying the heated debate is how it reflected a shift in the cultural discourse of Catalan nationalism at the beginning of the twentieth century. As a means to foster cultural and political independence from the rest of Spain, Catalan national sentiment gradually switched to the promotion of modernist ideologies after previously fending them off

in the defense, preservation, and revival of its traditional culture. Many works of this period by Gerhard exhibited an intricate reconciliation of traditional Catalan elements with modern Central European musical aesthetics as a manifestation of Catalan nationalism, a movement that promoted modernization in the arts as an expression of Catalan national sentiment.

Until December, the Catalan public had limited familiarity with only two of Gerhard's works, *L'infantament meravellós de Schahrazada* (1918) and his second piano trio (1918). Both published works received performances, earning praise from Catalan audiences. The song cycle, using the poetry of Catalan Josep Maria López-Pico, resembled turn-of-the-century German *Lieder*, and Gerhard's piano trio displayed striking similarities with that of Maurice Ravel.<sup>1</sup> Numerous reviewers lamented that Gerhard, a youthful composer with demonstrated talent, abandoned conventional musical practices, in their opinion, for the sake of novelty.

In the late evening of Sunday 22 December 1929, Gerhard premiered six works to a full and attentive audience.<sup>2</sup> The controversial concert took place at the prominent Palau de la Música Catalana and consisted of highly chromatic as well as atonal compositions, and works related to traditional Catalan music. The program included his *Concertino* (1927-28), *Sept haikai* (1922), *Wind Quintet* (1928), eight songs from *Cançons populars catalanes* (1928), and two *sardanes* (1928-29). Initially conceived as a string quartet, Gerhard arranged *Concertino* for string orchestra. In a lyrical and contrapuntal manner, Gerhard employed total chromaticism in all three movements with the formal structure of fast-slow-fast. Of the six works premiered, only the composition of the *Sept haiku* occurred before Gerhard's study with Schoenberg.

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<sup>1</sup> In a 1923 letter to Schoenberg, Gerhard described his Ravel-influenced works as being written during the shallowest period of his life.

<sup>2</sup> The 22 December 1929 "Sessió Gerhard" included the performance by Concepció Badia d'Agusti (soprano), Alexandre Vilalta (piano), Esteve Gratacós (flute), Cassià Carles (oboe), Joan Vives (clarinet), Anton Goxens (bassoon), Ramon Bonell (horn), and La Cobla Barcelona-Albert Martí.

Allusion to *Pierrot Lunaire* exists in the work; however, the seven haiku display a more striking resemblance to Igor Stravinsky's *Three Japanese Lyrics* (1912-13). Gerhard employed French poetry by the Catalan poet Josep Maria Junoy in the work. The Wind Quintet, the most controversial composition on the program, displayed the most direct influence of Schoenberg. Gerhard selected eight songs from his arrangement of fourteen Catalan folksongs, *Cançons populars catalanes*. Not altering the melody of the traditional Catalan songs, he preferred instead to support the tonal or modal melodies with more a dissonant piano accompaniment. The sardanes were the most conservative, in the use of tonality and regular rhythm, of the all-Gerhard program. The *sardana*, functioning as the national dance of Catalonia, also included the requisite Catalan double reed instruments, *tible* and *tenora*. In the second *sardana*, Gerhard incorporated the use of the saxophone, offending traditionalists within the audience.

Numerous Catalan and Spanish language newspapers covered the concert, and most remarked on the difficulty in comprehending the new music. Writing for *Las Noticias*, Jaume Pahissa argued for the need to hear repeated performances in order to appreciate fully Gerhard's new musical style.<sup>3</sup> The concert reviewer of *La Nau* stated that some of the audience thought the musical works might have been a joke.<sup>4</sup> Nearly all reviewers stated that the new music of Gerhard consisted of too much dissonance and irregular rhythms. Francesc Trabal wrote that the public chattered, slept, and joked; however, the audience was not brave enough to put a stop to the concert.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Jaume Pahissa, "Sesion Roberto Gerhard," *Las Noticias*, January 2, 1930.

<sup>4</sup> s.n. "Sessio Robert Gerhard." *La Nau*, December 25, 1929.

<sup>5</sup> Francesc Trabal, "Robert Gerhard a Barcelona." *Diari de Sabadell*, December 25, 1929.

Reminiscent of the “Artusi-Monteverdi controversy,” the conservative Millet condemned the unconventional and new approaches to musical composition by Gerhard, resulting in a printed debate. Millet wrote for the influential periodical *Revista Musical Catalana*, and Gerhard wrote for *El Mirador*, a periodical that discussed the avant-garde in the arts. In the concert review, Millet described the audience’s hostile reception of Gerhard’s music. He wrote that the public listened intently, but gradually they became restless, and then began to make noise. Millet believed that Gerhard was so absorbed in the musical system that he abandoned artistic creation in favor of working out intellectual problems. Millet questioned how music could exist without a tonal hierarchy, and complained that Gerhard had not clearly explained this musical system. Questioning how harmony or melody could exist in this new system, Millet wrote “A melody without a determinant tonal or modal sense results in incoherence; it does not make sense.”<sup>6</sup> Making reference to Gerhard’s Wind Quintet as the most objectionable work in the concert, Millet argued that Gerhard’s reliance on atonality and dissonances made the work “incoherent, annoying, and disagreeable.”<sup>7</sup> Millet remarked that a portion of the work partially deserved artistic merit, which the audience overlooked:

...the third movement [of the Wind Quintet] seemed more successful because of its liveliness, playfulness and preciseness of the rhythm. The rhythm partly salvaged it from incoherencies. Unfortunately the public being unaware of this change, gladly made noise, prevented most of that movement from being heard.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Lluís Millet, “Sessió Robert Gerhard,” *Revista Musical Catalana* 27 (1930): 9. “Un tret melòdie sense determinat sentit tonal ni modal resulta incoherent, no té solta.” In Gerhard’s personal copy of the concert review, currently housed at the Roberto Gerhard Archive in Valls, Spain, the composer underlined the latter portion of the sentence.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. “Tot pren un fort relleu i l’atonalitat i dissonàncies donen una incoerència a l’obra que la fa enutjosa, desagradable.”

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. “el tercer temps ens semblà més reeixit per la vivacitat del ritme, enjogassat i precís. El ritme salvava en part les incoherencies. Desgraciadament el públic, sobtat pel canvi, les donà en alegrar-se i fer xivarri, privant així, en bona part, de poder escoltar bé aquell temps.” Gerhard underlined the word “incoherencies”.

He halfheartedly praised Gerhard for including Catalan folk songs and sardanes in the concert program, claiming that they rescued the concert from being a complete disaster. In Millet's previous writings, he described the *sardana* as "the most pure and beautiful dance, with the most honorable and elegant movements, the dance that is the living and beautiful symbol with the body and spirit of our racial disposition."<sup>9</sup> Millet criticized the sardanes of the concert, condemning the use of "atonality," and the inappropriate musical character of the national dance. Millet argued that the martial character of the music contradicted the fraternal spirit of the national dance.

In Gerhard's *El Mirador* column, he began with a series of articles with the following titles: *Prelude, Chorale, Fugue, Fugue (Ending), Coda, and Variations*. The articles were directly intended for Millet's consumption. In the opening of the essay titled *Fugue*, Gerhard thanked Millet for the opportunity to debate him:

More than a polite duty, noble maestro, it is a pleasure to accept your invitation in the pages of the *Revista Musical Catalana*, which I recently got my hands on. I feel honored by the words you dedicate to my music, coming from such a noble and representative personality like yours in our musical world. They make possible a debate I had not thought about before reading your well-intended article. I must confess I read it with true emotion.<sup>10</sup>

Gerhard commented that the concert and its reception made him feel like the prodigal son returning from a distant land. He argued that his music was not too intellectual, and was indeed accessible to all classes. As proof, Gerhard used his father as an example of the common man.

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<sup>9</sup> Aureli Capmany, *Com es balla la sardana* (Barcelona: Salvador Bonavía, 1924), 28. "... la dansa més pura i més bella, la dels moviments més dignes i gentils, la dansa que és el segell viu i graciós amb cos i esperit de nostre temperament de raça."

<sup>10</sup> Robert Gerhard "Fuga: al mestre Millet," *Mirador*, February 20, 1930, 5. "Més que un deure de cortesia, noble mestre, és goig per mi d'acceptar la invitació que em feu des de les planes de la *Revista Musical Catalana*, arribada fa poc a les meves mans. Les paraules que em feu l'honor de dedicar a la meua música, venint d'una personalitat il·lustre i representativa com sou vós dintre el nostre món musical, donen peu a un debat en el qual no pensava pas abans de llegir el vostre benevolent article. Us confesso que l'he llegit amb veritable emoció."



His father, a wine exporter by trade, attended the controversial concert, and told his oldest son that he had enjoyed all the compositions very much (as would be expected from a parent). Commenting on his father's response to the concert, and suspecting that Millet doubted his father's musical qualifications, he wrote, "However, you would believe that my father is not a musician."<sup>11</sup> Gerhard continued by informing Millet that his father was not a trained musician; however, he was musical, and that his ancestors were folk musicians. Much debate between the two Catalan musicians centered on the concept of artistic creation, and in response to Millet, he wrote, "If you mean that artistic creation is above all a natural fact, essentially unreflecting or inspired, the product of a spontaneous and inoffensive behavior, or without the pains of giving birth, it seems to me that you would be defending a thesis with which you could only do youth a poor service."<sup>12</sup>

Confusion over the meaning of the term atonal was the basis for further debate. Gerhard expressed his displeasure with the misleading term: "I can see that you have been led into error by that disgusting word 'atonal'—which we will never be able to get rid of—when you suppose it to mean 'emancipation of the whole hierarchy of sounds.'"<sup>13</sup> He cautioned Millet that developments in western music had always occurred throughout history, reminding the maestro of forerunners to tonal conventions. Evoking the myth of Orpheus, Gerhard sarcastically challenged the historical superiority of tonality, addressing Millet:

I do not believe, maestro Millet, that you suppose that the sound with which Orpheus tamed the wild beasts would respond to our tonal or modal one. I find that this question

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid. "No obstant, no creguéssiu que no és músic el meu pare."

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. "Si Voleu donar a entendre que la creació artística és sobretot un fet natural, essencialment irreflexiu o inspirat, produït d'una manera espontània i anodina, o sense les dolors del part, em sembla que vindríeu a defensar una tesi amb la qual podríeu fer un flac servei a la joventut."

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. "Veig que us ha induït en error aquella desagradable paraula 'atonal'—que ja mai més no podrem esborrar del mapa—quan suposeu que vol dir 'deslliurament dels sons de tota jerarquia'."

of the tonal or “atonal” order of the materials, at heart, has no artistic interest; it is an essentially theoretical question, almost of acoustics and not of morphology.<sup>14</sup>

Unable to address all of the questions from Millet in the first article, Gerhard continued in the second essay:

I am much more interested in picking up this assertion of yours: [quoting Millet] “A melody without a determinant tonal or modal sense results in incoherence, it make no sense.” [Gerhard responded] I emphasize the word determinant, which you use implicitly in an exclusive sense, since you refer to a single determining system. And permit me to disagree with you on the following: a melodic line that would respond to your tonal or modal determination, can be musically as incoherent as an inarticulate scream, if its rationality is not guaranteed by a principle of a higher and more subtle organization than the elementary mathematics that could be derived from its reference to a certain scale of seven notes.<sup>15</sup>

Arguing that melodies are not restricted to tonal or modal scales, he noted that “a melodic line that would present this rational organization will be coherent and intelligible even though it is not referred to a tonal or modal scale, but to an ‘atonal’ scale, for instance, to one of the innumerable possible permutations of the twelve pitches of our equal-tempered scale.”<sup>16</sup> He claimed vindication by reminding readers of Millet’s previous remark that the third movement of the Wind Quintet was “more successful” because of its rhythm. Gerhard contended that rhythm could indeed provide a melodic line or idea with intelligible organization. In addition to rhythm, Gerhard wrote that melodic ideas could also be valid as vertical harmonies. According

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid. “Jo no crec pas, mestre Millet, que vós suposeu que el so amb el qual Orfeu domesticava les feres respongués al nostre tonal o modal . Aquests qüestió de l’ordre tonal o ‘atonal’ dels materials, trobo que, en el fons, no té cap interès artístic; és una qüestió essencialment de teoria, gairebé d’acústica, i no de morfologia.”

<sup>15</sup> Roberto Gerhard, “Fuga (acabament): al Mestre Millet,” *Mirador*, February 27, 1930, 5. “M’interessa molt més recollir aquesta afirmació vostra: ‘Un tret melòdic sense determinat sentit tonal ni modal resulta incoherent, no té solta’. Subratllola paraula determinat que vós empreu implícitament en un sentit exclusiu, ja que us referiu a un sistema únic de determinació. I permeteu-me que us oposi la següent: un tret melòdic que respongui a la vostra determinació tonal o modal , pot ésser musicalment tan incoherent com un crit inarticulate, si la seva racionalitat no és garantida per un principi d’organització molt més elevat i subtil que la matemàtica elemental que pugui derivar-se de la seva referència a una escala determinada de 7 sons.”

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. “...un tret melòdic que ofereixi aquesta organització racional , serà coherent i intel·ligible encara que no sigui referit a una escala tonal o modal, sinó a una escala ‘atonal’, per exemple, a una de les innumbrables permutacions possibles dels 12 sons del nostre sistema temperat.”

to Gerhard, harmony was not exclusive to tonality; he wrote that “‘harmony,’ genuinely, only means perfect concordance, logical congruence between these two dimensions. This is the central thought of the inherited old tonality, and is also as a central thought of the new atonality.”<sup>17</sup> Gerhard revealed to Millet that Schoenberg never taught atonal composition, rather “Schoenberg has taught us to see and admire this rational sense of the old tonality, nowadays hidden and forgotten by the majority. He has taught us to compose tonally (not atonally, he never taught it).”<sup>18</sup>

According to Gerhard, a composer is not a music theorist, and therefore has no interest or obligation in creating rules for a musical system. He argued that throughout music history, theory always followed practice. He questioned Millet’s dogmatic adherence to tonality, posing the question “...what existed before? It was not our tonality.”<sup>19</sup> Gerhard observed similarities between contrapuntal techniques of his *Concertino* and those of an anonymous thirteenth-century composer, which he suggested might have been a Catalan.<sup>20</sup> He also made reference to the “golden age” of Spain when Spanish Renaissance composers wrote in a universal style. Gerhard essentially argued that Catalan composers were never bound to a tonal system and did not belong to the periphery of European composition.

Millet responded to Gerhard’s two essays with another essay directed to the young composer, remarking on the concept of artistic creation and artistic purpose. According to Millet, an “Artistic creation is not simply intelligence or irrational sentiment...but a great flame

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid. “‘Harmonia’, genuïnament, no vol dir altra cosa que concordància perfecta, congruència lògica entre aquestes dues dimensions. Aquest és el pensament central de la vella tonalitat, heretat, com a pensament central també, per la nova ‘atonalitat’.”

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. “Schoenberg ens ha ensenyat a veure i a admirar aquest ‘entit racional de la vella tonalitat amagat avui i oblidat per la majoria. Ens ha ensenyat a compondre tonalment (no atonalment, ell això no ho ensenya).”

