
‘Lament and laughter’^[1]: emotional responses to exile in Gerhard’s post-Civil War works

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ABSTRACT

During the course of a visit to Andalusia in October 1921 Roberto Gerhard sent a postcard home to his friend Manuel González i Alba, [2] in which he jokingly criticised the over-ornate character of the inside of Cordoba’s Mosque. González i Alba’s biographer, Victor Castells, a leading expert in the history of Catalan nationalism, seizes on this not only as an example of Gerhard’s *Catalanitat* (‘Catalan-ness’) but also of his ‘implicit criticism of traditional Spain...of *andalusisme* in the line of *arabisme*’ [3]. Throughout his life Gerhard identified strongly with Catalonia’s struggle for self-assertion and resistance against Spanish (Castilian) domination. Nowhere were these allegiances more in evidence than in the works he composed in his English exile following Franco’s victory in the Spanish Civil War.

1. INTRODUCTION

Gerhard’s recourse to both Spanish and Catalan musical topics in these works is most commonly attributed to his desire to secure commissions on the one hand, or to a somewhat vague nostalgia for his homeland on the other. The following paper aims for a more nuanced, politicised reading. It explores the extent to which, to quote Samuel Llano, ‘Spanish music was for Gerhard not only a way of survival, but also a critical space where to give shape to his exile experience. The possibility of engaging critically with national culture allowed for an anti-official, anti-Franco stance’ [4]. Llano suggests that Gerhard was happy ‘to let his Catalan and Spanish personas coexist unproblematically, which allowed him to resort to one or the other at will’ [5]. It could be argued, however, that whilst these contrasting personas appear often in the same work, their coexistence is not always entirely peaceful. Indeed, I hope to demonstrate that Gerhard thematised his emotional response to the trauma of exile by contrasting two distinct topics: *enyorança* (nostalgic longing for Catalonia) and *españolismo* (clichéd representation of Spain). The former can most obviously be felt in the numerous Catalan laments Gerhard composed in exile, defiantly if somewhat forlornly proclaiming Catalan cultural survival. The latter reveals itself in the equally ubiquitous ‘Spanish’ dances which, in their ironic and often distorted evocations of the ‘Spanish’ musical idiom, appear distinctly subversive.

In order to introduce the salient features of each topic, I shall briefly examine two of Gerhard’s pre-exile compositions which draw on contrasting ‘Spanish’ and ‘Catalan’ musical idioms.

2. THE ‘SPANISH’ DANCE TOPIC

During his studies with Schoenberg, Gerhard composed a *Suite per a instruments de vent, corda, i piano* (1927) which is clearly modelled, both in its instrumentation [6] and ironic parody of popular forms, though not its idiosyncratic tonal writing, on Schoenberg’s serial *Suite* Op.29 composed the previous year. Gerhard’s suite is clearly a ‘Spanish’ (indeed almost exclusively Andalusian) piece rather than a ‘Second-Viennese’ one. In place of Schoenberg’s light-hearted reminiscences of Austro-Viennese popular music (Ländler, 1920’s dance rhythms, German folk songs), Gerhard draws on folk songs contained in Pedrell’s *Cancionero Musical Español* [7]. In *El Conde Sol*, for example, Gerhard parodies many of the melodic, rhythmic and colouristic clichés of the ‘Spanish’ idiom evoking a kind of fake Spain, an *España de Pandereta* (‘Tambourine Spain’), the sonic equivalent, if you like, of flashing eyes, bulls and flamenco [8]. It includes the following markers:

- Spanish dance rhythms
- Brisk triple time meter
- Hemiola rhythms and cross accents
- Simulated guitar techniques, *punteado* (rapid plucking) and *rasguado* (strumming).

Additional markers of the ‘Spanish’ idiom found in later works by Gerhard include:

- Rattling castanets, tambourines flourishes, hand-clapping (*palmadas*)
- Flamenco harmonic formulae such as the descending Phrygian tetrachord
- Heel stamping dance rhythms (*taconeo*) .

3. THE CATALAN LAMENT TOPIC

For an early example of the Catalan lament topic one need look no further than the intensely introspective Adagio of Gerhard’s ballet *Ariel* (1934). The ballet’s turbulent subject matter – centred on the conflict between good and evil embodied in the free spirit Ariel and the savage Caliban – may be seen against the backdrop of the worsening political situation in Spain [9]. The elegiac adagio opens with a luminous wide-intervalled theme on cellos and trumpet, infused with what Joaquim Homs describes as ‘an unmistakable Catalan air’ [10], evoking presumably the ‘sadness’ and ‘fear’ of Ariel’s imprisonment. In the outer sections this theme alternates with two subsidiary themes, both dominated by bitter-sweet major/minor thirds and sixths. Preliminary sketches for the ballet in an unpublished notebook held at the Gerhard archive in Valls reveal that the theme is a transformation of a *Goig de Roser*, a popular Catalan religious song. It opens with a *Lamento* motive, a recursive melodic turn figure comprising an ascending minor third followed by a descending semitone [11]. In its definitive transformation, the *lamento* motive is preceded by an ascending perfect fourth and in this guise, with its implied A minor tonality, it recalls the Catalan folk song *La Presó de Lleida* (‘Lleida Prison’) - a reference that takes on a poignant significance when one considers that Gerhard’s close friend, the poet and politician Ventura Gassol, was imprisoned following the events of October 1934. In the folk song, the prison’s thirty inmates sing a song composed by the youngest of them all, a poet. It is overheard by the jailor’s daughter who falls in love with the young troubadour and, in an attempt to release him, tries to acquire the keys to his cell from her father. Her efforts are in vain: the young man is hanged and the girl dies of love-sickness.

This mournful movement introduces many of the features that would characterise Gerhard’s later Catalan Laments:

- Slow tempo
- Minor key
- Quotation/stylisation of Catalan folk tunes
- *Lamento* motive (Ascending minor third followed by a descending semitone)
- Bitter-sweet major/minor thirds

Exile!
 Irrational longing to hark back to the past
 or else to speed up the march of time.
 Keen shafts of remembrance that sting like fire
 We have come to know the bitter sorrow
 of all the prisoners and exiles
 to live with a memory that serves no purpose.

These lines from Camus’ *La Peste*, spoken by the narrator during the central fifth section of Gerhard’s chilling Cantata *The Plague* (1964), clearly held a special resonance for the composer. Whilst he would respond to the trauma of exile with extraordinary resilience, even regarding it as an ‘absolute blessing in disguise’, there can be no doubt that on occasion he felt acutely, like many exiles before him, the pangs of nostalgia for his homeland and the ‘bitter sorrows’ of exile. Responding to a letter of condolence from his compatriot Pau Casals following the death of his mother, Gerhard describes ‘the grief of having lost our sweet mother, and additionally for us the bitterness of being unable to say goodbye. Exile has never seemed so cruel as today’ [12]. In a letter to the composer’s widow Poldi,

written only a year after the composer's death, Ferran, the youngest of the three brothers, recalls that whenever Carles (the middle brother) and his wife visited Valls and the family *masía* [country house] he sensed in him 'una més gran enyorança de Catalunya' ('a greater nostalgia for Catalonia') a 'sentiment', Ferran adds, 'which Roberto had also expressed' [13].

