

The Schönberg Enigma

The Reception of Arnold Schönberg's Music and Aesthetics in Spain during the 1950s

<i>En tus doce sonidos se levanta un candelabro nuevo, zodiacal, vencido el candelabro planetario. Permuta lo que ora, lo que canta, inspiración del centro cenital, Música del sistema necesario.¹</i>	A new, zodiacal candelabra Rises from your twelve tones, Overcoming the planetary candlestick. It permutes whatever cries or sings, Inspiration of the zenithal centre, Music for an unavoidable system.
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A quarter of a century after its Spanish premiere that was conducted by Arnold Schönberg himself (Barcelona, Palau de la Música Catalana, 29 April 1925), *Pierrot lunaire*, op. 21 was performed for the second time in Barcelona (Plate 1)² despite its distressing “overly anxious nature”³; five months later (9 November 1950), a commented rendition of the *First Chamber Symphony*, op. 9 was presented by the exclusive *Club 49* in the same town. These two events, along with a few less specific references,⁴ seem to mark the onset of a first stage of Schönberg reception in Spain after the end of the Spanish Civil War: I say ‘first’ because I have not been able to find any performances of his work in the country throughout the 1940s,⁵ and during those years written references to Schönberg, which I will briefly touch upon, are very scarce.

1 Juan Eduardo Cirlot, “Schoenberg” (*Ocho homenajes*, 1972).

2 Barcelona, 10 June 1950 (Instrumental Ensemble; Margarita Goller, voice; Pablo Dini, conductor). The concert program of this *Pierrot lunaire* performance offered a new Catalan translation of Hartleben's texts by Josep Climent and was part of the Bartomeu private concert series during the 1949–50 season. See Martina Ribalta Coma-Cros: *El Lied a través del temps. Una història del gènere narrada des del domicili de Josep*

Bartomeu durant el primer franquisme, in *Revista catalana de musicologia* 10 (2017), 191–206.

3 El nostre programa. Previsions i realitzacions, in *Curs 1949 a 1950. El “Lied” a través del temps* (Barcelona [1950]), s. p. All translations from Spanish and Catalan by the author.

4 Such as a merely informative article written by Carlos-José Costas: Arnold Schönberg, in *La Hora* (Madrid) 42

(12 January 1950), 7; or the idea of broadcasting the *Gurre-Lieder* as one of the most noteworthy musical novelties of that year, see Actividad musical de “Radio Nacional de Barcelona” en 1950, in *El Mundo Deportivo* (Barcelona) (8 January 1951), 2.

5 The advertised performance of a work by Schönberg in Madrid, 29 May 1945, within a series of concerts promoted by the National Radio of Spain, has not been confirmed and has to be considered very doubtful because it lacked both a concrete