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. “...què hi havia anteriorment? No era pas el nostre ordre tonal.”

<sup>20</sup> Gerhard encountered this work during his musicological activities at the Biblioteca de Catalunya.

that illuminates, comforts, and edifies,”<sup>21</sup> and that artistic purpose “is in the expansion of an indescribable sentiment of consolation and accord, in the radiation of a joy of all existence.”<sup>22</sup> He wrote that Beethoven as well as Bach and Mozart were the archetype of artistic creation. Millet stated that he was troubled with Gerhard’s lack of “authentic artistic purpose, or the beauty.”<sup>23</sup>

In his essay titled “Coda,” Gerhard addressed Millet once again, referring to Millet’s statement that tonal hierarchy can operate in “thousands of ways.”<sup>24</sup> Agreeing, Gerhard stated that atonality is an extension of tonal hierarchy. According to Gerhard, atonality was not divergent of tonality, rather “in this word, the negation is addressed against the formula of an exclusive and historically obsolete system, and not against the essence of the concept.”<sup>25</sup> Gerhard addressed Millet’s request to provide a complete explanation of the new compositional methods by stating that it would be impossible in a column, and that he would leave that task to future music theorists. Getting the last word, at least in print, Gerhard concluded the debate calling Millet a music critic and himself an artist, each with different objectives:

Although you say that you have missed in my music “the true artistic purpose,” that is, beauty. Ah maestro, if you become allied with that lady, I will evidently lose! I shall be glad to lose to you in this domain. I would rather have to lose a thousand times against a critic, who is the only man—history proves it—who possesses the secret of Beauty. It is

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<sup>21</sup> Lluís Millet, “Sessió Robert Gerhard,” *Revista Musical Catalana* 27 (1930): 110. “La concepció o creació artística no és intel·ligència pura, ni sentiment irracional. No és branca seca, sinó branca floridora; no una foguera devastadora, sinó una gran flama que il·lumina, conforta i edifica.”

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. “...està en ‘l’expansió d’un sentiment ineffable de consol i harmonia’, en ‘la irradiació d’un goig de tot l’ésser’”;

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 111. “...la vera finalitat artística, o sigui, la bellesa.”

<sup>24</sup> Robert Gerhard, “Coda,” *Mirador*, 10 April 1930, 5. “mil maneres.”

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. “...en aquesta paraula la negació va dirigida contra el tabú d’un sistema exclusiu històricament caducat, i no contra l’essència del concepte.”

his professional secret. I am sincerely convinced, maestro Millet, that we, the artists, understand absolutely nothing of these things.<sup>26</sup>

Gerhard and his modernist approach was not an isolated case in the arts in Catalonia. A few years before Gerhard's concert, Joan Miró, the Catalan surrealist painter and friend of Gerhard, encountered resistance to his new direction in art. Miró sought to be an "international Catalan," reconciling his attachment to Catalan traditions with a longing to participate in the artistic world of the avant-garde.<sup>27</sup> As Gerhard previously observed, Iberian composers once composed in a universal style; Gerhard's avant-garde approach to composition stemmed from his desire to participate, like Miró, as an "international Catalan."

At the beginning of the twentieth century, a shift occurred in the cultural dialogue of Catalan nationalism, a movement that gradually promoted modernization in the arts as a manifestation of Catalan national sentiment. Gerhard, as part of Schoenberg's circle, perceived atonality in evolutionary terms, as the next progression of musical development.<sup>28</sup> All the works in the 1929 retrospective concert reflected Gerhard's promotion of avant-garde ideals in Catalan music. Even in the overtly nationalistic works such as his Catalan folksong arrangements or *sardanes*, he applied modernist techniques developed under the tutelage of Schoenberg. Like Miró, Gerhard sought for European acceptance, breaking away from isolation. The music in his retrospective concert exhibited an intricate reconciliation of traditional Catalan values with

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid. "Dieu encara que vós heu trobat a faltar en la meua música 'vera finalitat artística, o sigui la bellesa. Ah, mestre, si vós feu aliada vostra aquesta dama, és evident que em tocarà perdre! Em sabrà greu haver de perdre amb vós en aquest terreny! Mil vegades preferiria haver de perdre amb un crític que és l'únic home—la història ho demostra—que posseeix el secret de la Bellesa. És el seu secret professional. Estic sincerament convençut, mestre Millet, que els artistes no hi entenem absolutament res en aquestes coses."

<sup>27</sup> Robert S. Lubar, "Joan Miró before 'The Farm,' 1915-1922: Catalan Nationalism and the Avant-Garde" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1988), 167.

<sup>28</sup> In 1921, Schoenberg told Josef Rufer that "I have made a discovery which will ensure the supremacy of German music for the next hundred years."

modern Central European musical aesthetics, and Gerhard ardently defended avant-garde music during this transitional period in Catalan nationalism. Following the 1929 concert, he continued to explore new musical resources with Catalan elements, and soon would gain international recognition.

### **AMICS DE L'ART NOU AND COMPOSITORS INDEPENDENTS DE CATALUNYA**

In 1932, alongside surrealist painter Joan Miró, architect Josep Lluís Sert, and arts promoter Joan Prats i Vallès, Gerhard established the Amics de l'Art Nou (A.D.L.A.N.), promoting Catalan avant-garde arts. During the early 1930s, eight Catalan composers known as the Compositors Independents de Catalunya (C.I.C.)—representing an array of modern musical practices—organized themselves in Barcelona as a unified collective with the overriding objective of presenting modern music as a representation of Catalan culture to the greater public. While unified with Gerhard in their acceptance of contemporary approaches to music, the composers Frederic Mompou, Agustí Grau, Joan Gibert-Camins, Eduard Toldrà, Manuel Blancafort, Baltasar Samper, and Ricard Lamote remained nonetheless heterogeneous in their personal compositional styles. Among the C.I.C., Gerhard remained the only composer of the group unmistakably influenced by the Second Viennese School. On 25 June 1931, there was a concert with music by of all the aforementioned Catalan composers. The music of the C.I.C. expressed the new direction of Catalan music and mounting national sentiment of Catalonia.

Earlier in the 1920s, the composers Blancafort, Toldrà, Mompou, Samper, and Gerhard—friends united in a desire for a new universal Catalan music—met at the home of

Gibert-Camins on Fridays, with the exception of summers.<sup>29</sup> According to Blancafort, Gerhard came less often to these meetings and proved to be the most difficult of those that attended.<sup>30</sup> However, by the prompting of Gerhard, in June of 1931 the association of the C.I.C. was formally created by the eight Catalan composers—Grau and Lamonte were the recent additions.<sup>31</sup> In addition, Blancafort cited the pianist Ricardo Viñes as the association’s “great propagandist.”<sup>32</sup> Many of the members of the C.I.C. contributed writings addressing the direction of Catalan music to the local press; however, as a unified group, no manifesto was ever produced.<sup>33</sup> Instead, Jean Cocteau’s *Le coq et l’arlequin* (1918), writing for French composers, was read by all of the C.I.C. and served as their ad hoc manifesto.<sup>34</sup>

In *Le coq et l’arlequin*, Cocteau contrasts what he perceived as the artificiality, indiscriminateness, and cowardliness of the harlequin [alien] against the genuineness and domesticity of the cock [national]:

I admire the harlequins of Cézanne and Picasso, but I do not like harlequin. He wears a mask and a suit of all colors. After denying the cock’s crow, he hides. This is a “night cock.” On the other hand, I like the true cock, genuinely ornate. The said cock [crows] two times and lives on *his* farm.<sup>35</sup>

Addressing a new generation of composers, Cocteau disapprovingly associates German music with the harlequin:

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<sup>29</sup> Emilio Casares Rodicio, “Manuel Blancafort o la afirmación de la nueva música catalana,” in *La Música en la Generación del 27* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1986), 113.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 115.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Jean Cocteau, *Le coq et l’arlequin* (Paris: Éditions de la Sirène), 6. “J’admire les Arlequins de Cézanne et de Picasso mais je n’aime pas Arlequin. Il porte un loup et un costume *de toutes les couleurs*. Après avoir renié au chant du coq, il se cache. C’est un coq de la nuit. Par contre j’aime le vrai coq, *profondément bariolé*. Le coq dit Cocteau deux fois et habite *sa* ferme.”

I offer them [notes] to you because a musician of your age asserts the richness and grace of a generation that no longer grimaces, wears a mask, hides, or fears, and furthermore is not afraid to admire or to stand up for what one admires. The paradox and eclecticism are detestable things. One mistakenly smiled for them with their faded elegance. One also dreads the colossal. That is what I call *to escape from Germany*. Long live the Cock! Down with the Harlequin!<sup>36</sup>

Invoking the Greek philosopher, Cocteau criticizes Germany, writing that “Socrates said: “Who is that man that eats bread as if good food, and good food as if it was bread?” Answer: the music-loving German.”<sup>37</sup> He continues, warning of German influence stemming from French composers:

Germany, knowing nothing of indigestion, drew attention to the obscure efforts of our young artists because, she said, France allows them to die of starvation. Apart from the fact that is both true and normal, since it takes time for the fatherland to digest new food, the German temptation was dangerous for the young men without a public. And so their theories arrived to us through German intermediaries, and not only that, but disguised, like everything else that Germany borrows. Let us acknowledge that nothing could initially seem more suspicious.<sup>38</sup>

While praising Schoenberg, Cocteau also questions his importance, writing that “I do not attack modern German music. Schoenberg is a master; all our musicians and Stravinsky owe him something, but Schoenberg is chiefly a blackboard musician.”<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 6-7. “Je vous les offre parce qu’un musicien de votre âge annonce la richesse, la grâce d’une génération qui ne cligne plus de l’œil, qui ne se masque pas, ne renie pas, ne se cache pas, ne craint ni d’aimer ni de défendre ce qu’elle aime. Le paradoxe et l’éclectisme lui sont choses haïssables. Elle méprise leur *sourire*, leur élégance flétrie. Elle redoute aussi l’énorme. C’est ce que j’appelle *s’évader d’Allemagne*. Vive le Coq! à bas l’Arlequin!”

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 23. “Socrate disait: « Quel est cet homme qui mange du pain comme si c’était de la bonne chère, et la bonne chère comme si c’était du pain ? » Réponse : le mélomane allemand.”

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 24-5. “L’Allemagne, qui ne connaît pas l’indigestion, répandait, éclairait les recherches obscures de nos jeunes artistes, puisque, disait-elle, la France conserve les laisse mourir de faim. Outre que cela est exact et normal, puisqu’il faut le temps qu’une patrie digère la nourriture nouvelle, la tentation allemande était dangereuse pour des jeunes hommes sans public. Leurs théories arrivaient donc chez nous par l’entremise allemande, et de plus, camouflées comme tout ce que l’Allemagne emprunte. Quoi de plus suspect au premier abord, avouons-le.”

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 23. “Je ne me dresse pas contre la musique moderne allemande. Schoenberg est un maître; tous nos musiciens et Stravinsky lui doivent quelque chose, mais Schoenberg est surtout un musicien de tableau noir.”



Using Debussy as example, the author of *Le coq et l'arlequin* also argues against Russian influences, claiming "Debussy lost his way because he fell from the German pitfall to the Russian trap."<sup>40</sup> According to Cocteau, "Debussy played in French, but used the Russian pedal."<sup>41</sup> In *Le coq et l'arlequin*, Cocteau advocates for a national music, free from the influence of other national musics:

When I say "the Russian trap" or "Russian influence," I do not mean by that I despise Russian music. Russian music is admirable because it is Russian music. Russian-French music or German-French music is necessarily bastardized, even if it be inspired by a Mussorgsky, a Stravinsky, a Wagner, or a Schoenberg. I ask for a French music of France.<sup>42</sup>

Cocteau argues that a nascent national musical emerged only to become co-opted by Stravinsky, asserting that "We were musically amidst the zenith of impressionism, trying to find a new system to be blurry and varied...Then suddenly in the middle of these charming ruins, grew the Stravinsky tree."<sup>43</sup>

The enigmatic Cocteau explains that art often advances ahead of society, writing that "WHEN A WORK OF ART SEEMS IN ADVANCE OF ITS PERIOD, THIS IS SIMPLY THAT THE PERIOD HAS LAGGED BEHIND THE WORK OF ART."<sup>44</sup> Moreover, Cocteau argued that art should always progress: "An artist that goes backwards betrays nobody, except himself."<sup>45</sup> In addition, Cocteau writes that "The picturesque and especially the exotic places musicians at a

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 28. "Debussy a dévié, parce que de l'embûche allemande, il est tombé dans le piège russe."

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 52. "Debussy a joué en français, mais il a mis la pédale russe."

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 29. "Quand je dis « le piège russe », « l'influence russe », je ne veux pas dire par là que je dédaigne la musique russe. La musique russe est admirable parce qu'elle est la musique russe. La musique q française russe ou la musique f1-ançaise allemande est forcément bâtarde, même si elle s'inspire d'un Moussorgsky, d'un Stravinsky, d'un Wagner, d'un Schoenberg. Je demande une musique française de France."

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 64. "Nous étions, musicalement, en plein impressionnisme. C'était i qui trouverait un nouveau système d'être flou et fondu;... Alors, soudain, au milieu de ces ruines charmantes, poussa l'arbre Stravinsky."

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 14. "LOBSQU UNE (ŒVRE SEMBLE EN AVANCE SUR SON EPOQUE, C'EST SIMPLEMENT QUE SON EPOQUE EST EN HETAHD SUR ELLE."

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. "Un artiste qui recule ne trahit pas. Il se trahit."

disadvantage.”<sup>46</sup> The French author recognized that traditions develop and appear in multiple varieties, maintaining that “TRADITION APPEARS AT EVERY EPOCH UNDER A DIFFERENT DISGUISE, BUT THE PUBLIC DOES NOT RECOGNISE IT EASILY AND NEVER DISCOVERS IT UNDERNEATH ITS MASKS.”<sup>47</sup>

Blancafort contended that Catalan composers should not exploit traditional music; instead, he advocated employing a universal vocabulary:

Our music has to be Catalan, but it is essential to avoid Catalan folk vestiges such as folk festivals and the *porron*.<sup>48</sup> Nowadays in Catalonia, there exists more than shepherds and peasants. Abroad, a Catalan should not be a picturesque and exotic person, like that of the comedies of the past century. Our music has to be something more than a *sardana* and a traditional song; it has to speak of Catalan things in a European language.<sup>49</sup>

Addressing previous Catalan music, Blancafort claimed that both Albéniz and Granados did not compose Catalan music.<sup>50</sup> The works of Mompou, his good friend, were too brief and almost exclusively for piano, leaving a void and the need for other Catalan composers to compose in other genres.<sup>51</sup> Without identifying further individuals, Blancafort stated that too many Catalan composers relied upon inflammatory patriotic text, claiming that without such text, those works would never receive an audience.<sup>52</sup> Lastly, he addressed nationalism, suggesting that nationalism was too often confused with popularism.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 18. “Un handicap de pittoresque dispose mal envers les musiciens et l’exotisme principalement.”

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 42. “LA TRADITION SE TBAVESTIT I D’ÉPOQUE EN EPOQUE, MAIS LE PUBLIC CONNAIT MAL SON REGARD ET NE LA BETROUVE JAMAIS SOUS SES MASQUES.”