For all its timeless and universal message - 'the symbolic aspect of the work', Gerhard writes, 'should range freely over temporal as well as over national boundaries'- it is interesting to note that at the beginning of the central 'Exile' section of *The Plague*, Gerhard is unable to suppress his longing for Catalonia. Just as 'reminders of Camus's war-time experiences in the resistance movement are just below the surface' so here, in an inner voice 'below the surface' as it were, there is an allusion (conscious or otherwise) to one of the most celebrated and emotive of all Catalan patriotic songs: '*L'emigrant*' ('The Emigrant'), a setting by Amadeu Vives of a poem by the poet-priest Jacint Verdaguer. A paradigmatic embodiment of *enyorança*, the song begins:

*Dolça Catalunya,
patria de meu cor,
quan de tu s'allunya,
d'enyorança es mor.*

Sweet Catalonia
homeland of my heart,
to be far from you
is to die of longing

Vives's appropriately bitter-sweet setting moves from a section in C major to one in C minor. Gerhard here alludes to the latter which opens with a *Lamento* motive comprising an ascending minor third from C to Eb which then falls to D, creating a dissonance against the C pedal, before resolving upwards to Eb. Gerhard's version, scored for the plangent combination of two oboes and cor anglais, likewise begins with a relatively stable chord, a major/minor 'bitter-sweet' triad, that swells to a 'stinging' dissonant cluster before resolving and subsiding to the original chord. After a stunned pause, there follows a dissonant chordal build-up on strings and piano in which each note is accented like a stab of pain. As we shall see later, Gerhard will refer back to this passage towards the end of his *Symphony no. 4*.

Allusions to '*L'emigrant*' haunt many of Gerhard's exilic scores. Along with the ubiquitous ballad of *El Cotiló*, it could be considered one of the 'signature tunes' of Gerhard's exile. Unsurprisingly, when he was asked to provide a 'nostalgic' song for the incidental music he wrote for the anti-fascist thriller *Secret People* (1952), it was *L'Emigrant* that came to mind [14].

4. FALSE DREAMS AND THWARTED HOPES: THE VIOLIN CONCERTO

The topics of *enyorança* and *españolismo* are nowhere more dramatically juxtaposed than in the final movement of the war-time *Violin Concerto* (1942-5). Whilst adhering to no conventional formal scheme, its tripartite outline does correspond to a formal archetype described by Gerhard in his notebooks:

The propelling energy of the beginning (the thrust from the *hiding places* of the past), the gravitational pull of the end and the crisis in between – that is the thumbnail sketch of the formal archetype.

The movement opens with jaunty snatches of the *Marseillaise*, immediately 'propelling' us from the slow movement's nostalgic musing into a euphoric present. Gerhard would later maintain that the references to the *Marseillaise* were 'unintentional' but this has not stopped commentators offering a programmatic explanation. Homs relates these quotations to the recent liberation of Paris, suggesting that they symbolise, subconsciously or otherwise, freedom. Francis Routh (via Gerhard presumably) claims that they specifically recalled 'the fall of France in 1940 as well as the composer's French mother'.

Whilst fluctuating in terms of key, this opening span gradually unveils the pitch A as the tonal centre of the movement. It also establishes the important role that frictions between keys a third apart will play.

At bar 5, for example, two keys equidistant from A (B and G majors) are bitonally combined. In the following section, A becomes the focal note (from Fig. 80) of the solo violin's scalic figurations and the second violin's obsessive open string repetitions, only to be underpinned by a bass pedal point on C, a minor third above. In the next section, the solo violin's frenzied open string A's are now 'balanced' by a chord of F major, a major third below. Here, the bass E pedal takes up the opening's dominant preparation and eventually resolves, via a conventional perfect cadence, on a clarifying chord of A major, only slightly undermined by Bb Phrygian irritations.

Tonally, we have arrived home and 'home' is Catalonia. Gerhard talked of a 'change of fortune' in this central span, a 'reversal of feeling' from joy, perhaps, at the cessation of hostilities, to sadness at the continued plight of Catalonia, hopes dashed of an allied aided reinstatement of Republican democracy. Movingly, it takes the form of a stylised *sardana*, the Catalan dance currently banned by Franco, complete with introductory harmonic passage on solo violin evoking the sounds of the *flaviol* and a dactylic rhythmic *ostinato* accompaniment simulating the *tamboril*. Whilst recalling any number of actual *sardanas* in its wistfully melancholic melody, to my mind it is particularly redolent of the most celebrated and symbolic of all *sardanas*, *La Santa Espina* ('Christ's Thorn'), one of Catalonia's great patriotic hymns. Both share not only an A-centred melody with bitter-sweet major-minor third and variable seventh degree, but also a mournful falling three-note motive which, in the concerto, propels the work to its climax. Almost immediately the *Marseillaise* intrudes on trumpets (Fig. 90), its martial fanfare now striking a more defiant note and engendering a passage of clearly tragic cast involving an agitated development of the falling third motive (marked *intenso*) the repetitions of which become more condensed. Heralded by one last vehement blast of the *Marseillaise* fanfare and a brief flashback of the first movement's principal theme, the climax itself (*Poco sostenuto, teneramente*, Fig. 95) provides one final tender look back.

With an abrupt change of mood, the movement ends with an extended Presto coda, a whirling Spanish dance that 'cuts short' nostalgic longing for Catalonia with music which seems to mock the idealised *Espana de Pandereta* ('Tambourine Spain') projected by Franco's regime. Perhaps one can detect here that same 'troubled interaction between the sorrow of loss and bitterness at contemplating that loss' that Arnold Whittall finds in certain works of Bartok such as the *String Quartet no. 6* whose drama, Whittall argues, 'involves a distinction between a lament for lost 'nature' (nationality) and the bitter mocking of the oppressive alien' [15].

The mocking tone manifests itself here in the ironising of popularised Spanish dance idioms. First to be parodied is Andalusian flamenco (Fig. 98) in a passage which evokes and distorts the sunny A major world of Rimsky-Korsakov's *Capriccio Espagnol* of 1887 (which itself includes a flashy part for solo violin), specifically the *Scena e canto gitano*. A succession of *españolista* clichés ensues: the obligatory tambourine flourishes and clacking castanets, the timpani's A/E tonic/dominant *ostinato*, the strings rapid *pizzicato* E's *punteado*, the solo violin's melismatic gypsy 'ay' cries (Rimsky's descending *saltato* violin arpeggios imitating *rasguedo* are deferred, however, until the subsequent dance). But the deviations are even more suggestive. Rimsky's melody, based on the A Phrygian mode with variable third degree (C/C#), is reflected as through a kind of distorting mirror, so that it uses up all 12 semitones between the E harmonic (Fig. 98+9) and the Eb (Fig. 99). Later, a skipping motive derived from the melody is pungently harmonised in major seconds (clarinets Fig. 101), an interval whose repetition conventionally signifies, as Esti Sheinberg has noted in relation to the music of Shostakovich, mocking laughter [16].