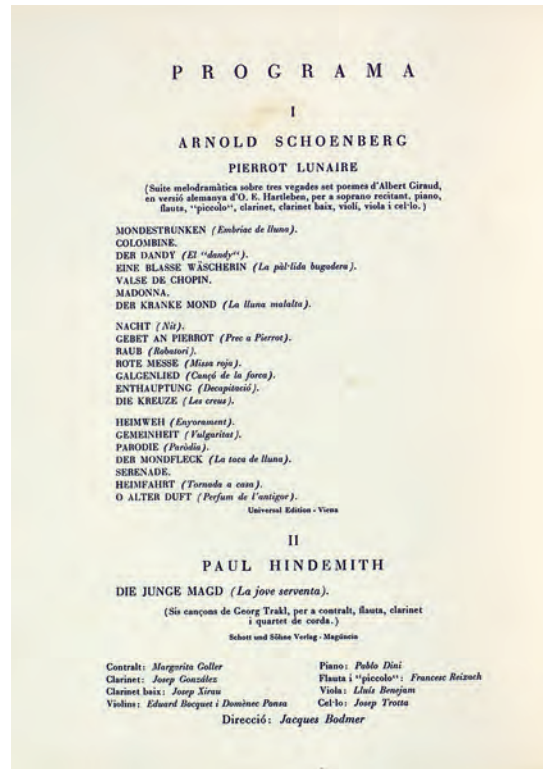
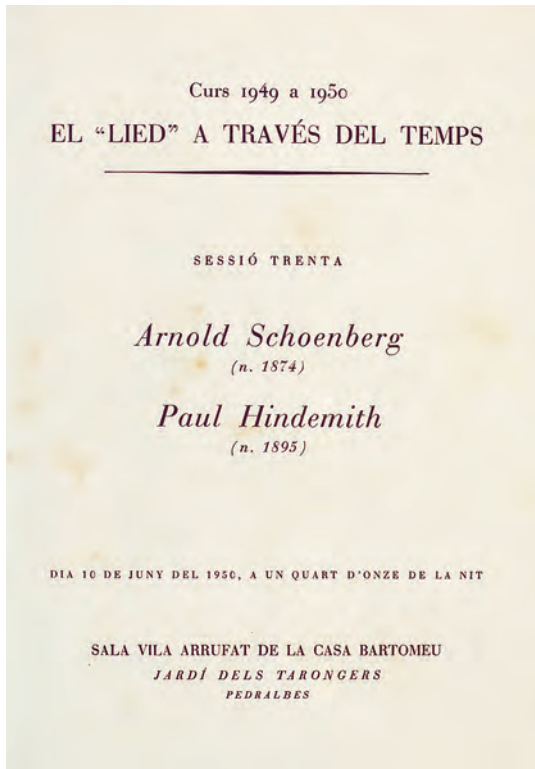


Plate 1: Concert program of the 1950 performance of *Pierrot lunaire*, op. 21 in Barcelona, 10 June 1950, front cover and last page (Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona)

In contrast to the situation before the outbreak of Spanish Civil War in 1936, which has been more thoroughly examined by academic research during the last four decades,⁶ the presence of Schönberg's music and figure in Spain during the mid-century years has received much less attention, and not in a specific manner.⁷ For this purpose, this essay presents the first results of an

program or performers and there were no reactions by critics. See *Cuarenta y cuatro veladas musicales: temporadas de invierno y primavera: 1945, 30 enero – 15 junio a las diez y media de la noche* (Madrid [1945]), s. p.

6 See Benet Casablanca: Recepció a Catalunya de l'Escola de Viena, i la seva influència sobre els compositors catalans, in *Recerca musicològica* 4 (1984), 243–284; José María García Laborda: *En torno a la segunda Escuela de Viena* (Madrid 2005);

Paloma Ortiz de Urbina y Sobrino: El estudio de la recepción de la obra de Arnold Schönberg en España a través del análisis epistolar, in *Estudios filológicos alemanes* 20 (2010), 437–448; Germán Gan-Quesada: Perspectivas sobre la recepción del repertorio modernista centroeuropeo en la España de entreguerras (1918–1936), in *Cruces de caminos: intercambios musicales y artísticos en Europa en la primera mitad del siglo XX*. Edited by Gemma Pérez Zalduendo and María Isabel Cabrera García (Granada 2010), 263–295, 285–289.

7 See, among others, Ángel Medina Álvarez: Primeras oleadas vanguardistas en el área de Madrid, in *Cuadernos de música iberoamericana* 8–9 (2001), 337–366; Daniel Moro Vallina: Vanguardias musicales latinoamericanas en el discurso oficial de la Hispanidad, in *Revista musical chilena* 73/231 (January–June 2019), 39–58.

ongoing study that is researching the reception of Arnold Schönberg's music in Spain during the Francoist period. It focuses chiefly upon the two main cultural centres Madrid and Barcelona – although minor centres will also be considered –,⁸ and upon the way in which the discussion about Schönberg's music developed into a broader context during the decade of the 1950s: a hard debate among composers and music critics who discussed whether non-tonal practices should be integrated into the development of Spanish composition.