<sup>48</sup> Serving as a symbol of Catalan identity, the *porron* is a traditional Catalan wine vessel made of glass with a pointed spout that permits individuals to drink wine without their lips touching the *porron*, facilitating communal drinking.

<sup>49</sup> *La Noche*, March 2, 1929, in *La Música en la Generación del 27* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1986), 109.

<sup>50</sup> ‘Entrevista con Manuel Blancafort’, *Vasco* (1927), in *La Música en la Generación del 27* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1986), 230.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

The first (and subsequently last) concert of the association of Catalan composers took place on 25 June 1931 in the Sala Mozart in Barcelona with many of the composers also performing. The concert included performances by Concepció Badi d'Agusti, a leading soprano in the new Catalan music movement. Organized in three parts, the concert opened with the Piano Trio by Gerhard. Vicents Maria de Gibert, years earlier, had asked listeners to observe the universality of one of Gerhard's earliest successes, Trio:

...look especially at the second movement...an articulation so loose and so complete in significance, of real personal inspiration while at the same time with aspects that evoke our folk songs. Are we not able to say in praise of Gerhard—linking two terms perhaps paradoxical—that he is a “cosmopolitan” Catalan?<sup>54</sup>

Piano works by Lamote, Blancafort, Samper, Mompou, Grau, and Toldrà followed the three-movement trio. The concert concluded with vocal works employing text largely provided by Catalan poets. The concert closed with Gerhard's *Sept hai-kai*—text in French by a Catalan poet.

Members of the C.I.C sought, as Blancafort wrote “[to] speak of Catalan things in a European language.” However, with the exception of Gerhard, the C.I.C. espoused a fundamentally French musical vocabulary. In addition to his association with the Second Viennese School, according to Blancafort, Gerhard also differed from the other members of the C.I.C. by being the only overtly political individual of the Catalan association.<sup>55</sup>

On 12 July 1933, A.D.L.A.N. held a concert to honor Gerhard at the Institut Català de Sant Isidre in Barcelona.<sup>56</sup> The concert began with Gerhard's Wind Quintet and in the spirit of

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<sup>54</sup> Concert program, *Associació de Música 'Da Camera' de Barcelona*, 2 March 2, 1922.

<sup>55</sup> Emilio Casares Rodicio, “Manuel Blancafort o la afirmación de la nueva música catalana,” in *La Música en la Generación del 27* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1986), 113.

<sup>56</sup> Concert program, *ADLAN*, July 12, 1933.

the *Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen*,<sup>57</sup> a repeat performance of the Wind Quintet.

The concert continued with four songs from *Cançon popular catalanes* (“La calàndria,” “La mort i la donzella,” “El petit vailet,” and “Enemic de les dones”) and four melodies from *L’infantament meravellós de Schahrazada* (“El repòs del teu rull damunt del front,” “crit de mercat,” “Melodios com entremig d’arbredes,” and “Enamorat incaut”).

### SCHOENBERG IN BARCELONA

Suffering from health problems associated with asthma and worsened by the harsh winters of Berlin, Schoenberg traveled to Barcelona in 1931, hoping to improve the condition of his health. Not being his first time in Spain, Schoenberg first came to the Mediterranean nation in 1925, arriving to Barcelona to conduct various concerts. In April, Gerhard arranged for Schoenberg to conduct a series of concerts of Viennese music in Catalonia. On April 26 and 28, concerts of music by Schubert, Beethoven, Mozart, Strauss, and Schoenberg took place in Barcelona, followed by similar concerts with additional works by Schubert and Mahler in the Catalan cities of Girona, Figueres, Palamós, and Reus.<sup>58</sup> An all-Schoenberg concert sponsored by the Associació de Música de Càmera took place at the Palau de la Música Catalana on April 29.<sup>59</sup> Amongst the works performed was the Barcelona premiere of *Pierrot lunaire*, and according to Joachim Stutschewsky, the cellist in the ensemble, Gerhard was requested to sit on the rostrum with the musicians during the performance of the avant-garde work because of fears of a

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<sup>57</sup> Works performed at the Viennese organization *Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen*—founded in 1918 by Schoenberg— were permitted to have repeat performances to allow the audience a second opportunity to hear a new work.

<sup>58</sup> Montserrat Albet, “Roberto Gerhard, de nou,” 34.

<sup>59</sup> Marya Freund, singer; Rudolf Kolisch, violin; Fritz Rothschild, violin; Marcell Dick, viola; Joachim Stutschewsky, cello; Viktor Pollatschek, clarinet; Franz Wangler, flute; Friedrich Wührer, piano; Arnold Schönberg, conductor.

possible hostile reaction from the public, a precaution that ultimately was unnecessary.<sup>60</sup> Other works performed include the Chamber Symphony, op. 9, and Lieder from op. 6: “Verlassen,” “Der Wanderer,” “Traumleben,” and “Am Wegrund.”

Along with his wife, Schoenberg lived in Barcelona from 1931 to 1932; their daughter Nuria was born in Barcelona 7 May 1932. In an 8 October 1931 issue of the *Mirador*, Gerhard jubilantly announced that “[a]n item of news that will surely cause a commotion in our artistic nucleus: Arnold Schoenberg is in Barcelona.”<sup>61</sup> On 17 October 1931, Schoenberg wrote from Barcelona to Alexander Amersdorfer at the Academy of Arts in Berlin, informing the professor “[s]ince the bad summer has caused a considerable worsening of my asthma, my doctor insists on my spending some time longer in the South, in a warm climate.”<sup>62</sup>

In 1931, Manuel de Falla and Gerhard met a few days before the arrival of Schoenberg. According to Gerhard, Falla remarked “[w]ell, I hope that your lovely Mediterranean landscape may have a good influence on him; perhaps he will write some more 'tuneful' music here.”<sup>63</sup> Learning of the comment made by Falla, Schoenberg sardonically replied “[w]hy, to write good music a backroom in Berlin with no view at all is good enough for me, I think.”<sup>64</sup> According to Schoenberg, Falla wrote to him that he wished to observe the influence of the Spanish climate. In response, Schoenberg later recounts that he spontaneously parodied Falla’s “Ritual Fire Dance” from *El amor brujo* in reaction at the piano.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg: His Life, World and Work* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1977), 304.

<sup>61</sup> Robert Gerhard, “Arnold Schönberg,” *Mirador*, 8 October 1931, 5. “Una notícia que segurament ha de causar sensació en els nostres nuells artístics: Arnold Schönberg és a Barcelona.”

<sup>62</sup> Dika Newlin, *Schoenberg Remembered* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1980), 132-3.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Gerhard, “Schoenberg Reminiscences,” 61.

<sup>65</sup> Newlin.

Schoenberg encountered difficulties walking up the hill to the house that he and his wife resided while living in Barcelona in 1931, taking the obstacle in stride:

One day on this road he observed a donkey—"monkey" he insisted on calling it in spite of his wife's frantic corrections from third row back—ascending the hill in a most peculiar manner. Instead of walking straight up the hill, it was systematically zigzagging from side to side of the road. At first he merely laughed at this strange natural phenomenon, but the more he thought, the more the donkey's idea looked good to him. So finally he tried it out—and it worked, for it materially reduced his fatigue by reducing the steepness of the slope. "This," he concluded, "first time I ever learned something from an ASS!"<sup>66</sup>

The extended visit to Barcelona by Schoenberg led to many performances of his works as well as new compositions by the Austrian master.

According to Gerhard, the presence of Schoenberg in Barcelona proved that the Catalan city had achieved international recognition: "Arnold Schoenberg is today, indisputably, the figure of greatest magnitude in contemporary music. His stay in Barcelona, we can say without hyperbole, confers passage to our city the category of world musical capital."<sup>67</sup> Addressing Catalan readers unfamiliar with the music of Schoenberg, Gerhard wrote that the only approach to understand the music was through listening:

It would childish to pretend *to explain* the music of Schoenberg. The technical problem, in the first place, does not interest the public. Words, on the other hand, cannot explain the music. The music would not be music if words could explain it. One will not understand from the outside, the music of Schoenberg. Or be able to claim it, in certain manner, to understand it through the way of theoretical analysis. There is only one way: to listen, to listen and to listen; simply.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 234.

<sup>67</sup> Gerhard, "Arnold Schönberg." "Arnold Schönberg és avui, indiscutiblement, la figura de major magnitud de la música contemporània. La seva estada a Barcelona, podriem dir sense hyperbole, confereix passatgerament a la nostra ciutat la categoria de capital musical del món."

<sup>68</sup> Gerhard, "Arnold Schönberg." "Seria pueril pretender *explicar* la música de Schönberg. El problema tècnic, en primer lloc, no interessa al públic. La paraula, per altra banda, no pot explicar la música. La música no seria música si la paraula pogués explicar-la. Hom no podrà arribar des de fora la música de Schönberg. I seria pretender-ho, en certa manera, voler arribar-hi pel camí de l'anàlisi teòric. Hi ha una sola manera: escoltar, escoltar i escoltar; simplement."

In the month of April 1932, Barcelona was the site of four concerts with ties to the Second Viennese School. Schoenberg directed the Orquestra Pau Casals on April 3 as part of the Associació Oبرا de Concerts, directing his *Verklärte Nacht*, the symphonic poem *Pelleas und Melisande*, Orchestral Songs op. 8, and an orchestral arrangement by Schoenberg of J.S. Bach's Prelude and Fugue BWV 552. On April 5 and 7, Anton Webern conducted works by Schubert, Schoenberg, Beethoven, and Mahler. The April 9 piano concert by Polish pianist Eduard Steuermann included the works Busoni's *In the Court of Turandot*, Ravel's *Ondine*, Debussy's *L'île joyeuse*, and Schoenberg's *Suite*, op. 25.

While in Barcelona, Schoenberg continued to compose, completing a cello concerto for Pau Casals, based on a keyboard work by Monn. In 1931, he penned *Klavierstück* op 33b, and in 1932, finished the second act of the opera *Moses and Aaron*. Gerhard, familiar with the adversities associated with public acceptance, admired Schoenberg, writing at his time of death: "There was also something truly quixotic in his burning sense of mission, which to me was absolutely fascinating. And it seems so fitting that his earthly career should have been a long series of defeats in public, from each one of them he emerges in our eyes not the lesser but truly the greater figure."<sup>69</sup>

#### **INSTITUTE OF CATALAN STUDIES & THE BIBLIOTECA DE CATALUNYA**

In 1934, Gerhard began work in the music section of the Institute of Catalan Studies and the Biblioteca de Catalunya under the Spanish musicologist Higiní Anglès, editing the music of eighteenth-century Catalan composers. During this period, Gerhard worked with the

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<sup>69</sup> Gerhard, "Schoenberg Reminiscences," 62-3.

compositions of Catalan-born composers Domingo Terradellas (1713-1751), Antonio Soler (1729-1783), and José Pla (1728-1762).<sup>70</sup> Before studying with Schoenberg in Vienna and Berlin, the Catalan composer closely examined contrapuntal works from the Spanish Renaissance under the tutelage of the eminent Spanish musicologist and composer Pedrell. Gerhard returned to investigate early music after his studies with Schoenberg, and Gerhard attempted to forge connections with the former glory of Catalonia and its musical past—forming a musical continuum with an independent and vibrant medieval Catalonia, and by extension the Renaissance—with modern national Catalan aspirations. Gerhard perceived atonality in evolutionary terms, as the next progression of musical development. While modern and innovative, his music never manifested a pronounced or complete break from the past, reflecting the influence of Pedrell as well as the Second Viennese School.

### **I.S.C.M. FESTIVAL IN BARCELONA**

In 1936—only months before the outbreak of Spanish Civil War—the fourteenth meeting of International Society for Contemporary Music (I.S.C.M.), along with the third International Musicological Society Congress, took place in Barcelona.<sup>71</sup> In Amsterdam during the 1933 I.S.C.M conference, both the Barcelona and Madrid delegates of the I.S.C.M. met to propose having a future meeting of the society in the Catalan capital with the financial support

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<sup>70</sup> Gerhard transcribed and edited Domingo Terradellas' opera in three acts, *La Merope*. A composer of Italian opera seria, Terradellas, in 1743, received acclaim in Rome for his opera *La Merope*. He often included wind instruments in accompanied recitative. Gerhard also transcribed and edited six quintets for two violins, viola, cello, and keyboard obbligato by Antonio Soler. Organist and later *maestro de capilla* at El Escorial, Soler became familiar with the music of Domenico Scarlatti. In 1762, he published a treatise on modulation. The quintets were composed for the Prince Gabriel in 1776, and in the gallant style. In addition, Gerhard edited a trio sonata by José Pla, an important musician and composer that belonged to a Catalan family of oboists.

<sup>71</sup> Adolfo Salazar, "Los festivales de la Sociedad Internacional de Música Contemporánea en Barcelona, I," *El Sol*, April 23, 1936, 2; Nearly eighty papers read.



of the Catalan government.<sup>72</sup> In 1934, no Catalan delegates attended the I.S.C.M. conference in Florence; however, Spanish composers Óscar Esplá, Salvador Bacarisse, and Adolfo Salazar attended and they offered to hold a future conference in Barcelona.<sup>73</sup> In 1935 Roberto Gerhard, Enrique Fernández Arbós, Ricard Lamote de Grignon, Óscar Esplá, Salvador Bacarisse, Adolfo Salazar met again in Prague to discuss celebrating the I.S.C.M. conference in Barcelona.<sup>74</sup> In the end, no financial support could be provided and the conference in the Catalan capital was in jeopardy. Presiding over both the International Musicological Society and International Society for Contemporary Music, Edward J. Dent suggested combining both conferences in Barcelona as a financial solution.<sup>75</sup> In addition, the conferences required the financial support of individuals, motivating Salazar's chastisement of the Spanish government in the newspaper *El Sol*: "If [Arbós] had not offered to loan the State (the State!) the approximately eighty thousand pesetas that were necessary ... they could not have held the meeting, nor the accompanying festivals."<sup>76</sup>

The conferences held in Barcelona brought great enthusiasm, as Salazar wrote: "these days in Barcelona exist moments of great musical and musicological euphoria."<sup>77</sup> He predicted that the conference would be equal in quality to previous conferences: "Barcelona, overflowing with joy and satisfaction to put together musically and musicologically at the same high

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<sup>72</sup> Adolfo Salazar, "La XIV reunión de la Sociedad Internacional de Música Contemporánea en Barcelona, II," *El Sol*, April 24, 1936, 2.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid. At the Barcelona meeting of the I.S.C.M., Gerhard served on the jury for the upcoming meeting in Paris.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid. At the end of the conferences, Dent gave special thanks to Manuel de Falla, Higinio Anglès, and Roberto Gerhard.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid. "no se hubiera ofrecido a adelantar al Estado (¡al Estado!) las ochenta mil pesetas aproximadamente que eran necesarias...no hubiera podido realizarse la reunión, ni los festivales anejos."