The sound of laughter crescendos in the next dance, a stylized *Jota Aragonesa* which invokes the spirit of the Spanish violin virtuoso Pablo Sarasate in the guise of 'an ironic quotation from a one time popular tune' [17]. Following a swaggering horn theme, the 'popular tune' is unceremoniously answered by a raucous trombone raspberry. Gerhard describes this as 'glissando laughter' (directed at Franco's Spain, perhaps). It strikingly recalls a similar thumb-on-nose gesture in the work of another exile satirizing the coarseness of fascism: the *Intermezzo interotto* movement of Bartok's recent *Concerto for Orchestra* (1943). Bartok's trombone glissando follows a citation of the 'fascist' theme from Shostakovich's Seventh symphony based, itself, on a banal popular Viennese song. Exactly as in the Gerhard, the mocking tone is embodied in 'laughing' woodwind staccato quavers descending in seconds. In the home straight of the concerto (*Stretto* Fig. 103), which follows a brief violin cadenza and begins with rising chromatic scales on clarinets a major second apart ending flutter-tonguing, the trombone's 'glissando laughter' is 'echoed' in the solo violin's descending fingered chromatic scales. There is one more clue that suggests that it could indeed be *The Dreams and Lies of Franco* (to borrow

the title of one of Picasso's cartoons) that Gerhard is mocking here. In one of his cues for his incidental music to Robert Graves' play *The Anger of Achilles* (1963), two flutes, a minor second apart, execute a rapidly descending chromatic scale that culminates in a flutter-tongued crescendo. It bears the title: 'False Dreams'.

5. 'AFFAIRS OF OUR COUNTRY': *PANDORA*

Gerhard continued to dwell on 'home thoughts from abroad' in his wartime ballet *Pandora* (1944). Whilst Kurt Jooss's scenario transcends time and place, Gerhard's music clearly relates the mythical story to contemporary events in Spain. Indeed, he confessed as much to Ventura Gassol, noting 'that it is possible to sense in this work...that it evokes affairs of our country and, most concretely, something personal to you' [18].

Gassol, doubtless, would have recognised many of the Catalan references which saturate Gerhard's score. But the specifically 'Spanish' references are just as telling. The music of the opening ensemble movement (*The Quest*), for example, depicts a restless crowd searching desperately for some intangible thing to believe in. The implacable march-like accompaniment, harmonically abrasive and rhythmically relentless, immediately evokes an atmosphere of foreboding; equally ominous is the quotation (rhythmically transformed) of *Antón Pirulero*, a Spanish children's song (which accompanies a game) whose text (like the game itself) concerns the selfish amassing of material wealth: 'Each and everyone to his shop, to his play, and he who does not have a shop will pay with a piece of clothing'. The message is clear: the God that that the crowd will turn to is Mammon. On cue, an ascending glissando and a sudden flash of light herald the appearance of the beautiful but wholly destructive Pandora.

During the third movement of the ballet the crowd turn once more to Pandora who offers her magic box to whoever can take it from her. The Strong Man and the Go-Getter contend for the box with the sly trickery of the latter defeating the honest endeavour of the former. The drunken crowd is portrayed in *Pandora's Carnival*, a frenetic, orgiastic *dance macabre* complete with skeletal xylophone glissandi. Accompanied by the obsessive rhythms of the *jota aragonesa*, hemiola rhythms and tambourine flourishes this is patently a 'Spanish' dance. It provides a stark contrast to the gentler Catalan music associated with Psyche and the Youth, the finale's hymn of hope and Montserrat's *memento mori* which can be heard stalking the background like some kind of grim reaper. Thus it prefigures the carnivalesque finales of *The Duenna* and the *Piano Concerto*.

Symbolically contrasting with these satirical 'Spanish dances', the finale opens with a heartfelt Catalan lament in which an expressive, bitter-sweet A major/minor melody (which opens with a *major* version of the *Lamento* motive) takes wing above the *basso ostinato's* funereal tread. The major mode colouring soon contracts into the minor, alluding once more to *L'Emigrant* before seamlessly evolving into a transformation of the Catalan folksong, *La Germana Rescatada* ('The Rescued Sister').

6. 'NOSTALGIA, I SUPPOSE': *THE DUENNA*

'Nostalgia, I suppose', Gerhard told Mr Rutland of the BBC [19], is also what coloured his feeling towards Sheridan's *The Duenna*, a play set in Seville. He would later complain that it was the opera's very subject matter that partly contributed to its luke-warm reception. It must have seemed a curious choice (bordering on an 'offence against the *Zeitgeist*' as Gerhard wryly observed in 1951) for an opera composed in the immediate aftermath of World War II, its subject matter seemingly divorced from the world in which Gerhard lived. But, as David Drew astutely reminded us in a radio talk given on the occasion of the first stage production, the deep point about *The Duenna* is that it related to the world that Gerhard did *not* live in, namely the Spanish one.

It is an interesting coincidence that Gerhard's opera, like Stravinsky's Hogarth-inspired *The Rake's Progress* (produced in Vienna in 1951), invokes the etchings of an eighteenth century artist, Goya. But it was not the Goya of the graceful rococo tapestries that had once inspired Gerhard's teacher Granados in his *Goyescas* which Gerhard turned to, but the more modernistic, terrifying late Goya: the Goya of the *Caprichos*, the *Desastres de Guerra* and the *Disparates* [20].

In adapting his opera, Gerhard compressed Sheridan's text, ruthlessly stripping it of sentimentality and adding his own introduction as well as colourful masquerades to conclude Acts 1 and 3. Gerhard's excisions from, and additions to the original play provide a dark, Goyaesque corrective to Sheridan's idealised vision of 18th century Spain where hypocrisy, poverty and prostitution were rife, not unlike 1940s Spain. The beggars, corrupt aristocracy, hypocritical brethren, predatory prostitutes and their bawds that people Gerhard's opera could well have leapt out of one of Goya's savagely satirical etchings. It is a moot point whether Gerhard intended them as a satirical, however coded, critique of post-war Spain but if that were the case he would not be alone amongst 20th century Spanish artists in invoking Goya for covert socio-political protest. Two later examples provide intriguing parallels. Luis Martín-Santos, in his merciless vision of Spain, *Tiempo de Silencio* [Time of Silence, publ. 1962] applies Goya's sarcasm to the underworld of Spanish post-war society, alluding in particular to several of the *Caprichos*. Antonio Buero in his celebrated play *El sueño de la razón* [The Sleep of Reason, 1970], focuses on the conflict between an ageing Goya and a despotic Fernando VII but, as Phyllis Zatlin points out, 'Franco-era spectators, who had developed a keen ability to read subtexts, readily understood that nineteenth-century repression depicted on stage was repeated in their real world' [21]. Had Gerhard been able to secure a stage performance of *The Duenna* at Barcelona's Teatre del Liceu during his visit to Spain in 1948 as he hoped, many in the audience would have understood the latent meaning behind the Goya references. Some may have even enjoyed the irony that at precisely the time that Gerhard was working on his opera, Goya was being reduced in Spain to a painter of *majas*, bulls and picturesque local customs by a Franquist ideology intent on promoting him as a heroic embodiment of 'authentic' national character.