Following an uncertain path (1951–58)

Arnold Schönberg's death in July 1951 received very weak resonance in the Spanish press, in line with its general lack of interest in news concerning contemporary music. The music journal *Ritmo* published only a concise obituary,⁹ and some local newspapers merely echoed the news of the passing away of that “dark and rough Viennese” composer,¹⁰ an “artist who had lost faith in the authentic emotions of beauty and spirit”.¹¹ Some more positive and significant reactions, nevertheless, should be also mentioned: the Madrid journal *Índice de artes y letras* published a short supplement about Schönberg in its September 1951 issue,¹² the music critic and composer Xavier Montsalvatge contributed a pair of articles on him – I will refer to these later –, and the Barcelona avant-garde group *Dau al Set* paid him an artistic tribute in a journal bearing the same name¹³ that was dated barely two weeks after Schönberg's death, combining a Schönberg portrait drawn by Joan Ponç on its front cover with the copy of a canvas by Joan-Josep Tharrats titled *La noche transfigurada (Homenaje a Arnold Schoenberg)*¹⁴ and a Surrealistic poem by the art critic, part-time composer and writer Juan Eduardo Cirlot (1916–73).

8 The information about performances, public presentations and broadcasts of Schönberg's works (as well as of lectures on his music) in Spain between 1950 and 1960 has been verified by a thorough review of the main cultural journals and newspapers of that period, as well as by an exact search of the concert program collections of official institutions (Biblioteca Nacional de España, Fundación Juan March, Madrid; Biblioteca de Catalunya, Centre de Documentación de l'Orfeó Català, Barcelona) and the author's private library.

9 Carlos-José Costas: Dos luminarias musicales universales acaban de desaparecer, in *Ritmo* (Madrid) 238 (1 June 1951), 14–15, 14.

10 Antonio Odriozola: En la muerte de Schoenberg, el creador de la música atonal,

in *La Noche* (Santiago de Compostela) (31 July 1951), 6. The bibliographer Antonio Odriozola – who also devoted a lecture to Schönberg in Pontevedra three years later (5 June 1954) – returned his attention to Schönberg shortly afterwards, from a mostly documentary viewpoint; Antonio Odriozola: Discografía. Más sobre Schoenberg. Sus relaciones con Tomás [sic] Mann, in *La Noche* (Santiago de Compostela) (15 August 1951), 5–6.

11 Juan Alemany: Schoenberg, o la desintegración de la música, in *Diario de Vilanova* (Vilanova i la Geltrú) (8 December 1951), 8.

12 *Índice de artes y letras* (Madrid) 43 (10 September 1951), 3. It included the Spanish translation (“Arnold Schoenberg, el músico de la soledad”) of Emilia

Zanetti's article “Arnold Schoenberg o della solitudine”, first issued in *La Fiera letteraria* (Rome) 6/29 (22 July 1951), 6; and a short poem “In memoriam (Arnold Schönberg)”, by Juan Eduardo Cirlot.

13 *Dau al Set* 30 (September 1951).

14 Tharrats's canvas is not the only approach to Schönberg's music in the catalogues of Spanish avant-garde painters. Among them are recorded, for instance, the 1962 *Homenatge a Schoenberg* (Valladolid, Museo Patio Herreriano), by Albert Ràfols-Casamada, *La escala de Jacob (Homenaje a Schoenberg)* (1968) (Cuenca, Museo de Arte Abstracto Español), by Gustavo Torner, and Modest Cuixart's *Naixement de Venusso (Homenatge a La nit transfigurada d'Arnold Schoenberg)* (1980) (Centro de Arte y Naturaleza, Palafrugell).