<sup>77</sup> Ibid. "Barcelona vive en estos días momentos de gran euforia musical y musicológica"

standards as Frankfurt or Florence, Siena or Oxford, Liège or Prague is just and deserved.”<sup>78</sup> The spotlight that the I.S.C.M. conference provided also served as an opportunity for Spanish orchestras to demonstrate their competence on the world stage. Salazar hoped that the Pau Casals Orchestra, directed by Enrique Fernández Arbós and Bartolomé Pérez Casas would “demonstrate to the foreigners that our orchestras and their directors can compete with the most famous in the world.”<sup>79</sup> As was routine at previous conferences, attendees visited attractions of the locale. Conference-goers had the opportunity to hear Spanish polyphonic music at the hallowed monastery of Montserrat and enjoy traditional music as well as dance at the Pueblo Español, situated in Montjuïc.<sup>80</sup>

In addition to the Pablo Casals Orchestra, Salazar contended that: the Orfeó Català has been a powerful element in the formation of a Catalan consciousness. The current generation would not be what it is today without the Orfeó Català taking part in the nationalist movement of the admirable region: a clear-cut Romantic movement, with a number of current theories adorned with other trendier shades—clear-cut Romanticism in its last stages, that of a music echoed from its first moments in the modernist buildings from the “fin de siècle,” where the Orfeó Català and its instrumentalists are housed.<sup>81</sup>

Salazar relegated the Orfeó Català to an instrument of an outdated Catalan nationalism:

Perhaps that nationalism ignored, as it continues to be ignored in today's politics, its direct junction with a movement that has already closed its cycle ... perhaps that

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<sup>78</sup> Adolfo Salazar, “Los festivales de la Sociedad Internacional de Música Contemporánea en Barcelona, I,” *El Sol*, April 23, 1936, 2. “Barcelona disborda de alegría, y su satisfacción por verse, musical, y musicológicamente, a la altura de Fráncfort o de Florencia, de Siena o de Oxford, de Lieja o de Praga, es justa y merecida.”

<sup>79</sup> Adolfo Salazar, “El III Congreso de musicología,” *El Sol*, April 21, 1936, 2. “que acreditarán ante los extranjeros que nuestras orquestas y sus directoras pueden competir con los más afamados del mundo.”

<sup>80</sup> Adolfo Salazar, “La XIV Reunion de la S.I.M.C. en Barcelona, IV,” *El Sol*, April 29, 1936, 2.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid. “El Orfeón Catalán ha sido un elemento poderoso en la formación de la conciencia catalana. La generación actual no sería lo que es sin la parte que el Orfeón tomó en el movimiento nacionalista de la admirable región: un movimiento de neto cuño romántico, que algunos teóricos actuales adornan con otros matices más a la moda. Romanticismo neto, en sus últimas etapas, el de la música que resonó desde sus primeros instantes en los edificios del modernismo “fin de siècle”, donde el orfeón y la banda se albergan.”

"modernism" also ignored the last leaf on the old tree of the baroque post-Romantic. What we hear nevertheless live is not vibration, but resonance.<sup>82</sup>

As expected, organizers of the conference programmed a large number of Spanish and Catalan works, which Salazar justified: "Spanish music appears with greater abundance at these festivals for the simple reason that the concerts are taking place in Spain—the proportionality of Catalan music also has no reason other than that."<sup>83</sup> In his review of the festival for the newspaper *El Sol*, he inquired: "The question for now, do Spanish composers belonging to the I.S.C.M. need their works performed in public in Spain as they would abroad?"<sup>84</sup> Answering his own question, Salazar wrote: "among the Catalans, Roberto Gerhard and Manuel Blancafort are known in Europe."<sup>85</sup> According to Salazar, the important works that took place at the conference were not Spanish or Catalan, but instead Alban Berg's Violin Concerto and Béla Bartók's String Quartets.<sup>86</sup>

According to Salazar, the use of advanced chromaticism is to be international and to reject nationalism:

This internationalism we might call "by extension" alongside nationalism "by extension" of those who reject all contact with national scenes, has its clearest manifestations in politics. It is not the same to be an internationalist in favor of a cooperative and collaborative way, to be "non-nationalist" because it rejects any concept of state and

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid. "Quizá ese nacionalismo ignoraba entonces, como lo sigue ignorando en la política de hoy, su entronque directo con un movimiento que ya ha cerrado su ciclo...Quizá también aquel "modernismo" ignoraba que era la última hoja en el árbol viejo del barroquismo postromántico. Lo que escuchamos todavía vivo no es vibración aún, sino resonancia."

<sup>83</sup> Adolfo Salazar, "La XIV Reunion de la S.I.M.C. en Barcelona, V," *El Sol*, May 3, 1936, 6. "La música española figura con mayor abundancia en estos festivales por la sencilla razón de que se verifican en España. La proporcionalidad de la música catalana no tiene tampoco más razón que esa."

<sup>84</sup> Ibid. "Ahora bien ¿necesitaban los autores españoles de S.I.M.C. para que sus obras se ejecutasen en público en España tanto como en el Extranjero?"

<sup>85</sup> Ibid. "Entre los catalanes, Roberto Gerhard y Manuel Blancafort son conocidos en Europa."

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

nation, an international anarchism mode. And this anarchist internationalism is one that is practiced largely through the trend for advanced-chromatic musical routes.<sup>87</sup>

Salazar warned of the dangers of Catalan nationalism:

My main point of concern is that it also extends the evil within the political zone. The reading of some Catalan books on historical subjects, mainly, made me suspect that this may be carried out in Catalonia as a policy of forced historicism, in the Teutonic mode of German history, like [Johann Gottlieb] Fichte, whose consequences cannot yet be measured, although they can be presumed.<sup>88</sup>

In *El Sol*, Salazar revealed to his readers that he detected the influence of central European music on Catalan composers:

The German influence is strong in Pedrell, and despite its appearances, exists in the profound pianism of Albéniz and sentimentality of Granados. With all his Parisian qualities, Mompou is related more to the German romanticism of the miniatures than with the true French spirit, and I have to talk about the senior members of the profession in Catalonia or those between two ages, like Pahissa.<sup>89</sup>

Salazar shed light on the source of for the attraction of Germanic music by Catalans:

But none of this is an intrinsic Germanism in Catalan musicians, but simply responds to their education, which was, as throughout Spain, fundamentally Germanic. Our concept of music has been via Germany, its teachings and daily experience of its music. Spanish musicians, until very recently, have raised their musical awareness on the foundation of

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid. "Este internacionalismo que podríamos llamar "por extensión" al lado del nacionalismo "por extensión" de quienes rechazan todo contacto con las esencias nacionales, tiene sus más claras manifestaciones en la política. No es lo mismo ser internacionalista en gracia de un sentido cooperativo y de colaboración, a ser "no nacionalista" porque se repudia todo concepto de Estado o nación, al modo del anarquismo internacional. Y este anarquismo internacionalismo es el que practica en gran parte la tendencia ultracromática mitropista."

<sup>88</sup> Ibid. "Mi principal punto de temor es que también se extiende el mal en la zona política. La lectura de algunos libros catalanes sobre temas históricos, principalmente, me ha hecho sospechar que pudiera llevarse a cabo en Cataluña una política de historicismo forzado, al modo de la teutonización de la historia alemana, desde Fichte, cuyas consecuencias no pueden medirse todavía, aunque sí pueden presumirse."

<sup>89</sup> Ibid. "La influencia alemana es fuerte en Pedrell, y a pesar de las apariencias, existe en lo profundo del pianismo de Albéniz y de la sentimentalidad de Granados. Con todo su parisianismo, Mompou se emparenta más con el romanticismo alemán de las pequeñas formas que con el verdadero espíritu francés, y no he de hablar de los decanos de la profesión en Cataluña o de los que están entre dos edades, como Pahissa."

German musical language and its aesthetic system, such as students or teachers of Metaphysics.<sup>90</sup>

The only exception for Salazar was Gerhard: “the case is different for Gerhard, in whom I see another kind of Germanism ‘and with good cause’.”<sup>91</sup> Salazar rejected the racial theories of the previous century to explain the attraction of German music to Catalan composers:

It was the peremptory norm in the nineteenth century, but more to think that a Catalan has to react musically “in German,” because there are racial reasons, it does not seem to me mandatory, nor do I believe in all those racial theories offered, that are not themselves, if not of a slowly outdated [Houston Stewart] Chamberlain.<sup>92</sup>

Music composed during this period took place in tumultuous times, a surge in fascism in Europe and the Spanish Civil War. Gerhard returned to composing vocal music, employing modern Catalan poetry. With the exception of his Catalan songs, Gerhard’s works during this period utilized larger musical forces: a cantata, a ballet, and an orchestral work. In Barcelona, the Catalan composer continued to write modern music; however, in some of his songs and the light orchestral work *Albada, interludi i dansa* (1937), he reverted back to the use of tonality.

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid. “Pero nada de esto supone un germanismo intrínseco en los músicos catalanes, sino que simplemente responde a su educación, que ha sido, como en toda España, fundamentalmente germánica. Nuestro concepto de la música se ha hecho a través de Alemania, de sus enseñanzas y de la experiencia diaria de su música. Los músicos españoles, hasta una época muy reciente, han levantado su conciencia musical sobre el cimiento del idioma musical alemán y de su sistema estético, como los estudiantes o profesores de Metafísica.”

<sup>91</sup> Ibid. “El caso es distinto en Gerhard, en quien veo otra clase de germanismo ‘et pour cause’.”

<sup>92</sup> Ibid. “Ha sido la norma imperativa en el siglo XIX; más de eso a pensar que el catalán tiene que reaccionar musicalmente “en alemán”, porque haya razones raciales que lo abonen, no me parece obligatorio, como tampoco creo ofertas todas esas teorías raciales, que no son sí no el relente de un Chamberlain trasnochado.” Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855-1927), the son-in-law of Richard Wagner, authored anti-Semitic writings that advocated for racial supremacy of the “German” people.

## L'ALTA NAIKENÇA DEL REI EN JAUME (1932)<sup>93</sup>

According to Gerhard's wife Poldi, the Catalan poet Josep Carner (1889-1970) complained to Gerhard that he had not set any of his poems to music.<sup>94</sup> Ultimately, Carner suggested the text, a reworking of a poem from his faux-medieval novel *La malvestat d'Oriana* (1910).<sup>95</sup> Carner's text originates from the thirteenth century Catalan *Four Great Chronicles* that recounted the life of James I, the Conqueror (1208-1276). Carner based his version upon ecclesiastical writings of Bernat Desclot and Ramon Muntaner.<sup>96</sup> Carner's original poem consists of 246 lines and covers the moments leading to James I's conception.<sup>97</sup>

Preceding the times of James I, a feudal dispute in Catalonia and southern France existed concerning the unknown future and succession of the suzerainty of Montpellier. The citizens of Montpellier proposed as a solution the marriage of Maria de Montpellier and King Peter "the Catholic" of Aragon and count of Barcelona; however, their union resulted in only an unhappy and childless marriage. In order to produce an heir, King Peter had to be deceived by the queen and the inhabitants of Montpellier; the queen disguised at night as the king's mistress resulted in the extraordinary yet amusing circumstances of King James I's conception. Historically, James I eventually succeeded to the throne at age five and ultimately became a legendary king of Aragon and Catalonia, as well as being responsible for the reconquest from the Moors of the Balearic Islands and Valencia. An appropriate context for a Catalan national

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<sup>93</sup> Boosey & Hawkes published *L'alta naixença del rei en Jaume* posthumously in 1988.

<sup>94</sup> Geoffrey J. Walker, "Gerhard's Cantata," *Tempo* 139 (1981): 12.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>97</sup> David Drew, "Gerhard's Cantata," *Tempo* 139 (1981): 18. Much later, Gerhard planned using *L'alta naixença del rei en Jaume* as a prelude to an opera-oratorio. The title *The Noble Birth of the Sovereign Lord King James*, as the text only recounts how Jaume I was conceived, suggests that the work would latter also include the birth of James. In the 1960s, Gerhard considered expanding the cantata for the Cambridge University Music Society.

agenda, the text is in Catalan and deals with a historically important Catalan figure that importantly predates the unification of the two historic kingdoms of Aragon and Castile in 1479.

The cantata *L'alta naixença del rei en Jaume* (*The Noble Birth of the Sovereign Lord King James*) is in five movements and composed for soprano, baritone, mixed choir, and orchestra. Gerhard arranged the five movements (*Introducció i Lletania*, *Divino*, *Follia*, *Passacaglia*, and *Coral*) symmetrically around the central movement *Follia*. Gerhard employs modality, tonality, free tonality, as well as advanced chromaticism in the cantata.

In the first movement the choir sings of the town of Montpellier, praying for a week and seeking a miracle. The opening movement begins with a melody in flute that is evocative of a traditional Catalan melody or *goig*, a religious Catalan genre (see Musical Example 6.1), which returns in the second movement. The choral sections in the cantata are reminiscent of medieval music, often moving in parallel motion (see Musical Example 6.2).

**Ex. 6.1. Roberto Gerhard, *L'alta naixença del rei en Jaume*, movement I, meas. 1-3.**



**Ex. 6.2. Roberto Gerhard, *L'alta naixença del rei en Jaume*, movement I, meas. 13.**

Musical score for Soprano, Alto, and Tenor in 4/4 time, measures 13. The lyrics are "com ton Con-sell, cap noho se-ri - a".

The solo soprano in *Divino* sings to the Virgin Mary, asking her for relief from their worries and to grant them this one request. The second movement begins similarly as the opening movement with shared thematic material in the solo soprano part (see Musical Example 6.3).

**Ex. 6.3. Roberto Gerhard, *L'alta naixença del rei en Jaume*, movement II, meas. 1-6.**

Musical score for Soprano in 5/8 time, measures 1-6. The lyrics are "Per set jo-ies, O Ma - ri - a, queen a-quest món heu go - jat".

In the third movement, both the solo baritone and choir sing about the trickery involved in the conception of James I. The baritone solo in the third movement evoke plainchant with repeating notes and narrow range (see Musical Example 6.4)

**Ex. 6.4. Roberto Gerhard, *L'alta naixença del rei en Jaume*, movement III, meas. 6-8.**

Musical score for Baritone in 3/4 time, measures 6-8. The lyrics are "Si vos-tree-nuig l'a - mor de-fuig, o - le - ta!".



The choir in the fourth movement reveals that the entire town knows of how the king was tricked to produce an heir. Gerhard introduces a highly chromatic ground—ten notes from the chromatic scale, omitting only pitches C and E—in the fourth movement *Passacaglia* (see Musical Example 6.5).<sup>98</sup> The choir sings praises to God for forgiving their scheming. Gerhard utilized the choir to its greatest extent in the last movement of the cantata. The composer continued to evoke medieval music, connecting the music with Catalonia’ historic past, with the use of a restrained SATB choir, imitation, slow moving bass, and rhythmic complexity (see Musical Example 6.6).

**Ex. 6.5. Roberto Gerhard, *L’alta naixença del rei en Jaume*, movement IV.**



**Ex. 6.6. Roberto Gerhard, *L’alta naixença del rei en Jaume*, movement IV, meas. 9.**

Gerhard conducted the fourth and fifth movements of the cantata at the 1933 I.S.C.M. Festival in Amsterdam. At the 1933 I.S.C.M. Festival, the cantata received first prize from

<sup>98</sup> The ground, highly octatonic, reflects the potential influence of Stravinsky.

Universal Edition, Alban Berg, Ernst Krenek, and Anton Webern serving as judges for the competition.