Though ostensibly a comic opera, at times *The Duenna* becomes 'no laughing matter'. The first act, for example ends with a large-scale *zarzuela*-style Spanish dance finale, driven by the rhythms of the *jota* and exploiting the chorus antiphonally. As Father Paul and Luisa set off to Isaac's lodgings they encounter a sinister crowd, whose prurient interest in any whiff of scandal has been aroused by mention of Clara's name. Most inopportunistically Ferdinand arrives and mistakes the veiled Luisa for his beloved Clara. Her terror of being exposed is exacerbated by the sight of Don Jerome. Father Paul makes a timely intervention and Luisa and Isaac escape. Ferdinand is panic-stricken and, amidst the chaos and anxiety caused by what in the context of a comic opera is the disconcertingly incongruous appearance of a swarm of beggars (to whom, tellingly, the crowd turn a blind eye just as the wealthy Nationalist victors in 1940's Spain blocked out the reality of what the Spanish writer Manuel Vázquez Montalbán has called 'the reign of material truths') [22] he imagines he has caught a fleeting glimpse of Clara, now in a sedan chair. Both the grotesque, accumulating crowd and the way in which the jaunty *jota* turns more sinister – with the chilling reappearance of the Catalan *memento mori* (associated with the 'brethren of deadly sin') blared out on trombones – are distinctly unnerving. It is difficult not to relate this beggars' episode to the abject poverty of rural Andalusia and Spain as a whole, whose population was being brutalised, exploited and dehumanised by Franco's regime. In both this finale, and in the one that concludes the opera, Gerhard subverts the Francoist rhetoric of economic and social progress in 1940s Spain by allowing the vanquished victims of these 'years of hunger', as this bleak post-Civil War period became known, to take centre stage [23].

The opera ends with a jubilant *denouement* in which all three couples are happily reunited. Having been thoroughly outwitted, Don Jerome invites everybody, including the beggars, to the wedding celebrations and the opera climaxes in an extended fiesta-style dance finale, a 'grand fandango-rondo' according to the composer. The conclusion, however, is far from unambiguously affirmative. The E major refrain is repeatedly undercut by unsettling chromatic episodes dominated by the music associated with the beggars. 'We would banish care away' the chorus sings, allowing nothing to impinge on their hedonistic merriment, precisely the kind of escapist mentality (or 'culture of evasion' as it has been dubbed) that would have been familiar to many in 1940s Spain. 'On the grave of memory, intellect, love, on the real graves of more than half of Spain lying dead', Vázquez Montalbán writes (alluding to the lyrics of a popular 1940s song), 'one more boogie woogie who cared' [24]. Gerhard, for one, certainly cared and at the end of his opera the Catalan *memento mori* returns like a spectre at the feast as if to denounce the folly of this Andalusian (read: Spanish) society.

The first work Gerhard composed after the *The Duenna* was a *Viola Sonata* (1948, currently lost) which he subsequently refashioned into the *Cello Sonata* in 1956. The last two movements present in turn his Catalan and Spanish personae.

The deeply expressive, Bartokian central movement, *Grave*, alludes to the Catalan lullaby *Sant Jaume, patró d'Espana*. ('Saint James, patron of Spain') [25][26]. Stylistically the movement looks back to the slow movement of the *Concertino for Strings* (1927) as well as forward to the *Diferencias* movement of the *Piano Concerto*. As in those works, the 'cello writing here suggests highly stylised folk song recalling not only the Catalan cradle songs of Gerhard's youth but also the highly embellished and passionate vocalisations of Catalan work songs. Complete with ornamental turns and front-accented rhythms, this elegiac movement nostalgically evokes images of the Catalan landscape.

But what are we to make of the lively 'Spanish' dance rondo that concludes the work, the 'A' refrain of which is based on a seemingly innocent *Copla de Corro*, a popular children's song from Madrid? [27] Are we really expected to take this 'happy ending' at face value? *Pandora's* children's song, discussed above, should at least give us pause for thought. One's scepticism only increases when one realises that this ostensibly inconsequential melody had distinctly darker resonances with which Gerhard was surely familiar. For it was adopted by the International Brigade during the Civil War, with the originally childlike lyrics substituted with aggressive and boastful anti-fascist ones. Under its new title *Que Sera* ('What will be'), it was one of five such battle songs, including the unofficial Catalan national anthem *Els Segadors* quoted by Gerhard in *Soirees de Barcelone*, that were released on 78 rpm records in Paris 1938 and grew to legendary fame, arranged and conducted by Rudolpho Hallfer and Gustavo Pittaluga.

7. 'EXALTING NATIONAL SENTIMENT WITH INSANITY': THE *PIANO CONCERTO* (1951) AND *HARPSICHORD CONCERTO* (1955-56)

A similar progression from central Catalan lament to ironic Spanish dance finale can be found in the *Piano Concerto*. The title of the slow middle movement, *Diferencias*, refers to Spanish Renaissance vihuela variations typically based on popular themes. Like its English counterpart the 'Division', the *Diferencias* features the subdivision of longer notes into shorter ones, something exploited by Gerhard here (Figs. 2-4). Gerhard's example is in fact a set of double variations on, in turn, a folk-like melody and a stylised Catalan religious song. But unlike Bartók in the slow movement of his *Piano Concerto no. 3* (1945), Gerhard resists marking his adagio 'religioso'. Bartók's adagio, though, clearly provided a recent model for Gerhard, not least its chorale references and central evocation of natural landscapes and phenomena, bird song in Bartók, rural Catalonia in Gerhard.

Beyond these generic parallels, there are formal, tonal, rhythmic and colouristic parallels which might justify labelling this movement as 'Serial Bartók', were not those influences so totally absorbed into the music's bloodstream. Gerhard's slow movement is, nonetheless, a darkly ruminative lament, an exile's nostalgia for his homeland of the kind that Bartók would have understood.