Cirlot, who had been the first Spanish biographer of Stravinsky¹⁵, stands out as a unique case among Spanish intellectuals of the period because of his fondness since the mid-1940s for the “*endearing stature*”¹⁶ of Schönberg’s music work, his knowledge of all – even the most recent – works about the composer, and his passion for compositions that were almost totally unknown in Spain, such as *Erwartung*, op. 17.¹⁷ Over the years, Cirlot even developed a permutation system for his own poetic work¹⁸ that was roughly based upon twelve-tone practices. He was also one of the initiators of the installation of a commemorative plaque on the house in which Schönberg lived in Barcelona between 1931 and 1932 (Plate 2) that was unveiled in January 1956. The unveiling ceremony was described by the poet in moving and profound words shortly afterwards:

[...] *people gathered there, on the steep street of the Schönbergian bitterness, and, without being able to pray or cry, without knowing how to sing his chorales, without managing to shape our unsparing and odd rite, we came and went, joining in small groups, talking, remembering the haunted face of the Master, his nervous fingers and hands, his tense veins, scored by the reflection of cruelty. It is evident that Schönberg was with us [...] and, together with his influence, we noticed the series of possibilities that could have been developed in Barcelona, had this presence been appreciated.*¹⁹

The usual tone of the comments about Arnold Schönberg in the Spanish press at the beginning of the 1950s sharply differed, however, from Cirlot’s veneration, which he maintained until his death in 1973²⁰. The dismissive and severe judgements of Spanish music critics at the beginning of the Francoist period, discussed in the study of Eva Moreda,²¹ extended to the complete rejection

15 Juan Eduardo Cirlot: *Igor Strawinsky. Su tiempo, su significación, su obra* (Barcelona 1949).

16 Idem: La esencia del arte de Salvador Dalí, in *Cartel de las Artes* (Madrid) 5 (15 August 1945), 6.

17 Idem: En torno a Arnold Schoenberg (Libros sobre su música y su escuela), in *Correo literario* 5 (1 September 1954), s. p.

18 See Jaime D. Parra: La música como base estructuradora de la obra de Juan Eduardo Cirlot, in *Boletín de AEDOM* 5/1 (January–June 1988), 7–73; Bernhard Bleibinger: Von megalithischen Kopfjägern, mittelalterlichen Kriegen, Charlton Heston und der Filmanalyse. Einflüsse einer prähistorischen Musik-Ethnologie im Schaffen Juan-Eduardo Cirlots, in *Anuario musical* 60 (2005), 253–272; Miquel Alsina:

Música y artes plásticas. Nexos en torno a la figura de Juan Eduardo Cirlot, in *Revista de Musicología* 28/2 (2005), 1243–1254; José Luis Corazón Arduara: La escalera da a la nada. *Estética de Juan Eduardo Cirlot* (Murcia 2007).

19 Juan Eduardo Cirlot: Al margen de un aniversario. Schönberg en Barcelona, in *Revista de actualidades, artes y letras* (Barcelona) 199 (2 February 1956), 16; reprinted in Enric Granell: Cirlot y la música, in *Mundo de Juan Eduardo Cirlot* (Valencia 1996), 223–255, 245–246. Further images and documentation of this occasion – also attended by the composers Josep Cercós, José Luis de Delás, and Josep Soler, the poet Joan Brossa, and the painter Antoni Tàpies – can be found in Juan Eduardo Cirlot and Victòria Cirlot: *Cirlot en Vallcarca* (Barcelona 2008), [38] and 43–47.

20 Cirlot, who was probably the author of the unsigned article La pequeña historia de Arnold Schoemberg [sic] in *Revista de actualidades, artes y letras* (Barcelona) 188 (17 November 1955), 21, held at least two lectures on the composer in the 1950s (Barcelona, 27 May 1955; Granollers, 29 June 1958) and devoted several articles to him in the Barcelona newspaper *La Vanguardia Española* from 1964 onwards: Música o psicología. Schoenberg y Wagner (28 May 1964), 11; Simbolismo de la música. Herzgewächse (13 January 1967), 11; and Músicos del siglo XX. Las épocas de Schoenberg (11 December 1970), 43.