### **MADRIGAL A SITGES (193?)**

The Catalan song *Madrigal a Sitges* exists only in manuscript and looks as if to be in the later stages of composition, written in pencil and ink. Gerhard set the poetry of Josep Carner (1884-1970), that makes references to the coastal town of Sitges near Barcelona:

Oh Sitges, cel i calitges,  
mar al peu, clavells al niu,  
blanc d'Espanya que enlluerna  
les espurnes de l'estiu.  
Cor què vols, cor què desitges  
visc en tu, que tota plaus;  
tres noies tenen ulls negres,  
tes cases tenen ulls blaus.  
Si jo et deixo, sols a mitges,  
dóna'm una flor ben lleu,  
dóna'm una margarida  
ull de sol, ales de neu.

Oh Sitges, heaven and beaches,  
sea walk, carnations nest,  
Spain dazzles in white  
sparks of summer.  
Their hearts, their hearts want that  
I live in you, all that you please;  
Three girls have black eyes  
you have blue eyes.  
If I leave you, only half,  
give me a very light flower  
give me a daisy  
One eye, wings of snow.

*Madrigal a Sitges*, for voice and piano, is not a virtuosic work. The short song is in the key of E major, with the musical form of ABA', and with the tempo marking *Allegretto*. The text is set syllabically with a chordal accompaniment (see Musical Example 6.7). The vocal part is narrow in range. A predominately tonal work, the playful piano accompaniment reaches a brief dissonant moment before returning to the A' section.

Ex. 6.7. Roberto Gerhard, “Madrigal a Sitges,” meas. 1-3.

**Allegretto**  
Sostenuto. A tempo

Oh Si-tges, cel i ca-li-tges, mar als -

8va

mf Sostenuto. p

**LLASSA MESQUINA (193?)**

Gerhard labels the Catalan art song *Llassa mesquina* as *Canço* in the manuscript. The work was never published and looks as if to be in the later stages of composition. The work is dedicated to Montserrat Samsó de Clausells. In the song, Gerhard set a love poem by Pere Serafi, a sixteenth-century Catalan poet:

Llassa mesquina què fare  
 puix mon amant s'en vol partir?  
 La nit i jorn jo ploraré  
 com u que és cert que ha de morir  
 restant soleta,  
 mesquinelleta.  
 Doldré's podran de ma dolor  
 los que han sentit penes d'amor.  
 Bè m'ha promès que tornarà  
 per çó no vull desesperar;  
 que sois a mi vol ben amar  
 i que altra amor no el detindrà.  
 Mas sa partida  
 m'es dolorida,  
 que en ser absent mon dolç amic.  
 ¿On trobaré ja més abric?

Alas, miserly I will go  
 since my lover wants me to leave?  
 The night and day I will cry  
 as one that is certain to be killed  
 left all alone,  
 Misery.  
 Of my pain will hurt  
 those who have barely heard of love.  
 Well I promised to return  
 Because I do not want to stifle;  
 only you want me to love well  
 and what other love will not stop.  
 But her departure  
 I find it painful,  
 that was absent in my sweet friend.  
 Where will I find it warmer?

*Llassa mesquina* is also not a virtuosic work for voice and piano. The song is in the key of D minor, and is highly chromatic with modal inflections. *Llassa mesquina* has the musical form of ABCDA'BCD and poetic structure of ababccddeffegghh. The work has as slower tempo marking of *Andantino*. The text is set syllabically, with chordal accompaniment (see Musical Example 6.8).

**Ex. 6.8. Roberto Gerhard, “Llassa mesquina,” meas. 1-3.**

**Andantino**

Las - sa mes - qui - na que fa-ré

*p*  
*poco espr.*

**VENTALL (193?)**

The melody of Catalan art song *Ventall* only exists in manuscript, and is currently housed at the Biblioteca de Catalunya.<sup>99</sup> For *Ventall*, Gerhard utilized the unpublished poetry of Ventura Gassol (1893-1980) a friend of Gerhard and member of the Catalan political party Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya:

Cuita ventall,  
trenca lim xic l'alè,  
sigueu de tots d mes serè,  
que sempre que la sento canta així.  
Tinc por que un dia arribi a fer-ho tan fi  
tan prim i tan enlaire  
que la veu se li trenqui a mig aire,  
se li trenqui a mig aire entre dos cels.  
Pluja de vidre de gotic d'estils.

Firing range,  
breaks a little encouragement,  
be all the more serene,  
whenever you feel like singing.  
I fear that one day you get to do it so fine,  
and as thin as the air,  
that her voice breaking mid-air,  
breaking mid-air between two skies.  
Rain of gothic glass.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>99</sup> The complete manuscript is housed at Cambridge University.

<sup>100</sup> The poem was handwritten and given as a gift to Conchita Badia and lost in the Spanish Civil War.

Set syllabically, the melody of *Ventall* is atonal, but it is not a serial composition. The brief work has the expressive marking of *Un poco rubato; quasi recitativo* as well as the marking *mezza voce* (see Musical Example 6.9). The sparse accompaniment consists of a bass line in the left hand and chords in the right hand.

**Ex. 6.9. Roberto Gerhard, “Ventall”, meas. 1-3.**



**ARIEL (1934)**

After the surrealist artist Joan Miró worked with the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo on the ballet *Jeux d'enfants*, the ballet company commissioned Miró, Gerhard and poet Josep Vicenç Foix for a ballet, which ultimately would become the genesis for the symphonic work *Ariel*.<sup>101</sup> Miró contacted both Foix and Gerhard for the project. In a 1934 letter to Gerhard, Miró—charged with its stage design—wrote to the Catalan composer about the project and its use of “absolute” music: “As my understanding with you and the poetry of Foix is absolute, it takes no effort to confine myself to the spirit of the two of you, thus with you, conserving this unity that allows me to attain superior results.”<sup>102</sup>

<sup>101</sup> Homs, *Robert Gerhard and His Music*, 37.

<sup>102</sup> Joan Miró to Roberto Gerhard, September 29, 1934. “Com que la meua compenetració amb vós i amb la poesia de Foix és absoluta, no em cal cap esforç per a cenyir-me a l’esperit de vosaltres dos, això vaja vos sol conservant aquesta unitat que em permetrà d’atènyer alts resultats.”

In 1936 Gerhard, along with Miró and Foix, published an article in the journal *Música Viva* on the theories behind *Ariel*.<sup>103</sup> According to Gerhard, no scenario—in the conventional sense—was used for the proposed ballet, writing that “The music, the maquettes and some ideas exist for this ballet; however, no ‘scenario’ exists.”<sup>104</sup> Each contributor, in their area of expertise (poetry, music, and visual arts), approached the work independently, as Gerhard explained, “The poet, painter and composer could consider the theme of the ballet, each one in their orbit of expertise with the freedom as well as capacity of conception that could lead to new results.”<sup>105</sup> According to Gerhard, ultimately the ballet would be shaped by the choreographer: “It is he [the choreographer] who, in the end, does the ballet. He is, therefore, responsible for synthesizing the three ‘absolute’ concepts of the composer, painter and poet, in the process of exercising the specific choreography.”<sup>106</sup>

Gerhard approached *Ariel* from a symphonic perspective: “I conceived my work as a composition of symphonic character to serve as accompaniment to a ‘dance poem’ whose protagonist would be Ariel, the sylph from *The Tempest* by Shakespeare.”<sup>107</sup> According to Homs, it was this symphonic character that Leonide Massine opposed and prevented its performance as a ballet.<sup>108</sup> From *The Tempest*, Gerhard argued: “The topic suggested a

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<sup>103</sup> Robert Gerhard, Joan Miró, and Josep Vicenç Foix. “Ariel: Música, maquetes i idees per a un ballet,” *Música Viva* (July 1936): 8-13.

<sup>104</sup> Robert Gerhard, “Música, maquetas e idees para un ballet,” *Música viva*, 2 (July 1936):8-13. “La música, les maquetes i unes quantes idees per a aquest ballet existeixen. No existeix, en canvi, el ‘llibret’.”

<sup>105</sup> Ibid. “...el poeta, el pintor i el músic podíem plantejar-nos el tema del ballet, cadascun en la seva òrbita, amb una llibertat i una capacitat de concepció que podien menar a resultats nous.”

<sup>106</sup> Ibid. “És ell qui, al capdavant, realitza el ballet. És ell, per tant, l’encarregat d’arbitrar l’aplec efectiu de les tres concepcions “absolutes” del músic, del pintor i del poeta, en el terreny de la realització coreogràfica concreta.”

<sup>107</sup> Ibid. “He concebut la meua obra com una composició de caràcter simfònic per servir d’acompanyament a un poema de dansa el protagonista del qual seria Ariel, el silf de “La tempesta” de Shakespeare.”

<sup>108</sup> Homs, *Robert Gerhard and His Music*, 37.

sequence from the first scene between Prospero and Ariel”<sup>109</sup> He selected the Shakespearian characters because of their contrast: “For my musical intentions, the assumption of two opposing characters (Ariel, Caliban) was enough.”<sup>110</sup> Gerhard envisioned two types of dancers for Ariel and Caliban, a winged-weightless dancer and contrasting monstrous-heavy type.<sup>111</sup> In addition, Gerhard also envisioned for Miró to build upon on this idea of contrast, employing imagery from traditional Catalan culture: “I suggested to the painter to visually emphasize the contrast between our two types of traditional dances in Catalonia: the traditional dance of Berga, angel of Patum and the giants and big-heads from our traditional parades.”<sup>112</sup>

In its symphonic version, *Ariel* has four sections, which Gerhard explained related to *The Tempest*: “The conflict takes place across four emotional states corresponding to a very specific plan of the symphonic composition.”<sup>113</sup> He listed the emotions “antagonistic,” “sadness,” “struggle,” and “anxiety”; the coda represented “outcome.” Gerhard characterized the structure of *Ariel* as: “Each of these movements comprises of a series of episodes of varied stresses and even opposing, but connected by a single line of composition.”<sup>114</sup> A tonal work, Gerhard also employed chromaticism, at moments using all twelve pitches.

In a somewhat pejorative manner, Gerhard described the musical accompaniment of *Ariel* as: “The music here aims to serve as accompaniment to the action of the choreography.

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<sup>109</sup> Robert Gerhard, Joan Miró, and Josep Vicenç Foix. “Ariel: Música, maquetes i idees per a un ballet,” 9. “El tema me’l va suggerir una seqüència de la primera escena entre Pròsper i Ariel”

<sup>110</sup> Ibid. “Per a les meves intencions musicals n’hi havia prou amb la suposició de dos caràcters antagònics (Ariel-Caliban).”

<sup>111</sup> Ibid. “Dos tipus de ballarins corresponen a aquests dos caràcters: a) tipus alat, ingràvid; b) tipus monstuós, pesant.”

<sup>112</sup> Ibid. “Jo suggeria al pintor que recalqués plàsticament el contrast entre dos tipus tradicionals dels nostres balls populars a Catalunya: l’àngel (de la Patum, dansa popular de Berga) i els gegants i capgrossos de les nostres cercaviles.”

<sup>113</sup> Ibid. “El conflicte travessa quatre estats ben determinats que corresponen al pla simfònic de la composició.”

<sup>114</sup> Ibid. “Cadascun d’aquests moviments comprèn una sèrie d’episodis d’accent variat i fins i tot oposat, però enllaçats per una única línia de composició.”

Do not perceive this term as a euphemism, but its musical sense.”<sup>115</sup> In place of mimicking the motion of the proposed dancers, Gerhard perceived his counterpoint in musical terms: “To accompany—except in cases of a primitive parallel—does not mean to double, but rather to oppose or strictly in ‘counterpoint.’”<sup>116</sup> In its early origins as a ballet, he conceived the contributions of Miró and Foix as counterpoint to his music: “In this principle of contrapuntal accompaniment, it should inspire, in my opinion, the collaboration between the arts involved in the ballet,” adding “to the contrary, between the participating arts, tension and dissonance must be maintained and even the possible independence of the initial counterpoint, in a spirit of collaboration.”<sup>117</sup>

Gerhard won the Isaac Albéniz Prize from the Catalan Generalitat for the symphonic version in 1935. Never performed as a ballet in Gerhard’s lifetime, the work premiered at the 1936 I.S.C.M. festival in Barcelona.

### **ALBADA, INTERLUDI I DANSA (1937)**

While in Spain, Gerhard composed for the BBC and its program series dedicated to old and new Spanish music, the initial intended audience of Gerhard’s *Albada, Interludi i Dansa* was English—not Spanish or Catalan. At the time, interest in Spanish music was due largely to the events related to the Spanish Civil War. On 27 October 1937, the work premiered on radio with a BBC broadcast, the BBC Orchestra performing and Gerhard conducting. The symphonic work

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid. “La música pretén aquí servir d’acompanyament a l’acció coreogràfica. Cal no entendre aquesta expressió com un eufemisme, sinó en el seu sentit musical.”

<sup>116</sup> Ibid. “Acompanyar—tret dels casos d’un paral·lelisme primitiu—no significa doblar, sinó més aviat oposar o estrictament ‘contrapuntar’.”

<sup>117</sup> Ibid. “En aquest principi de l’acompanyament contrapuntístic s’ha d’inspirar, al meu parer, la col·laboració entre les arts que intervenen en el ballet. Al contrari, cal que es mantinguin entre les arts participants la tensió, la dissonància i fins i tot la possible independència inicial, en un esperit contrapuntístic de col·laboració.”



received a second performance on 24 June 1938 at Queen's Hall as part of the ISCM Festival held in London. Hermann Scherchen conducted the ISCM performance, and supposedly, Béla Bartók, who was in attendance, gave the work high praise.<sup>118</sup> *Albada, Interludi i Dansa* received its Catalan premiere on 14 May 1938, conducted by Joan Lamote. The program notes of the ISCM performance positioned *Albada, Interludi i Dansa* within the context of the Spanish Civil War, explaining "the circumstances of the occasion most certainly determined the inspiration of the work, for the composer's circumstances were those of Spain to-day, dominated by one element—the tension of popular feeling."<sup>119</sup> In stark contrast to Gerhard's other compositions of the period, the Catalan composer, reacting to the events of the Spanish Civil War, eschewed many of his modernist applications in the composition of *Albada, Interludi i Dansa*, as the program notes expressed: "Popular influence on the arts has always been particularly vital in Spain, in music as well as in poetry, but never, probably, has the need for fusion of the general with the particular been so strongly felt as it is at the present time."<sup>120</sup>

The title of the work evokes Catalonia's past and present: the troubadour genre of song known as *alba* and the traditional festival music performed at daybreak called *albada*.<sup>121</sup> The music brings to mind traditional Catalan music, as the program notes explain: "The nature of this song makes it, in a way, the antithesis of the nocturne, and the composer's idea has been to write a kind of morning serenade in a very simple form, using tunes that are popular in spirit,

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<sup>118</sup> Homs, *Robert Gerhard and His Music*, 38.

<sup>119</sup> Concert program, I.S.C.M. Concert, May 14, 1938.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> *Albada* is also a genre of traditional Catalan music, utilizing *grallas* and *timbals* played in the mornings of festivals. Troubadours remained active in Southern France as well as Catalonia.

though not in origin.”<sup>122</sup> Evoking the traditional *albada* with its *grallas*, Gerhard employed oboes in parallel motion (see Musical Example 6.10).