The movement is cast in an ABCBA Coda form reminiscent of the palindromic arch-forms favoured by Bartók in, for example, the mysterious third movement of his *Music for Strings, Percussion and Celeste* (1936). The prelude A section opens with a stately theme on solo piano harmonised by vihuela-style rolling chords. The B theme emerges at Fig.1, a dolorous, chant-like melody intoned by the lower strings (*dolcissimo, espressivo*) accompanied by guitar-like tremolo on the piano. It is closely modelled on an authentic *Goig de Roser* included in the *Obra del Cançoner Popular de Catalonia*. Gerhard preserves the mode of the original melody – G minor with variable seventh degree, F/F# – but by beginning and ending his theme on F# he prioritises the tritonal counter pole of the work's quasi-modal final C.

Reviewing the Concerto's premiere recording, Paul Driver described this adagio as a kind of 'Nights in the Garden of Franco's Spain' and the movement certainly has a nocturnal feel. His hunch is not far wide of the mark if the evidence of the crepuscular music Gerhard composed for Programme 9 of *War in the Air* ('Wings over Italy) is anything to go by. Here, Gerhard recycles the concerto's *Goig de Roser* melody to accompany the night flights of RAF Wellington bombers and harrowing images of cities burning at night.

At Fig.2 memories are lingered over as the mood intensifies with the first violins counterpointing their own version of B (emphasising the tritonal pole of C) against the original melody in the piano. The variation alludes in turn to the *dies irae* plainchant (signifying revenge for events in Spain?), *El Cotiló* (pain of exile?) and the concluding chorale of Gerhard's 1932 cantata *L'alta naixença de Rei En Jaume*

(thwarted Catalan aspirations?) as emotions run wild, passionately welling up before subsiding onto a (briefly) unadorned F# major triad.

Section C introduces flickering major/minor piano figurations which lead to an impassioned melody on the piano, an ecstatic almost mystical vision of the Catalan landscape (the piano roulades at Fig.5 are marked *con esaltazione*), calling to mind those Bartókian evocations of night on the Hungarian plain with their quivering ‘night music’. With its profuse ornamentation, scotch-snap rhythms, metrically free, improvisatory nature the melody recalls the same Mallorcan agricultural song (*Cançó de Llaurar*) stylised by Gerhard over twenty years earlier in the slow movement of his *Concertino for Strings*: a Catalan cousin of the *parlando-rubato* songs encountered by Bartók in east European folk music (cf. the anguished viola lament in the third movement of Bartók’s *Music for Strings, Percussion and Celeste*). Here Gerhard manipulates the 12-note source set so as to generate complete octatonic collections, superimposing two transpositions in a way not dissimilar to the slow movement of the *Wind Quintet* of twenty three years earlier. The vision soon fades amid further snatches of the *dies irae* and *El Cotiló*.

The varied reprise of section B (Fig.6) opens with a canonic, muted reprise of the Cantata’s chorale. Triumphant in the earlier cantata, here, hardly surprisingly given the fate of Catalonia, it is disembodied and subdued recalling in sound the veiled opening of Bartók’s *Piano Concerto no. 2*. The chorale ushers in a return of theme B followed by a reprise of the flickering piano writing (now marked *visionario*).

Cascading piano glissandi eventually lead to a transposed reprise of the prelude (solo piano) to which the chorale melody provides a ghostly string counterpoint, initially pizzicato but later combining plucking with tremolo *sul ponticello* in imitative (*stretto*) entries at the eerie interval of a tritone. Marked *com un’ombra* (‘like a shadow’) the passage is unnervingly crepuscular in mood.

The Coda (Fig.12) reaches a new level of intensity (*ma intenso*) before eventually drifting away with murmuring tritonic quintuplet motives and a final, hushed snippet of the Catalan folk song *L’Antonia*. A further clue encouraging a reading of this movement as some kind of post-war lament lies in the fact that Gerhard later quotes this forlorn melody in the second film (cue 4 M3) of the series *War in the Air* (*The Battle of Britain*) where it accompanies the image of a British fire-fighter picking up a dead comrade’s helmet from the rubble.

In one of his notebook jottings Gerhard describes nationalism as another form of ‘la folie’. In a further notebook entry, referring specifically to the pernicious nationalism of Franco’s fascists, he warns:

In its heyday ‘nationality’ was an idea. Its resurgence today is a form of pathology. Three quotes that should not be forgotten:

1. ‘We are going to exalt national sentiment with insanity, with paroxysm, with whatever need be. Better a nation of imbeciles than international sanity’ (A Falange slogan).
2. Millán-Astray [28], the one-armed mercenary shouting Unamuno down with ‘Muera la inteligencia’ – probably the original from which Goering got his ‘When I hear the word intellectual I reach for my revolver’.
3. Summing it all up best, Millán-Astray’s ‘Viva la Muerte’!

If any piece of Gerhard portrays a ‘nation of imbeciles’ exalting ‘national sentiment with insanity’ them it is surely the third movement (*folia*) of the *Piano Concerto*: and the identity of the nation is clear. Much as the central elegy of Berthold Goldschmidt’s *String Quartet* (also entitled *folia*) was that composer’s response to events in Nazi Germany and to the plight of his fellow Jews, so Gerhard’s *folia* surely mocks the madness that had overtaken Spain and the folly of its people.

Not for the first (or last) time in Gerhard, we encounter an almost Bartók-ian alternation of expressive topics, progressing from the slow movement’s lament for homeland (i.e. Catalonia) to the finale’s ‘bitter mocking of the oppressive alien’ (i.e. Franco’s Spain). Only here the rhetorical trajectory from *enyorança* to *españolismo* is ‘exalted’ with even more ‘insanity’ than in the presto coda of the *Violin Concerto*, ‘Pandora’s Carnival’ or the final tableau of *The Duenna*.

One need hardly be an expert in psychology to realise how, for an exile, nostalgic musings can lead to feelings of resentment and bitterness. Significantly perhaps, the last four notes of the slow movement's closing *L'Antonia* citation become the springboard for the scurrying *moto perpetuo* finale, a wild Spanish dance.

The *Folia* was originally a triple time dance of Portuguese origin whose melody, the *Folia d'Espagne* as it became known, provided the basis for numerous Theme and Variations by composers ranging from Corelli to Liszt. Gerhard describes it as 'a fantasy like form based on a ground' characterised by a 'display of contrapuntal and instrumental virtuosity'. But the word in Catalan (spelt *folia*) also connotes madness or lunacy and Gerhard's 'folia' can perhaps best be heard as a musical counterpart to the *Disparates* ('follies') of Goya, those mocking indictments of human (Spanish) folly. Gerhard's programme note points to the connection:

To my feeling the 'Folia' tune has rather something sombre, menacing about it, and this stands in strong contrast with the frenzied carnival-folly atmosphere of the whole finale. I confess that the image that does obtrude here in my own mind is more like that of Goya's 'Burial of the Sardine' than one of pomp and circumstance [29].