21 Eva Moreda Rodríguez: *Music Criticism and Music Critics in Early Francoist Spain* (New York, Oxford 2017), 63.



Plate 2: Barcelona, Bajada de Briz No. 13 (January 1956). Installation of a commemorative plaque on the house in which Schönberg lived between 1931 and 1932. Juan Eduardo Cirlot (second from the left)

of non-tonal music by composers such as Joaquín Turina²² and Federico Mompou,²³ and were shared by well-established historians such as José Fornas as well, whose opinions, mainly concerning *Pierrot lunaire* and unaware of developments in twelve-tone music, did not deny the “*honest and pondered consistency*” of Schönberg’s works, but rejected its influence and judged it culturally incompatible with non-Germanic (i. e., ‘Latin’) music aesthetics.²⁴

The coordinates of understanding for Schönberg’s contribution (and, by extension, of the mixed field of non-tonal and twelve-tone repertoires) had not evolved much further by 1951. In this year, the very influential composer and music critic Xavier Montsalvatge – who one year before had deemed the “*atonal movement*” to be a pure “*brain lucubration, of absolute bitterness*”²⁵ – reacted to Schönberg’s death in two Barcelona press media. While

22 For whom Schönberg’s non-tonal music only hid “*a rather simple, old fashioned structural skeleton beneath complex writing and a piling of ever-colliding notes*”; Joaquín Turina: *La arquitectura en la música* (Madrid 1940), 27.

23 Mompou censured Schönberg’s harmonic treatment as a “*know-all and too much thought-over multi-tonal weave*”; Santiago Kastner: *Federico Mompou* (Madrid 1946), 45.

24 José Fornas: La música tras la guerra de 1914, IV. Arnold Schoenberg, in *La Vanguardia Española* (Barcelona) (6 September 1944), 9.

25 Xavier Montsalvatge: Cincuenta años de música, in *Destino* (Barcelona) 689 (12 January 1950), 12–13, 12.

acknowledging his scant actual knowledge of Schönberg's music and the vast distance lying between it and his own aesthetic conceptions, Montsalvatge did not spare very harsh words against it and against the music of the Second Viennese School as a whole: Schönberg's work should be considered nothing but a *"laboratory experiment [...] of heart-breaking nihilism"*²⁶ that, despite its *"undeniable interest and novelty [...] has inside, nevertheless, something hideous and spasmodic"*.²⁷

Montsalvatge was by no means alone in this disdainful attitude, in which technical appraisals were supplanted by accusations of intellectualism, vacuous formalism, and the expression of "dangerous" emotional messages. The priest and music writer Federico Sopena, who undeniably had close links to the main cultural and political institutions in the country, had already stressed this rejection in his 1941 commentaries on Schönberg's non-tonal period works: according to him, these were the products of a *"cold, heartless engineer, who produces in series a distorted world of sonatas, suites, chamber music – eventually, the whole system of music scholasticism"*,²⁸ within a context of *"hyperaesthesia of feeling"*²⁹ that dated back to the pre-1914 atmosphere and, because of its Expressionist links, was inadequate for the expression of 'positive' spiritual contents, in contrast to some compositions by Bartók, Stravinsky or, above all, Manuel de Falla.

Sopena repeated his rejection of the work of Schönberg and his pupils at the beginning of the 1950s. In Summer 1951, he alleged that they perpetuated a *"line of angst and despair"* that was unable to adjust to the new life community of the post-war era;³⁰ and, two years later, having disclosed two of the main roots for his rejection of twelve-tone music – Manuel de Falla's flat refusal of non-tonal practices and the "Jewish Viennese" origins of Arnold Schönberg – his criticism of the *"restless and pedantic"* Leibowitz was accompanied by an existentialist rejection of twelve-tone music. From this position, the disapproval of this music was inescapable:

[...] when it [twelve-tone music] actually sounds to the ear *"in the time"* – not always, no matter how much the score shows an inflexible order of carpentered, architrave-like chords and melodies –, it tells us about cracked despair, about anxiety lacking cadences [...].³¹

26 Idem: Arnold Schoenberg o la música "atomizada", in *La Vanguardia Española* (Barcelona) (25 July 1951), 2.

27 Idem: Ha muerto Arnold Schoenberg, in *Destino* (Barcelona) 729 (28 July 1951), 19.

28 Federico Sopena: Notas sobre la música contemporánea (Conclusión), in *Escorial* (Madrid) 4 (1 February 1941), 263–288, 265.