**Ex. 6.10. Roberto Gerhard, *Albada*, meas. 1.**



The outer movements of *Albada*, *Interludi i Dansa* serve as the substantial movements of the work, albeit the entire work is an example of light music. While the work employs no key signature, each section maintains a tonal center in a manner reminiscent of Bartók. In addition, the work contains numerous ostinatos within the framework of asymmetrical rhythms.

During this stage, Gerhard was recognized for being *un català mundial* (an international Catalan), at last acknowledged for his works that were on a par with the music of other great European contemporary composers. His early works reaffirmed the shifting cultural discourse within Catalonia, which was ultimately interrupted by the Spanish Civil War.

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<sup>122</sup>Concert program, I.S.C.M. Concert, May 14, 1938.

## CONCLUSION

The early works of Roberto Gerhard mirror the shifting cultural discourse within Catalan nationalism at the beginning of the twentieth century, which advocated the promotion of modernist ideologies over the vestiges of the past or the rustic countryside—to be Catalan and European. A growing number of Catalan nationalists sought cultural independence from the rest of Spain by participating internationally. Numerous Catalan artists sought international membership, principally European, while integrating components of *catalanisme* with modernism (as with the case of Joan Miró). Proclaimed as “*un català mundial*” (an international Catalan) by the press, the music of Gerhard matched in creativity and modernity with the works of other contemporary Europeans.

Initially, Gerhard’s earliest attempts at composition exhibited only a basic understanding of counterpoint and harmony—generic works without any Catalan references. From 1916 to 1921, Gerhard studied with the Catalan composer and musicologist Felipe Pedrell. In addition to composition, Pedrell served as an advocate for both a Spanish national song and the music of the Spanish Renaissance. However, unlike his teacher, Gerhard avoided Spanish references; instead his music exhibited elements of Catalan nationalism, employing Catalan poetry as well as traditional Catalan music. Furthermore, during this period, Gerhard focused on Catalan folksong, organizing the collection of traditional Catalan music for the *Arxiu d’Etnografia i Folklore de Catalunya*. Gerhard’s earliest musical successes begin to reveal the paradigm shift in Catalan nationalism. In his song cycle *L’infantament meravellós de Schahrazada*, Gerhard set the *noucentisme* poetry of Josep Maria López-Picó and used Catalan

expressive markings. His Trio No. 2 bears a striking resemblance to an earlier Trio by Maurice Ravel and Gerhard's piano miniatures *Dos apunts* shares similarities with Arnold Schoenberg's Op. 19. Before looking outside Spain for musical direction, Gerhard traveled to Andalusia in a failed attempt to study with Manuel de Falla—the most celebrated Spanish composer of the period. In 1923, Gerhard once again left Spain and began his study with Schoenberg in Vienna. Gerhard followed his teacher to Berlin, and the two would ultimately forge a lasting relationship. Gerhard became the first Spaniard to compose atonal music. The Catalan composer even applied modernist techniques in his overtly Catalan works (*Sardanes* and *Cançons populars catalanes*).

In 1929, he returned to Barcelona, and controversy promptly ensued after a much-anticipated all-Gerhard concert was held to celebrate his homecoming. However, instead of a triumphant success, Gerhard encountered an almost unmitigated disapproval of his music, leading to a debate in print (reminiscent of the Monteverdi-Artusi controversy) on the direction of Catalan concert music—an issue of contentious importance among Catalan nationalists. Gerhard's new style of composition exhibited an intricate reconciliation of traditional Catalan elements with modern Central European musical aesthetics, a manifestation of Catalan nationalism. Gerhard advocated for modernism, actively participating in *Amics de l'Art Nou* (A.D.L.A.N.) with artists such as Joan Miró and Salvador Dalí, as well as *Compositors Independents de Catalunya* (C.I.C.), which included Catalan composers Frederic Mompou and Manuel Blancafort. In 1934, Gerhard involved himself with other nationalistic activities, working at the Biblioteca de Catalunya editing the compositions of eighteenth-century Catalan composers. Only months before the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, the fourteenth meeting

of the International Society for Contemporary Music (I.S.C.M.), along with the third International Musicological Society Congress, were held in Barcelona—Gerhard serving a primary position in this international occasion, which included the premiere of Alban Berg’s Violin Concerto.

Gerhard’s musical activities in composition, research, and criticism reflected the shifting intellectual dialogue taking place in Catalonia; however, all ended in 1939 with the Republican defeat in the Spanish Civil War, swiftly ending his career in Barcelona as well as his Catalan-influenced works, leading to a new compositional phase as well as a delayed recognition in his new life in Cambridge, England.

## APPENDIX: INCIPITS OF GERHARD'S EARLY WORKS

### Lied (1913-14), Institut d'Estudis Vallencs (IEV)

*Lento*

The musical score for the Lied (1913-14) is in G major and common time. The tempo is marked 'Lento'. The vocal line consists of three measures of whole notes. The piano accompaniment begins with a series of chords and a triplet of eighth notes in the right hand, marked with a 'rit.' (ritardando) and a '3' indicating the triplet.

### Sonatine à Carlos (1914), (IEV)

The musical score for the Sonatine à Carlos (1914) is in B-flat major and 6/8 time. The piano accompaniment features a triplet of eighth notes in the right hand, marked with a '3'.

### Verger de les galanies (1918), Biblioteca de Catalunya (BC)

#### Canço d'un doble amor

**Bastant viu**

L'a - mi - ga blan m'ha en-ci - sat tam - bé la

**Bastant viu**

The musical score for the Verger de les galanies (1918) is in D major and 6/8 time. The tempo is marked 'Bastant viu'. The vocal line includes the lyrics 'L'a - mi - ga blan m'ha en-ci - sat tam - bé la'. The piano accompaniment begins with a triplet of eighth notes in the right hand, marked with a 'mp' (mezzo-piano) and a '3'.

### Excelsior

U - na

This musical score is for a piece titled 'Excelsior'. It features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). It consists of three measures: the first two are whole rests, and the third contains a half note G4 and a quarter note A4, with the lyrics 'U - na' underneath. The piano accompaniment is in treble and bass clefs with the same key signature and time signature. The right hand plays a continuous eighth-note pattern, while the left hand plays a simple bass line with whole and half notes.

### Trio No. 1 (1916-17), (IEV)

Violin

Violoncello

Piano

*p*

This musical score is for 'Trio No. 1 (1916-17)'. It is a three-part setting for Violin, Violoncello, and Piano. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The Violin part has a melodic line with eighth and quarter notes. The Violoncello part is mostly whole rests. The Piano part begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic and features a complex texture with chords and moving lines in both hands.

### Trio No. 2 (1918), (IEV)

#### Mvt. I

Modéré ♩=108 approx.

Violin

Violoncello

Piano

*Modéré ♩=108 approx.*

This musical score is for the first movement of 'Trio No. 2 (1918)'. It is a three-part setting for Violin, Violoncello, and Piano. The key signature has three flats (Bb, Eb, Ab) and the time signature is 6/8. The tempo is marked 'Modéré' with a metronome indication of ♩=108 approx. The Violin and Violoncello parts have a similar melodic line with eighth notes. The Piano part features a complex texture with chords and moving lines in both hands.

## Mvt. II

Très calme ♩=60 approx.

Violin

Violoncello

Piano

*pp*

*mf expressif*

## Mvt. III

Vif ♩=152 approx.

Violin

Violoncello

Piano

*pizz.*

*pizz.*

Vif ♩=152 approx.

## *L'infantament meravellós de Schahrazada* (1918), (BC)

### "Les roses de les temples de l'amiga"

Temps mogut però no massa viu

Les ro - ses de les tem-ples de l'a

*f*

*seguint empre el cant*

*sense massa rigor de compàs*



### “Jove flautista”

Amb repòs i expressió àgil

Musical score for "Jove flautista" in 2/4 time, key of D major. The vocal line begins with a whole rest followed by a half note G4 and a quarter note A4, with the lyrics "Jo - ve flau -". The piano accompaniment features a rapid triplet of eighth notes in the right hand, marked "amb suavitat", and a bass line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a sextuplet in the third measure.

### “Sota l’amplada del teu rostre”

Amb calma

Musical score for "Sota l'amplada del teu rostre" in 3/4 time, key of D major. The vocal line consists of a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4, with the lyrics "So - ta l'am pla - da". The piano accompaniment is marked "flx." and features a steady eighth-note accompaniment in both hands.

### “Si els teus cabells són negres com la nit”

Serenament i joïos

Musical score for "Si els teus cabells són negres com la nit" in common time, key of B-flat major. The vocal line is entirely at rest. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note accompaniment in both hands, with a more active melody in the right hand.

### “Perquè la por del soroll t’esgarrija”

No gaire depressa i suaument

Musical score for "Perquè la por del soroll t'esgarrija" in common time, key of D major. The vocal line begins with a whole rest followed by a half note G4 and a quarter note A4, with the lyrics "Per qué la". The piano accompaniment is marked "flx." and features a steady eighth-note accompaniment in both hands, with a more active melody in the right hand.

# **“El repòs del teu rull damunt del front”**

Blanament

flx.

This musical score is for the piece 'El repòs del teu rull damunt del front'. It is marked 'Blanament' (softly). The score is in 6/4 time and B-flat major. The vocal line consists of four measures of whole rests. The piano accompaniment begins with a series of chords and moving lines in both hands, marked with a 'flx.' (flexible) instruction.

# **“Jo t’he donat el meu cor”**

Amb calma

Jo t’he do - nat el meu

mf

This musical score is for the piece 'Jo t’he donat el meu cor'. It is marked 'Amb calma' (calmly). The score is in 3/4 time and D major. The vocal line has four measures with the lyrics 'Jo t’he do - nat el meu'. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line and chords in the right hand, marked with a 'mf' (mezzo-forte) instruction.

# **“Joc soc el vas del teu secret”**

Ardentment mogut

mf

Jo soc el vas del teu se -

mf

expr.

This musical score is for the piece 'Joc soc el vas del teu secret'. It is marked 'Ardentment mogut' (ardently moved). The score is in 3/4 time and D major. The vocal line has four measures with the lyrics 'Jo soc el vas del teu se -'. The piano accompaniment is highly rhythmic, featuring many triplets in both hands, marked with 'mf' and 'expr.' (expressive) instructions.

# **“Càntirs de vidre”**

Llargament

Can-tirs de

This musical score is for the piece 'Càntirs de vidre'. It is marked 'Llargament' (ad libitum). The score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. The vocal line has three measures with the lyrics 'Can-tirs de'. The piano accompaniment features a slow, spacious feel with chords and moving lines in both hands.

### “Igual que la mar fosforescent”

Apassionat

I - gual que la mar fos-fo-res - cent ca-da  
*mf* *f*

The score is in 2/4 time with a key signature of two flats. The vocal line features a melodic phrase with a fermata over the word 'mar'. The piano accompaniment includes triplets in both hands and dynamic markings of *mf* and *f*.

### “Melodiós com entremig d’arbredes”

Suaument mogut

*expr.*

The score is in common time with a key signature of two flats. The piano accompaniment features a flowing, expressive melody in the right hand and a steady bass line in the left hand, marked with *expr.*

### “Enamorat incaut”

Febrosament mogut

*f*

The score is in common time with a key signature of two sharps. The piano accompaniment features a strong, rhythmic melody in the right hand and a steady bass line in the left hand, marked with *f*.

Dos apunts, a. (1921), Cambridge University Library (CUL)

♩=56-66 (*sense rigor*)  
*pp sempre*

The score is in 4/4 time. The tempo marking is ♩=56-66 (*sense rigor*). The piano accompaniment features a continuous, flowing melody in both hands, marked with *pp sempre*.

**Dos apunts, b. (1922)**

$\text{♩} = 88$   
*pp* \*  
*sempre extremadament legato*  
*i amb pulsació uniforme*  
*ppp*

The score is for a piano piece in 4+6/8 time, marked  $\text{♩} = 88$ . It features a single melodic line in the right hand with triplets and a five-note run, and a supporting bass line in the left hand. The piece is marked *pp* and *ppp* with performance instructions: *sempre extremadament legato i amb pulsació uniforme*.

**Sept Hai-kai (c. 1922), (IEV)**

**No. 1**

Molto tranquillo  $\text{♩} = \text{ca. } 48$   
 Flute  
 Oboe  
 Clarinet in B $\flat$   
 Bassoon  
 Voice  
 Piano  
*f*  
*ped.*

The score is for a chamber ensemble piece in common time, marked *Molto tranquillo* with a tempo of  $\text{♩} = \text{ca. } 48$ . The ensemble includes Flute, Oboe, Clarinet in B $\flat$ , Bassoon, Voice, and Piano. The woodwinds and strings play a sustained harmonic texture, while the piano provides a rhythmic accompaniment with chords and a pedal point. The piano part is marked *f* and includes a *ped.* (pedal) instruction.

## No. 2

**Scoriévole**

Flute

Clarinet in B $\flat$

Voice

*pp*

**Scoriévole**

Piano

*And.* *And.* *And.* *And.* *simile*

## No. 3

**Con moto**

Flute

Oboe

Clarinet in B $\flat$

Bassoon

Voice

*p leggiero 3* *mf* *>*

**Con moto**

Piano

*p* *8va*

## No. 4

**Allegretto**

Piccolo

Oboe

Clarinet in B $\flat$

Bassoon

Voice

Piano

*pp delicatamente*

*mf*

*p dolce*

*p dolce*

*poco sfp*

*f*

*pp*

*8va*

*Ped.*

## No. 5

**Tranquillo**

Clarinet in B $\flat$

Bassoon

Voice

Piano

*fp*

*ppp*

*p*

*mf*

*pp*

## No. 6

[illegible]

## No. 7

The image shows a musical score for a performance of 'The Rose Tree'. The score is written for six parts: Flute, Oboe, Clarinet in Bb, Bassoon, Voice, and Piano. The tempo is marked 'Larghetto' and the time signature is 2/4. The key signature has one flat (Bb). The piano part is written for both hands, with a 'p' (piano) dynamic marking. The voice part is currently silent, indicated by a whole rest. The woodwind parts (Flute, Oboe, Clarinet in Bb, Bassoon) have various melodic and harmonic lines, with dynamics like 'pp dolce' and 'p' indicated. The piano part features a complex bass line with many accidentals and a melody in the right hand.

## Divertimento (1926)

Flute

Flute

Oboe

Oboe

Clarinet in B $\flat$

Clarinet in B $\flat$

Horn in F

Horn in F

Bassoon

Bassoon

The image displays a page from a musical score for the piece "Divertimento (1926)". It features ten staves, each representing a different woodwind instrument: two Flutes, two Oboes, two Clarinets in B $\flat$ , two Horns in F, and two Bassoons. The music is written in a key signature of three flats (B $\flat$ , E $\flat$ , A $\flat$ ) and a 3/2 time signature. The first measure of each staff begins with a forte (*f*) dynamic marking. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and slurs, indicating the melodic and harmonic development for each instrument.