Aimed at the notoriously patriotic prom audience Gerhard's note suggests that the *folia*, composed in 1951 the year of the Festival of Britain, should be interpreted as an antidote to 'pomp and circumstance'. He also makes explicit the link to Goya, referring specifically to 'Carnival-Folly' (the title of one of Goya's *Disparates*) and to the small painting *The Burial of the Sardine*.

The latter depicts a frenzied carnival scene, a mock religious ceremony connected with the Madrid custom of burying a sardine on Ash Wednesday. It features an unruly moving procession of masked figures dancing feverishly behind a banner of the sinister 'Lord of Misrule', a grinning giant who upsets the established order and provokes every man to reveal his true nature. It is perhaps not too fanciful to equate the 'Lord of Misrule' with Franco himself and the unruly crowd as the Spanish people. Perhaps in invoking the carnival theme Gerhard, like Goya from his French exile, wanted to allude to the political, social and moral state of contemporary Spain. Carnival, of course, was banned in Franco's Spain, not least in Gerhard's home town of Valls, whose own version of *The Burial of the Sardine* was proscribed owing to its subversive socio-political nature [30].

The movement opens with a frenzied five-part *fugato* which counterpoints a *moto perpetuo* semiquaver theme against an angular, 'herky-jerky' pizzicato countersubject (*ff marcato*) which provides a striking musical counterpart to Goya's bustling throng of prancing grotesques. The passage eventually climaxes in the entry of the soloist before settling onto 'tonic' octave C's and the unmistakably Spanish rhythms of the *jota aragonesa*. A crescendo-ing, ascending, obsessively repeating transition passage creates a sense of foreboding and prepares the way for the B theme (Fig.8 *Poco meno*). This is dominated by spectral, *saltando* violin figures, aping the accompanying castanet rhythms of the *sevillanas* and *bolero*, which provide the harmonic background (emphasising 'spooky' tritones and superimposed diminished sevenths) to more swirling *sul ponticello* figurations. These pre-echo the *folia* theme which is finally starkly presented in octaves by the soloist.

Succeeding passages alternate themes A (swirling semiquavers) and B (*saltando* dance rhythms) in quick succession with many a playfully distorted allusion to Chabrier's *España*, a favourite Gerhard code for *españolismo* (cf. the *Violin Concerto* and the *Symphony no. 4*) who seems to have viewed it with the same disdain as many other Spanish composers who, according to Poulenc, regarded it as a poor relation to the *zarzuela*. Marked *molto giocoso* the passage calls to my mind the half-witted carnival fool or *bobalicón* (the same moronic giant who appears in the *Burial of the Sardine*) who dances inanely clicking his castanets in Plate 4 of the *Disparates* series.

A new, savagely pounding theme enters the fray three bars after Fig.17. With its front-accented dance rhythms it is a Spanish cousin of the stylised Hungarian folk dance that opens the finale of Bartók's *Piano Concerto no. 3*. Fig. 23 brings a return of the *Folia* melody, now taking on a more sinister aspect, marked *minaccioso* ('menacing'). A contrasting section, which curiously quotes the central trio section from the final movement of Gerhard's *Wind Quintet* (perhaps recalling another example of Spanish folly i.e. the negative public reaction to that work's Barcelona premiere) provides a brief moment of relaxation. Following a brief piano cadenza, however, the opening's manic music returns in a headlong rush to the end but not without one final, vehement reference to *La Folia*.

The finale of the *Harpichord Concerto* is another frenzied Spanish *dance macabre*. It opens with an allusion to the prelude to Ruperto Chapí's celebrated *zarzuela* (Spanish comic operetta) *La Revoltosa* [31]. Whilst to make ends meet Gerhard made several arrangements of *zarzuelas* (using his anti-Castillian pseudonym Juan de Serralonga) he was hardly a fan of the genre. The very thought that his opera *The Duenna* might be seen as some kind of grand *zarzuela* he found 'distasteful'. *Zarzuela*, on the other hand, was the only music that Franco enjoyed apart from military marches. Indeed, as Carol Hess has pointed out, 'the Franco regime would eventually promote it for tranquilizing ends' [32]. There is nothing tranquil, however, about Gerhard's pungently dissonant treatment of Chapí's melody here. Indeed, a politically subversive reading of the movement is encouraged by subsequent references to the anti-fascist theme from the finale of the *Cello Sonata* and to *Los Pelegrinatos*, an Andalusian song harmonised by Gerhard's friend Lorca, the martyred poet assassinated by Franco's henchmen during the Civil War.

8. 'SIGNS OF IDENTITY' IN GERHARD'S *SYMPHONY NO. 4* (1966-7)

Composed between November 1966 and October 1967, Gerhard's *Symphony no. 4* proved to be his final symphonic essay. Not surprisingly, it has a distinctly valedictory feel. At the beginning of May 1967, in the middle of composing the symphony, Gerhard made what would turn out to be his penultimate visit to Spain, staying on the Costa Brava. During the visit, Gerhard informed Joaquim Homs, Ricardo and Joaquim Gomis and Joan Prats about a projected BBC television documentary about his life and work, [33] asking Joaquim and Joan to assist the film crew in shooting scenes in Barcelona and Valls. The film crew's visit to Valls, in June 1967, was timed to coincide with the Sant Joan festival, a festival which marks the beginning of the *castells* season, the tradition of building human castles, performed by the *Xiquets of Valls*. [34]. Tellingly, allusions to the accompanying music to this festival play an important role in the symphony.

It is tempting to speculate on the extent to which Gerhard might have identified with Alvaro Mendoza, the protagonist of *Seños de Identidad* (Signs of Identity), a novel published in 1966 while Gerhard was working on the *Symphony no. 4* by another bitter opponent of Franco's regime, Juan Goytisolo. Like Gerhard, Alvaro is a Spanish exile who returns (in his case from Paris) to his family home in Barcelona. Rather than being the subject of a documentary, he is there to make a documentary. Again like Gerhard he has a potentially fatal heart condition. During the visit he reflects on the tangled roots of his destiny and on his ambivalence towards Spain and Spanishness. But no matter how hard he tries to reject his country, to renounce nostalgia, it proves impossible for the self-exile to strip himself of a former existence – of the signs of identity [35].