Reprinted in *Falange y literatura. Antología*. Edited by José Carlos Mainer (Barcelona 2013), 493–505.

29 Ibidem, 264.

30 Federico Sopena: El problema de la música contemporánea, in *Arbor* (Madrid) 19/67–68 (July–August 1951), 449–457, 454. Sopena here develops a judgement

that was expressed some months earlier; Federico Sopena: Respuesta sobre Schoenberg, in *Índice de artes y letras* (Madrid) 45 (15 November 1950), 12.

31 Federico Sopena: *La música europea contemporánea. Panorama y diccionario de compositores* (Madrid 1953), 16–18.

As in the case of Montsalvatge's judgements, one could wonder: what actual acquaintance did Sopena and other Spanish music critics have with Schönberg's music? Although Sopena did attend the performance of *A Survivor from Warsaw* at the 1950 Biennale di Venezia,³² the extreme difficulty of access to live performances, scores or recordings of Schönberg's works in Spain hindered many national music critics from obtaining accurate points of view on the Austrian composer. This can be verified by checking the number of performances of Schönberg's orchestral pieces in the country in the 1950s, for example: between November 1951 and December 1956, there were only five concerts in which one of the symphonic versions of *Transfigured Night*, op. 4 was played by the two main Barcelona and Madrid orchestras.³³ This was the only exposure to Schönberg's orchestral compositions for the greater public and many critics; no wonder, in this sense, that even some of the more conservative, such as Regino Sainz de la Maza, suggested the programming of other symphonic works by Schönberg, such as the *Five Pieces for Orchestra*, op. 16, if only for the sake of exhibiting what this music had achieved "*as a merely aural experience of the experimental field gained at the expense of the voluntary desiccation of feeling*".³⁴

Yet, by virtue of some unexpected side paths, Schönberg's music did make its way. Between 1952 and 1959, the composer Joaquim Homs, whose first twelve-tone attempts were guided by Roberto Gerhard, offered a wide range of semi-public guided listenings of contemporary music, organised by the Barcelona *Club 49*. Homs, who referred to Schönberg as the creator of "*the most coherent and significant music language of our time*"³⁵, provided extensive space for the composer's music from the beginning. In the first series of meetings, Homs included several compositions by Schönberg,³⁶ and he retained this focus throughout the decade, providing introductions to *Erwartung*³⁷ in 1953

32 Another occasion where Sopena rejected Schönberg's existential pessimism that he felt was alien to Christian spirituality, favouring the "*painful but hopeful nature*" of Bartók's late compositions, specifically the second movement of his *Viola Concerto*. Federico Sopena: *La música en Europa* (XXV). Schönberg [sic]–Bartók, in *Arriba* (Madrid) (26 October 1950), 3. Reproduced in Sopena: *La música europea*, see fn. 31, 80–83. For a more in-depth discussion of Sopena's aesthetic criteria, see Igor Contreras Zubillaga: El "empeño apostólico-literario" de Federico Sopena: sueños, lecturas y reivindicaciones musicales, in *Los señores de la crítica. Periodismo musical e ideología del modernismo en Madrid (1900–1950)*. Edited by Teresa Cascudo and María Palacios (Sevilla [2012]), 308–347.

33 Barcelona, 9 and 11 November 1951 (Orquesta Municipal de Barcelona; Eugen Szenkar, conductor), Madrid, 18 January 1952 (Orquesta Nacional de España; Eugen Szenkar, conductor), Madrid, 7 and 9 December 1956 (Orquesta Nacional de España; Jascha Horenstein, conductor).

34 Regino Sainz de la Maza: Eugen Szenkar inició la serie de conciertos de música de cámara con obras de Bach, Schomberg [sic] y Chaikowsky, in *ABC* (Madrid) (23 January 1952), 17–18, 17.