# Suite for Winds, Strings, and Piano (1927), (IEV)

## Sevillana

*Andante vivo*

Trumpet in Bb *mf* **H**

Horn in F

Bassoon *p*

Violin *p pizz.*

Viola *fp*

Violoncello *p pizz.*

Piano *pp*

*pédale gauche seulement*

## El conde sol

**Andantino**

Trumpet in Bb

Horn in F

Bassoon

**Andantino**

Violin

Viola *mf*

Violoncello

Piano

# String Quartet (1927-28), (IEV)

## Mvt. I

*Allegro assai*

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

*f*

*mf*

*mf*

*mf*

3

3

## Mvt. II

*Andante espressivo e con moto*

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

*p*

*p espr. tranquillo*

5

## Mvt. III

*Allegretto vivace e con spirito*

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

*p*

*pp spiccato*

*meno sf*

# Concertino for Strings (1927-8), (IEV)

## Mvt. I

**Allegro assai**

Violin I *f*

Violin II *mf*

Viola *mf*

Violoncello *mf*

Double Bass *mf* pizz.

## Mvt. II

**Andante espressivo e con moto**

Violin I

Violin II

Viola *Solo* *p espr. tranquillo*

Viola *Solo* *p espr.*

Violoncello

Double Bass

## Mvt. III

Violin I *p spiccato*

Violin II *p spiccato*

Viola *p spiccato*

Violoncello *sf pizz.*

Double Bass *f*

## Sonata for Clarinet (1928), (IEV)

**Allegro vivace**

Clarinet

*p* *cresc.* *f*

**Allegro vivace**  
staccato

Piano

*pp*

## Andantino (1928), (IEV)

**Langsame viertel**

Clarinet

*pp* *pp* *p* *3*

Violin

*mp* *pp*

**Langsame viertel**

Piano

*p* *p*

## Wind Quintet (1928), (CUL)

### Mvt. I

**Moderato**

Flute

*pp* *3*

Oboe

*pp* *3* *3*

Clarinet in Bb

*pp* *3*

Horn in F

*p dolce*

Bassoon

## Mvt. II

Andante cantabile, sostenuto

Flute

Oboe

Clarinet in Bb

Horn in F

Bassoon

*p*

## Mvt. III

Allegro giocoso, ma non troppo mosso

Flute

Oboe

Clarinet in Bb

Horn in F

Bassoon

*mf*

*p*

*p*

*p*

*poco sf*

## Mvt. IV

Vivace scherzando

Flute

Oboe

Clarinet in Bb

Horn in F

Bassoon

*p grazioso*

*molto stacc. e pp*

*molto stacc. e pp*

### ***Sardana I (1928), (IEV)***

Musical score for *Sardana I (1928), (IEV)*. The score is written for seven instruments: Flabiol, Tibles, Tenora, Trompeta, Fiscorn, Trombó, and Contrabaix. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 2/4. The Flabiol part is mostly rests. The Tibles part features a melodic line with accents. The Tenora part has a melodic line with accents. The Trompeta part starts with a forte (*f*) dynamic and includes a solo section. The Fiscorn part has a rhythmic line. The Trombó part has a melodic line. The Contrabaix part has a rhythmic line.

### ***Sardana II (1928), (IEV)***

Musical score for *Sardana II (1928), (IEV)*. The score is written for nine instruments: Flaviol, Tiple, Tenora, Saxofón tenor, Fagot, Corneta, Fiscorn, Trompeta, Trombó, and Contrabaix. The key signature is one flat (Bb) and the time signature is 2/4. The Flaviol part is mostly rests. The Tiple part has a melodic line. The Tenora part is mostly rests. The Saxofón tenor part is mostly rests. The Fagot part is mostly rests. The Corneta part has a melodic line. The Fiscorn part has a rhythmic line. The Trompeta part starts with a pianissimo (*pp*) dynamic and has a melodic line. The Trombó part is mostly rests. The Contrabaix part has a rhythmic line.

6 Cançons populars catalanes (1928),<sup>1</sup> (IEV)

“La calàndria”

**Larghetto**

The score for "La calàndria" is in 3/4 time. The vocal line (treble clef) begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4. The lyrics "No't re - cor-des a-mor" are written below the vocal line. The piano accompaniment (grand staff) features a continuous eighth-note pattern in the right hand, starting on G4 and moving up stepwise. The left hand plays a steady eighth-note bass line. Dynamics include *p* (piano) and *molto legato*. A *riten.* (ritardando) marking appears over the final measures of the piano part.

“La mort i la donzella”

**Largo**

The score for "La mort i la donzella" is in 4/4 time. The vocal line (treble clef) begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4. The lyrics "Des per - teu-vos el meu pa- re, -" are written below the vocal line. The piano accompaniment (grand staff) features a steady eighth-note bass line in the left hand. The right hand plays a series of chords. Dynamics include *pp* (pianissimo). An *8va* (octave) marking is present below the piano part.

“El petit vailet”

**Allegro**

The score for "El petit vailet" is in 2/4 time. The vocal line (treble clef) begins with a whole rest. The piano accompaniment (grand staff) features a continuous eighth-note pattern in the right hand, starting on G4 and moving up stepwise. The left hand plays a steady eighth-note bass line. Dynamics include *mf* (mezzo-forte) and *p* (piano). A *3* (triple) marking is present over the piano part.

<sup>1</sup> 14 in manuscript; orch version 1931

## “El cotiló”

Andantino molto espressivo

Si'n sóc\_ fill de Mont-a - gut d'on

*p* *molto legato sempre*

The score is in 3/4 time. The vocal line starts with a whole rest, followed by a half note G4, a quarter note F#4, and a half note E4. The piano accompaniment begins with a half note G3, followed by a series of eighth notes: A3, B3, C4, D4, E4, F#4, G4, A4, B4, C5, D5, E5, F#5, G5, A5, B5, C6, D6, E6, F#6, G6, A6, B6, C7, D7, E7, F#7, G7, A7, B7, C8, D8, E8, F#8, G8, A8, B8, C9, D9, E9, F#9, G9, A9, B9, C10, D10, E10, F#10, G10, A10, B10, C11, D11, E11, F#11, G11, A11, B11, C12, D12, E12, F#12, G12, A12, B12, C13, D13, E13, F#13, G13, A13, B13, C14, D14, E14, F#14, G14, A14, B14, C15, D15, E15, F#15, G15, A15, B15, C16, D16, E16, F#16, G16, A16, B16, C17, D17, E17, F#17, G17, A17, B17, C18, D18, E18, F#18, G18, A18, B18, C19, D19, E19, F#19, G19, A19, B19, C20, D20, E20, F#20, G20, A20, B20, C21, D21, E21, F#21, G21, A21, B21, C22, D22, E22, F#22, G22, A22, B22, C23, D23, E23, F#23, G23, A23, B23, C24, D24, E24, F#24, G24, A24, B24, C25, D25, E25, F#25, G25, A25, B25, C26, D26, E26, F#26, G26, A26, B26, C27, D27, E27, F#27, G27, A27, B27, C28, D28, E28, F#28, G28, A28, B28, C29, D29, E29, F#29, G29, A29, B29, C30, D30, E30, F#30, G30, A30, B30, C31, D31, E31, F#31, G31, A31, B31, C32, D32, E32, F#32, G32, A32, B32, C33, D33, E33, F#33, G33, A33, B33, C34, D34, E34, F#34, G34, A34, B34, C35, D35, E35, F#35, G35, A35, B35, C36, D36, E36, F#36, G36, A36, B36, C37, D37, E37, F#37, G37, A37, B37, C38, D38, E38, F#38, G38, A38, B38, C39, D39, E39, F#39, G39, A39, B39, C40, D40, E40, F#40, G40, A40, B40, C41, D41, E41, F#41, G41, A41, B41, C42, D42, E42, F#42, G42, A42, B42, C43, D43, E43, F#43, G43, A43, B43, C44, D44, E44, F#44, G44, A44, B44, C45, D45, E45, F#45, G45, A45, B45, C46, D46, E46, F#46, G46, A46, B46, C47, D47, E47, F#47, G47, A47, B47, C48, D48, E48, F#48, G48, A48, B48, C49, D49, E49, F#49, G49, A49, B49, C50, D50, E50, F#50, G50, A50, B50, C51, D51, E51, F#51, G51, A51, B51, C52, D52, E52, F#52, G52, A52, B52, C53, D53, E53, F#53, G53, A53, B53, C54, D54, E54, F#54, G54, A54, B54, C55, D55, E55, F#55, G55, A55, B55, C56, D56, E56, F#56, G56, A56, B56, C57, D57, E57, F#57, G57, A57, B57, C58, D58, E58, F#58, G58, A58, B58, C59, D59, E59, F#59, G59, A59, B59, C60, D60, E60, F#60, G60, A60, B60, C61, D61, E61, F#61, G61, A61, B61, C62, D62, E62, F#62, G62, A62, B62, C63, D63, E63, F#63, G63, A63, B63, C64, D64, E64, F#64, G64, A64, B64, C65, D65, E65, F#65, G65, A65, B65, C66, D66, E66, F#66, G66, A66, B66, C67, D67, E67, F#67, G67, A67, B67, C68, D68, E68, F#68, G68, A68, B68, C69, D69, E69, F#69, G69, A69, B69, C70, D70, E70, F#70, G70, A70, B70, C71, D71, E71, F#71, G71, A71, B71, C72, D72, E72, F#72, G72, A72, B72, C73, D73, E73, F#73, G73, A73, B73, C74, D74, E74, F#74, G74, A74, B74, C75, D75, E75, F#75, G75, A75, B75, C76, D76, E76, F#76, G76, A76, B76, C77, D77, E77, F#77, G77, A77, B77, C78, D78, E78, F#78, G78, A78, B78, C79, D79, E79, F#79, G79, A79, B79, C80, D80, E80, F#80, G80, A80, B80, C81, D81, E81, F#81, G81, A81, B81, C82, D82, E82, F#82, G82, A82, B82, C83, D83, E83, F#83, G83, A83, B83, C84, D84, E84, F#84, G84, A84, B84, C85, D85, E85, F#85, G85, A85, B85, C86, D86, E86, F#86, G86, A86, B86, C87, D87, E87, F#87, G87, A87, B87, C88, D88, E88, F#88, G88, A88, B88, C89, D89, E89, F#89, G89, A89, B89, C90, D90, E90, F#90, G90, A90, B90, C91, D91, E91, F#91, G91, A91, B91, C92, D92, E92, F#92, G92, A92, B92, C93, D93, E93, F#93, G93, A93, B93, C94, D94, E94, F#94, G94, A94, B94, C95, D95, E95, F#95, G95, A95, B95, C96, D96, E96, F#96, G96, A96, B96, C97, D97, E97, F#97, G97, A97, B97, C98, D98, E98, F#98, G98, A98, B98, C99, D99, E99, F#99, G99, A99, B99, C100, D100, E100, F#100, G100, A100, B100, C101, D101, E101, F#101, G101, A101, B101, C102, D102, E102, F#102, G102, A102, B102, C103, D103, E103, F#103, G103, A103, B103, C104, D104, E104, F#104, G104, A104, B104, C105, D105, E105, F#105, G105, A105, B105, C106, D106, E106, F#106, G106, A106, B106, C107, D107, E107, F#107, G107, A107, B107, C108, D108, E108, F#108, G108, A108, B108, C109, D109, E109, F#109, G109, A109, B109, C110, D110, E110, F#110, G110, A110, B110, C111, D111, E111, F#111, G111, A111, B111, C112, D112, E112, F#112, G112, A112, B112, C113, D113, E113, F#113, G113, A113, B113, C114, D114, E114, F#114, G114, A114, B114, C115, D115, E115, F#115, G115, A115, B115, C116, D116, E116, F#116, G116, A116, B116, C117, D117, E117, F#117, G117, A117, B117, C118, D118, E118, F#118, G118, A118, B118, C119, D119, E119, F#119, G119, A119, B119, C120, D120, E120, F#120, G120, A120, B120, C121, D121, E121, F#121, G121, A121, B121, C122, D122, E122, F#122, G122, A122, B122, C123, D123, E123, F#123, G123, A123, B123, C124, D124, E124, F#124, G124, A124, B124, C125, D125, E125, F#125, G125, A125, B125, C126, D126, E126, F#126, G126, A126, B126, C127, D127, E127, F#127, G127, A127, B127, C128, D128, E128, F#128, G128, A128, B128, C129, D129, E129, F#129, G129, A129, B129, C130, D130, E130, F#130, G130, A130, B130, C131, D131, E131, F#131, G131, A131, B131, C132, D132, E132, F#132, G132, A132, B132, C133, D133, E133, F#133, G133, A133, B133, C134, D134, E134, F#134, G134, A134, B134, C135, D135, E135, F#135, G135, A135, B135, C136, D136, E136, F#136, G136, A136, B136, C137, D137, E137, F#137, G137, A137, B137, C138, D138, E138, F#138, G138, A138, B138, C139, D139, E139, F#139, G139, A139, B139, C140, D140, E140, F#140, G140, A140, B140, C141, D141, E141, F#141, G141, A141, B141, C142, D142, E142, F#142, G142, A142, B142, C143, D143, E143, F#143, G143, A143, B143, C144, D144, E144, F#144, G144, A144, B144, C145, D145, E145, F#145, G145, A145, B145, C146, D146, E146, F#146, G146, A146, B146, C147, D147, E147, F#147, G147, A147, B147, C148, D148, E148, F#148, G148, A148, B148, C149, D149, E149, F#149, G149, A149, B149, C150, D150, E150, F#150, G150, A150, B150, C151, D151, E151, F#151, G151, A151, B151, C152, D152, E152, F#152, G152, A152, B152, C153, D153, E153, F#153, G153, A153, B153, C154, D154, E154, F#154, G154, A154, B154, C155, D155, E155, F#155, G155, A155, B155, C156, D156, E156, F#156, G156, A156, B156, C157, D157, E157, F#157, G157, A157, B157, C158, D158, E158, F#158, G158, A158, B158, C159, D159, E159, F#159, G159, A159, B159, C160, D160, E160, F#160, G160, A160, B160, C161, D161, E161, F#161, G161, A161, B161, C162, D162, E162, F#162, G162, A162, B162, C163, D163, E163, F#163, G163, A163, B163, C164, D164, E164, F#164, G164, A164, B164, C165, D165, E165, F#165, G165, A165, B165, C166, D166, E166, F#166, G166, A166, B166, C167, D167, E167, F#167, G167, A167, B167, C168, D168, E168, F#168, G168, A168, B168, C169, D169, E169, F#169, G169, A169, B169, C170, D170, E170, F#170, G170, A170, B170, C171, D171, E171, F#171, G171, A171, B171, C172, D172, E172, F#172, G172, A172, B172, C173, D173, E173, F#173, G173, A173, B173, C174, D174, E174, F#174, G174, A174, B174, C175, D175, E175, F#175, G175, A175, B175, C176, D176, E176, F#176, G176, A176, B176, C177, D177, E177, F#177, G177, A177, B177, C178, D178, E178, F#178, G178, A178, B178, C179, D179, E179, F#179, G179, A179, B179, C180, D180, E180, F#180, G180, A180, B180, C181, D181, E181, F#181, G181, A181, B181, C182, D182, E182, F#182, G182, A182, B182, C183, D183, E183, F#183, G183, A183, B183, C184, D184, E184, F#184, G184, A184, B184, C185, D185, E185, F#185, G185, A185, B185, C186, D186, E186, F#186, G186, A186, B186, C187, D187, E187, F#187, G187, A187, B187, C188, D188, E188, F#188, G188, A188, B188, C189, D189, E189, F#189, G189, A189, B189, C190, D190, E190, F#190, G190, A190, B190, C191, D191, E191, F#191, G191, A191, B191, C192, D192, E192, F#192, G192, A192, B192, C193, D193, E193, F#193, G193, A193, B193, C194, D194, E194, F#194, G194, A194, B194, C195, D195, E195, F#195, G195, A195, B195, C196, D196, E196, F#196, G196, A196, B196, C197, D197, E197, F#197, G197, A197, B197, C198, D198, E198, F#198, G198, A198, B198, C199, D199, E199, F#199, G199, A199, B199, C200, D200, E200, F#200, G200, A200, B200, C201, D201, E201, F#201, G201, A201, B201, C202, D202, E202, F#202, G202, A202, B202, C203, D203, E203, F#203, G203, A203, B203, C204, D204, E204, F#204, G204, A204, B204, C205, D205, E205, F#205, G205, A205, B205, C206, D206, E206, F#206, G206, A206, B206, C207, D207, E207, F#207, G207, A207, B207, C208, D208, E208, F#208, G208, A208, B208, C209, D209, E209, F#209, G209, A209, B209, C210, D210, E210, F#210, G210, A210, B210, C211, D211, E211, F#211, G211, A211, B211, C212, D212, E212, F#212, G212, A212, B212, C213, D213, E213, F#213, G213, A213, B213, C214, D214, E214, F#214, G214, A214, B214, C215, D215, E215, F#215, G215, A215, B215, C216, D216, E216, F#216, G216, A216, B216, C217, D217, E217, F#217, G217, A217, B217, C218, D218, E218, F#218, G218, A218, B218, C219, D219, E219, F#219, G219, A219, B219, C220, D220, E220, F#220, G220, A220, B220, C221, D221, E221, F#221, G221, A221, B221, C222, D222, E222, F#222, G222, A222, B222, C223, D223, E223, F#223, G223, A223, B223, C224, D224, E224, F#224, G224, A224, B224, C225, D225, E225, F#225, G225, A225, B225, C226, D226, E226, F#226, G226, A226, B226, C227, D227, E227, F#227, G227, A227, B227, C228, D228, E228, F#228, G228, A228, B228, C229, D229, E229, F#229, G229, A229, B229, C230, D230, E230, F#230, G230, A230, B230, C231, D231, E231, F#231, G231, A231, B231, C232, D232, E232, F#232, G232, A232, B232, C233, D233, E233, F#233, G233, A233, B233, C234, D234, E234, F#234, G234, A234, B234, C235, D235, E235, F#235, G235, A235, B235, C236, D236, E236, F#236, G236, A236, B236, C237, D237, E237, F#237, G237, A237, B237, C238, D238, E238, F#238, G238, A238, B238, C239, D239, E239, F#239, G239, A239, B239, C240, D240, E240, F#240, G240, A240, B240, C241, D241, E241, F#241, G241, A241, B241, C242, D242, E242, F#242, G242, A242, B242, C243, D243, E243, F#243, G243, A243, B243, C244, D244, E244, F#244, G244, A244, B244, C245, D245, E245, F#245, G245, A245, B245, C246, D246, E246, F#246, G246, A246, B246, C247, D247, E247, F#247, G247, A247, B247, C248, D248, E248, F#248, G248, A248, B248, C249, D249, E249, F#249, G249, A249, B249, C250, D250, E250, F#250, G250, A250, B250, C251, D251, E251, F#251, G251, A251, B251, C252, D252, E252, F#252, G252, A252, B252, C253, D253, E253, F#253, G253, A253, B253, C254, D254, E254, F#254, G254, A254, B254, C255, D255, E255, F#255, G255, A255, B255, C256, D256, E256, F#256, G256, A256, B256, C257, D257, E257, F#257, G257, A257, B257, C258, D258, E258, F#258, G258, A258, B258, C259, D259, E259, F#259, G259, A259, B259, C260, D260, E260, F#260, G260, A260, B260, C261, D261, E261, F#261, G261, A261, B261, C262, D262, E262, F#262, G262, A262, B262, C263, D263, E263, F#263, G263, A263, B263, C264, D264, E264, F#264, G264, A264, B264, C265, D265, E265, F#265, G265, A265, B265, C266, D266, E266, F#266, G266, A266, B266, C267, D267, E267, F#267, G267, A267, B267, C268, D268, E268, F#268, G268, A268, B268, C269, D269, E269, F#269, G269, A269, B269, C270, D270, E270, F#270, G270, A270, B270, C271, D271, E271, F#271, G271, A271, B271, C272, D272, E272, F#272, G272, A272, B272, C273, D273, E273, F#273, G273, A273, B273, C274, D274, E274, F#274, G274, A274, B274, C275, D275, E275, F#275, G275, A275, B275, C276, D276, E276, F#276, G276, A276, B276, C277, D277, E277, F#277, G277, A277, B277, C278, D278, E278, F#278, G278, A278, B278, C279, D279, E279, F#279, G279, A279, B279, C280, D280, E280, F#280, G280, A280, B280, C281, D281, E281, F#281, G281, A281, B281, C282, D282, E282, F#282, G282, A282, B282, C283, D283, E283, F#283, G283, A283, B283, C284, D284, E284, F#284, G284, A284, B284, C285, D285, E285, F#285, G285, A285, B285, C286, D286, E286, F#286, G286, A286, B286, C287, D287, E287, F#287, G287, A287, B287, C288, D288, E288, F#288, G288, A288, B288, C289, D289, E289, F#289, G289, A289, B289, C290, D290, E290, F#290, G290, A290, B290, C291, D291, E291, F#291, G291, A291, B291, C292, D292, E292, F#292, G292, A292, B292, C293, D293, E293, F#293, G293, A293, B293, C294, D294, E294, F#294, G294, A294, B294, C295, D295, E295, F#295, G295, A295, B295, C296, D296, E296, F#296, G296, A296, B296, C297, D297, E297, F#297, G297, A297, B297, C298, D298, E298, F#298, G298, A298, B298, C299, D299, E299, F#299, G299, A299, B299, C300, D300, E300, F#300, G300, A300, B300, C301, D301, E301, F#301, G301, A301, B301, C302, D302, E302, F#302, G302, A302, B302, C303, D303, E303, F#303, G303, A303, B303, C304, D304, E304, F#304, G304, A304, B304, C305, D305, E305, F#305, G305, A305, B305, C306, D306, E306, F#306, G306, A306, B306, C307, D307, E307, F#307, G307, A307, B307, C308, D308, E308, F#308, G308, A308, B308, C309, D309, E309, F#309, G309, A309, B309, C310, D310, E310, F#310, G310, A310, B310, C311, D311, E311, F#311, G311, A311, B311, C312, D312, E312, F#312, G312, A312, B312, C313, D313, E313, F#313, G313, A313, B313, C314, D314, E314, F#314, G314, A314, B314, C315, D315, E315, F#315, G315, A315, B315, C316, D316, E316, F#316, G316, A316, B316, C317, D317, E317, F#317, G317, A317, B317, C318, D318, E318, F#318, G318, A318, B318, C319, D319, E319, F#319, G319, A319, B319, C320, D320, E320, F#320, G320, A320, B320, C321, D321, E321, F#321, G321, A321, B321, C322, D322, E322, F#322, G322, A322, B322, C323, D323, E323, F#323, G323, A323, B323, C324, D324, E324, F#324, G324, A324, B324, C325, D325, E325, F#325, G325, A325, B325, C326, D326, E326, F#326, G326, A326, B326, C327, D327, E327, F#327, G327, A327, B327, C328, D328, E328, F#328, G328, A328, B328, C329, D329, E329, F#329, G329, A329, B329, C330, D330, E330, F#330, G330, A330, B330, C331, D331, E331, F#331, G331, A331, B331, C332, D332, E332, F#332, G332, A332, B332, C333, D333, E333, F#333, G333, A333, B333, C334, D334, E334, F#334, G334, A334, B334, C335, D335, E335, F#335, G335, A335, B335, C336, D336, E336, F#336, G336, A336, B336, C337, D337, E337, F#337, G337, A337, B337, C338, D338, E338, F#338, G338, A338, B338, C339, D339, E339, F#339, G339, A339, B339, C340, D340, E340, F#340, G340, A340, B340, C341, D341, E341, F#341, G341, A341, B341, C342, D342, E342, F#342, G342, A342, B342, C343, D343, E343, F#343, G343, A343, B343, C344, D344, E344, F#344, G344, A344, B344, C345, D345, E345, F#345, G345, A345, B345, C346, D346, E346, F#346, G346, A346, B346, C347, D347, E347, F#347, G347, A347, B347, C348, D348, E348, F#348, G348, A348, B348, C349, D349, E349, F#349, G349, A349, B349, C350, D350, E350, F#350, G350, A350, B350, C351, D351, E351, F#351, G351, A351, B351, C352, D352, E352, F#352, G352, A352, B352, C353, D353, E353, F#353, G353, A353, B353, C354, D354, E354, F#354, G354, A354, B354, C355, D355, E355, F#355, G355, A355, B355, C356, D356, E356, F#356, G356, A356, B356, C357, D357, E357, F#357, G357, A357, B357, C358, D358, E358, F#358, G358, A358, B358, C359, D359, E359, F#359, G359, A359, B359, C360, D360, E360, F#360, G360, A360, B360, C361, D