Aspects of identity, nostalgia, and the passing of time are central to the *Symphony no. 4*. So are the now familiar Catalan 'lament' and Spanish dance topics which are here dramatically pitted against each other. In a seminal article on the work, Calum Macdonald [36] has drawn a parallel between the episodic structure of the symphony and that of the near contemporary *Gemini* (1966) whose form unfolds (according to the composer's programme note) 'a braiding of diverse strands', the recurrences of which 'might be compared to thought returning persistently the same main topic.' One of the recurrent topics in the symphony, I would suggest, is *enyorança*. Macdonald traces the way in which (what I will dub) a 'nostalgic' strand emerges first on oboes and trumpets (4 bars before Fig.5), the latter enunciating a rising minor third which later expands into our *Lamento* motive, only to disappear and re-emerge later. Later still, after a truly terrifying 'Spanish' scherzo (whose opening trumpet fanfare distorts Chabrier's *España* before alluding to the *Retraída está la infanta* theme in the *Harpichord Concerto*), dreamy harp glissandi open a portal to a lost (Catalan) world as two oboes pick up the nostalgic thread (Fig.70). The nostalgic motivic cell now flowers into a full-blown melody, the mournful Catalan *Goig del Roser* theme from slow movement of the *Piano Concerto*, followed in turn by the 'exile' motive and dissonant chordal accumulation from the passage in *The Plague* discussed earlier. The music stagnates but we are soon jolted from this wistful reverie, by a '*Deciso*' section (One can only speculate what has been decided?) followed by another violent 'Spanish' Allegro which climaxes in a brutal distortion of *España* followed by a terrifying orchestral scream. Finally, the nostalgic strand culminates in an extraordinary melody (Fig.92) which is a concentrated concatenation of intertextual allusions. As I have explained elsewhere, not only do the two oboes imitate the *Toccata de Gralla* from the *Xiquets of Valls*, but the melody opens with a final transfiguration of *El Cotiló*, the Catalan ballad of a condemned prisoner. Subsequent phrases allude in turn to *The Plague's*

L'emigrant-related 'Exile' motive and a Catalan folk song *L'Antonia*, quoted by Gerhard in *Soirées de Barcelone*, the *Piano Concerto* and *War in the Air*. Following a chiming, relentlessly 'tick-tocking' passage in which time seems to be passing slowly, a vehement Coda concludes the work.

Goytisolo's 'Signs of Identity' concludes:

And if a fate that is harsh for you as it was for the others takes you away without you wishing before you see the life of your country and its men restored leave evidence at least of this time do not forget what happened there do not be silent perhaps someone will understand later what order you tried to resist and what your crime was.

In the *Symphony no. 4* as in all the works discussed in this paper, Gerhard, through 'lament and laughter', bears witness.

9. REFERENCES

- [1] The phrase 'Lament and Laughter' (in Catalan 'lament i rialla') is borrowed from the opening poem of the collection *La pell de brau* ('The Bull's Hide') by the dissident Catalan poet, Salvador Espriu.
- [2] The postcard, dated 3 October 1921, is quoted in Castells, V, *Manuel González i Alba: Una vida per la independència*, Barcelona 1985, 47. A militant Catalan nationalist, González i Alba (1899-1934) would become a future leader of the Catalan Proletarian Party. Gerhard and González i Alba became close friends in 1914 when both returned home, following studies abroad. Valls at that time was a hotbed of growing Catalanism. That same year, limited devolution had been ceded to Catalonia via the *Mancomunitat* (the administration of the four Catalan provinces between 1914 and 1929), a development that would inspire González i Alba's radical nationalist ideas. According to Castells, the Catalan environment naturally had a much deeper impact on the pair of youths than on their parents, not only in the careers but in 'their behaviour...their understanding of the world, its people and its problems'. Castells stresses that Gerhard's affinity with González i Alba had more to do with matters cultural than ideological. For a contrasting view see J. Ventura i Solé, *Manuel González i Alba: Una Vida per a Catalunya*, Valls, 1979, 64, who reveals that when Gerhard visited Manuel's widow shortly after her husband's death, 'he did not condemn Manuel's attitude – for he himself had engaged in clandestine struggle and felt the passionate force of the nationalistic idea (my emphasis) - but only his sacrifice in contemplating the precarious situation in which he had left his wife and children.'
- [4] LLANO, S. 2009. 'Suppressing dissidence: Roberto Gerhard and British music criticism'. Paper presented at Royal Irish Academy of Music (2-12 July 2009).
- [5] LLANO, S. 2009. 'Dissidence and the Poetics of Nostalgia: Narratives of exile in the music of Roberto Gerhard.' Paper given at the Anglo-Catalan Society conference, University of Kent (14-16 November 2009).
- [6] Both septets are scored for wind trio, string trio and piano but Gerhard substitutes trumpet, horn and bassoon for Schoenberg's three clarinets (Eb, Bb and bass).
- [7] Only two movements of the suite have survived, *El Conde Sol* and *Sevillanas* both of which are preserved in the Gerhard archive in Valls. The former, laid out in Rondo form, opens with a viola ostinato which will be familiar to many listeners from the rondo finale of Lalo's *Symphonie Espagnole*, one of the most famous examples of French musical Hispanism. But Gerhard would also have been aware of it from Pedrell's collection (Vol 1 no. 51) where it forms the guitar accompaniment to a song that his former teacher had collected from an Andalusian sailor in Tortosa, Catalonia: *Tonada del Conde Sol* ('The Sun Count's Melody'). The thematic material of the B section is based on three versions, each from a different part of Andalusia (Osuna, Cadiz and Carteya respectively), of the popular song *El Mayo*, traditionally sung during the May festival by children as they dance around a figure ('El Mayo') dressed in fennel and wearing a crown of flowers who is the personification of Spring. The outer sections of the ternary form *Sevillanas* draw on an authentic *sevillanas* in Pedrell's collection (Vol. 2 no. 308) whilst the contrasting central section cites a mournful song, *A donde fué* ('Where has she gone?') collected by Pedrell in León in Northern Spain (*Cancionero* Vol. 2 no.285) which Gerhard would later include (retitled *Un Galan y su Morena*) in his *Cantares* for voice and guitar of 1956.
- [8] In a notebook jotting on Pedrell, Gerhard writes: 'You see, the current idea about Spanish-ness in music – especially as we find it accepted outside Spain - is much of a cliché. We call that in Spain *España de pandereta* – meaning Tambourine-Spain, that is the clichéd Spain as the tourist sees it, Spanish picturesque-ness good for export'. (CUL 7.101).
- [9] The optimism of the young Second Spanish Republic (established in 1931) had proved unfounded, eventually undermined by the oligarchy's lack of support, its inability to effectively redistribute social wealth, and by the desertion of both agrarian and industrial working classes. Events reached a head in October 1934, following the right wing victory in the 1933 elections, in what turned out to be a bloody prelude to the Civil War. The left had responded to the election result with general strikes to which the Spanish government reacted by declaring a state of war, leading to a social revolution in Catalonia with Lluís Companys proclaiming the Catalan Republic within the Spanish Federal Republic. This was quickly crushed,

- Catalonia's Statute of Autonomy, granted in 1932, abolished and about ten thousand 'suspects', including many of Gerhard's friends, arrested. Tragically, the events also claimed the life of González i Alba, who died in combat at the premises of the nationalist association CADCI, one of the key sites for the separatists bids for power. In a letter to Schoenberg (dated 2 December 1944), Gerhard explains that 'the only way we were concerned about the events in '34 is that most of our friends were imprisoned (sic), among others Ventura Gassol, then Catalan Minister of Education'. (CUL Gerhard Archive).
- [10] HOMS, J. 1936. 'XIV Festival de la SIMC/Concerts complementaris del Festival', *Rosa dels Vents*, Year I, No.2, section 'Crítica-Música', Barcelona.
- [11] The motive recurs in many of Gerhard's subsequent works including *Pandora*, *Symphony no. 1* (Fig.107), *Nonet* (third movement), *Symphony no. 4*, and his final completed composition *Leo* (4 bars before Fig. 33). Whilst Gerhard could have extrapolated the motive from a number of Catalan laments (the most likely sources being *L'Emigrant* and *La Presó de Lleida*), one must acknowledge that it is not exclusive to these. The fact that it can be heard not only in Victoria's C minor motet *O Vos Omnes*, and the old romance *Paseàbase El Rey Moro* (an A minor lament mourning the fall of Alhama whose opening four notes, ACBG are identical to the opening melody of the Nonet) but also in the music of Gorecki points to a more universal significance.
- [12] Letter from Gerhard to Casals (dated 21 November 1947) quoted in Comellas, J, 'Aproximació a la dimensió humana de Robert Gerhard', *Revista Musical Catalana*, February 1992, no.88, 8.
- [13] Letter from Fernando Gerhard to Poldi dated 26 October 1971 (CUL Gerhard Archive)
- [14] The *Sample Piece* Gerhard composed prior to winning the contract is based on three Catalan melodies. In addition to *L'Emigrant*, and *El Cant dels Ocells* (The Song of the Birds) - the 'signature tune' of Casals's exile - identified by Meirion Bowen in his preface to his edition of work (Tritó Barcelona2001), the middle section's sardana-style melody can now be identified as the Catalan carnival song *El Minyonet de Guineu*.
- [15] WHITALL, A. 2003. *Exploring Twentieth-Century Music*, Cambridge University Press, p. 50.
- [16] SHEINBERG, E. 2000. *Irony, Parody, Satire and the Grotesque in the music of Shostakovich*. Ashgate, p. 329 note 10.
- [17] In an unpublished letter to Colin Mason (20 February 1958) Gerhard confessed to having been surprised to discover later that this was not in fact a zarzuela melody performed by Sarasate as an encore in Gerhard's home town during his youth as he had initially thought, but 'something out of a valse by Waldteufel called (significant perhaps in the coincidence) *España*'.
- [18] Letter from Gerhard to Gassol (dated 14 February 1950) held at the Gassol archive, Catalan National Archive.
- [19] Letter from Gerhard to Rutland dated 2 November 1949, BBC Archive (Caversham, Reading).
- [20] In 'Notes on Granados' (Unpublished radio talk held at the BBC Written Archives, Caversham, Reading), Gerhard describes Goya's *Caprichos* as 'revolutionary both in technique and content, which constituted a violent criticism of the society of his time expressed in images of staggering audacity and hallucinatory power'
- [21] ZATLIN, P. 1999. 'Theatre and Culture, 1936-1996' in GILES, D. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Spanish Culture*, Cambridge, p. 226.
- [22] Quoted in GRAHAM, H. 1995. 'Popular Culture in the 'Years of Hunger'', in *Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction*, OUP p. 238.
- [23] Gerhard was able to witness Spain's post-war deprivation for himself during his first visit home in 1948. On his return to England he wrote to Kenneth Wright of the BBC: 'We found the country in a shocking state. Bribery, graft and corruption flourish on an unprecedented scale. The black-market is run mainly by the Army and people in public office high positions. The economic situation seems to be chaotic...That's what the bastard has done to the country.' (Letter dated 14 October 1948 held at BBC Written Archives).
- [24] VÁZQUEZ i MONTALBÁN, M. 1980. *Crónica Sentimental de España: una Mirada irreverente a tres décadas de mitos y de ensueños*, Barcelona, p. 46.
- [25] Collected by Josep Crivillé and Ramon Vilar in El Masroig (Priorat). The original field recording can be heard on a series of CD's published under the auspices of the Fonoteca de Música Tradicional Catalan: *Música de tradició oral a Catalunya* Series 1, Volume 1,1991. The accompanying commentary includes a transcription of the melody.
- [26] It is worth pointing out the central movement of Gerhard's *Three Impromptus for Piano* (1951) also alludes to a Catalan lullaby, in this case a *Canço de Bressol* from Gerhard's home district of Tarragona. See Amades, J, *Folklore de Catalunya – Cançoners*, 3rd edition, Barcelona 1982, p.5, ex.31.
- [27] See Pedrell's *Cancionero* Vol. II.
- [28] General Millán Astray (1879-1954), founder and chief of the Spanish Foreign Legion, coined the slogan 'Viva la Muerte' ('Long Live Death') to inspire his recruits most of whom were condemned criminals. According to Paul Preston 'he made a unique contribution to the violent ethos of the Spanish extreme right' and 'was instrumental Franco's rise to fame'. His clash with the seventy-two year old philosopher, novelist and Rector of Salamanca University, Miguel de Unamano, occurred on the occasion of the celebration in the University's Great Hall of the *Dià la Raza*, 12 October 1936, commemorating Columbus's discovery of America.
- [29] Composer's programme note for BBC Promenade concert, Wednesday 14 August 1963.
- [30] See F. Casas-Mercadé, *Valls, a sol i serena (Abans de la Guerra Civil)*, Estudi Vallencs (1976), 254-5.
- [31] BUIDE, F. 2009. *Unity and Process in Roberto Gerhard's Symphony no. 3, 'Collages'*, MMA Dissertation, Yale School of Music, p. 17.

- [32] HESS, C. 2001. *Manuel de Falla and Modernism in Spain, 1898-1936*, The University of Chicago Press, p. 23.
- [33] *The Explorers: a film in praise of Roberto Gerhard and his music*. Directed by Barrie Gavin (BBC 1969)
- [34] VENTURA SOLÉ, J. 1978. *Robert Gerhard Ottenwaelder (Un Vallemc Universal)*, Valls, p. 23.
- [35] Gerhard's own ambivalence about questions of national identity are articulated in a letter (dated 27 January 1968 i.e. not long after completing the Fourth Symphony) that he wrote to Joan Ventura Solé, the Cultural Commissioner of Valls. Whilst acknowledging his 'profound affinity with the Catalan cultural climate' and the absurdity of being regarded by journalists as 'English', he talks of his irritation at being asked about his nationality. Depending on his mood his answers veer between 'The idea of nationality does not interest me' and 'I am a son of Valls, situated in the 'principality' of Catalonia, in the north-east of the Iberian Peninsula Straight to the point!'
- [36] MACDONALD, C. 1972. 'Sense and Sound: Gerhard's Fourth Symphony', in *Tempo*, 100: 25-29.