**Ventall (193?), (BC)**

**Un poco rubato; quasi recitativo**

*p*

Cui - ta ven - tall, tren- ca-liun xic.

The score is in 3/4 time. The vocal line features a melody with two triplet markings. The piano accompaniment consists of sustained chords in the right hand and a bass line with dotted half notes in the left hand.

**Madrigal a Sitges (193?), (BC)**

**Allegretto**  
Sostenuto. A tempo

Oh Si-tges, cel i ca - li- tges, mar als -

*mf* Sostenuto. *p*

The score is in common time. The vocal line has a simple melody. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line and chords in the right hand. A *8va* marking is present above the first measure of the piano part.

**Lassa mesquina (193?), (BC)**

**Andantino**

Las - sa mes - qui - na que fa-ré

*p*  
*poco espr.*

The score is in common time. The vocal line has a simple melody. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line and chords in the right hand.

# L'alta naixença del rei en Jaume (1932), (IEV)

## Mvt. I. Introducció i Lletania

Quasi recitativo solo Andante solenne

Flutes 1. 2. *p dolce*

Oboes 1. 2.

Cor Anglais

Clarinets in B $\flat$

Bass Clarinet in B $\flat$  *pp*

Bassoons

Contrabassoon

Horn in F

Horns in F

Trumpet in B $\flat$

Trumpets in B $\flat$

Trombone

Trombone

Timpani

Percussion

Harp

Celesta

Piano

Quasi recitativo div. in 3 con sord. Andante solenne *trem. pp trem. pp*

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello *pizz. pp*

Contrabass

## Mvt. II. *Divino*

**Allegretto non troppo**  
Solo sempre colla voce

Clarinet 1 in B $\flat$

*pp dolce*

Harp

*pp*

Piano

*pp*

Soprano

SOPRANO 8<sup>va</sup>  
SOLO

Per set jo - ies. O Ma - ri - a queen a

Violoncello

*pizz.*  
*pp*

Contrabass

*pizz.*  
*pp*

## Mvt. III. *Follia*

**Allegro vivace**

Clarinet 1. 2. in B $\flat$

Timpani

*pp*  
senza sord.  
div.

Viola

*p*

Violoncello

*soli*  
(*pizz.*)

Contrabass

*pp*

# Mvt. IV. Passacaglia

**Andante assai**

Clarinet in B $\flat$  *pp*

Bass Clarinet in B $\flat$  *pp*

Bassoons *pp*

Contrabassoon *pp*

Horn in F 1. 2. *pp*

Horns in F 3. 4.

Trombone 1. 2.

Trombone 3.

Timpani

Piano *ppp* *p* *8<sup>va</sup>*

**Andante assai**

Violin I

Violin II *t*

Viola *ppp*

Violoncello *div. in 6 pp*

Violoncello *pp* *pizz.*

Contrabass *p*

## Mvt. V. Coral

Clarinet in B $\flat$  1. 2. *pp*

Clarinets in B $\flat$  *pp*

Bass Clarinet in B $\flat$  *pp*

Bassoon 1. 2. *pp*

Horn in F 1. 2. *pp*

Horns in F 3. 4. *pp*

Trumpet in B $\flat$  1. 2. *pp*

Trumpets in B $\flat$  3. *pp*

Trombone 1. 2. *p*

Tuba *pp*

Timpani *pp* *ppp*

Percussion *pp* Cym.

Piano *pp*

S. *pp*  
Tots s'a-ge-no llen - len - ta - ment; duu ca-das-cú son

A. *pp*  
Tots s'a-ge-no llen - len - ta - ment; duu ca-das-cú son

T. *pp*  
Tots s'a-ge-no llen - len - ta - ment; duu ca-das-cú son

B. *pp*  
Tots s'a-ge-no llen - len - ta - ment; duu ca-das-cú son

Violin I *pp*

Violin II *pp*


Viola *pp*


Violoncello *pp* Tutti pizz. arco pizz.


Contrabass *pp* div. unis. pizz. arco pizz.


# Ariel (1934), IEV


**Allegro molto**


Flute 1. 


2. 


3. 


Oboe 1. 


2. 


3. 


Clarinet in Bb 1. 


2. 


Clarinet in Bb 


Bass Clarinet in Bb 


Bassoon 1. 


2. 


Contrabassoon 


Horn in F 1. 


2. 


3. 


4. 


Trombone 1. 

2. 


3. 


Trombone 1. 


2. 

3. 


**Allegro molto**


Timpani 


Cymbals 


Violin 


**Allegro molto**


Violin I 

Violin II 

Viola 

Violoncello 

div. a 2 

Double Bass 

*pizz.*

# Albada, Interludi i Dansa (1937), (IEV)

## Mvt. I. Albada

**Allegretto, molto vivace**

Flutes

Oboes

Clarinets in B $\flat$

Bassoons

Horns in F

Trumpets in C

Trombones

Tuba

Timpani

**Allegretto, molto vivace**

Violins I

Violins II

Violas

Violoncellos

Doublebasses

*pizz.*

*p*

## Mvt. II. Interludi

**Andantino, con moto**

**Solo**

Clarinet in A

Trumpet in C

Trumpet in C

**Andantino, con moto**

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

*con sord.*

*p*

*pp dolce, espr.*

*con sord.*

*p*

*2 soli con sord. pizz.*

*2 soli con sord. p*

*2 Sole con sord. p*

*p*

# Mvt. III. *Dansa*

**Allegro molto**

Flute 1

Flute 2

Oboe

Clarinet in A

Clarinet in A

Trumpet in C 1

Trumpet in C 2

Timpani

Tambourine

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Doublebasses

*Solo*  
*p scherzando*

*(con sord.)*  
*p leggiero (con sord.)*  
*p leggiero*

*p*  
*Struck*  
*p*

**Allegro molto**  
*senza sord.*  
*pizz*  
*p*

*senza sord.*  
*pizz*  
*p*

*senza sord.*  
*saltato*  
*p*



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