35 Joaquim Homs: *Antología de la música contemporánea 1900–1950* (Barcelona 2001), 211.

36 Specifically, Homs scheduled the listenings of opp. 19 and 21 (16 January 1952), op. 24 (28 February 1952), and op. 41 (21 May 1952). See *ibidem*, *passim*.

37 11 November 1953. Although the newly created Barcelona Chamber Opera company advertised the live performance of *Erwartung*, op. 17, in Spring 1955 (Ópera de cámara de Barcelona, in *Revista de actualidades, artes y letras* [Barcelona] 154 [24 March 1955], 17), its Spanish premiere did not take place until the end of the 1960s (Madrid, 20 December 1968. Orquesta Nacional de España; Helga Pilarczyk, soprano; José María Franco Gil, conductor).

Gracia y Concierto

REDACTOR MUSICAL: FERNANDO RUIZ COCA

CON TECLA Y PLUMA

MI EVOLUCION

La música llamada «atonal» ha cobrado estos días un nuevo interés para nuestros por la audición excepcional de algunas obras que, más o menos, se relacionan con este estilo. Los discos de Schoenberg, que nuestro compañero Ayesta ha traído a Madrid y que han sido incluidos en los programas de Radio Nacional, comentados por Cristóbal Halffter; la «Suite lírica» de Alban Berg, estrenada por el Charlot Vegg; algunas piezas para piano que interpretó Kaeper han ofrecido venturosamente de nuevo la discusión o, al menos, la curiosidad. En estas circunstancias, se dio un excepcional interés la opinión del creador del sistema, Arnold Schoenberg. El ensayo, algunos de cuyos fragmentos aparecen a continuación, fue publicado en la revista meléica «Nuestra Música», en 1945, dos años antes de la muerte del compositor. Varias revistas europeas le han reproducido después. Se enorme importancia podría juzgarla nuestros lectores.

Las «Dos baladas preceden inmediatamente al «cuarteto de Cuerdas», que marca la transición a mi segundo período; período que renuncia a un centro tonal y que se denomina, un tanto ligeramente, esta tonalidad. Ya en el primero y segundo tiempos hay numerosos fragmentos en los que el movimiento independiente de las voces se realiza sin tener en cuenta el hecho de que su reunión produce o no armonías catalogadas. En ellos, sin embargo, así como en el tercero y cuarto tiempos, la tonalidad se presenta claramente en todas las ramificaciones de la organización formal. Pese a ello, la gran cantidad de disonancias no puede equilibrarse con las vueltas esporádicas de las tríadas tonales que comporta una tonalidad. A mí no se me presentaba ningún dilema; pero, sin embargo, me he encontrado que había preocupado con ello a mis contemporáneos. El hecho de que yo haya sido el primero en dar el paso decisivo no será considerado universalmente como un mérito: esto es un hecho que yo deploro, pero que no me debe preocupar.

Este primer paso aparece en las «Dos melodías», op. 14, y a continuación, en los «15 cantos del Jardín Colgante» y en las «Tres piezas para piano», op. 11. La mayoría de los críticos del nuevo estilo fueron insoportables de descubrir hasta qué punto eran observadas en estas obras las eternas leyes de la estética musical, oñitas o simplemente acomodadas a las nuevas circunstancias. Esta superficialidad arrastró consigo la acusación de anarquía y revolución, cuando se trataba claramente de una evolución que no era más importante que otras que se han producido en la historia de la música.

En mi «Tratado de Armonías (1911) yo afirmaba que el porvenir probaba seguramente que estas piezas poseían todavía una fuerza centralizadora comparable a la gravitación ejercida por la fuerza tónica. Si se considera que, de una manera análoga, las leyes de las condiciones estructurales de Bach o Beethoven, o de la armonía de Wagner, no se establecieron de una manera verdaderamente científica, no me sorprende que se sea tentado de decir lo mismo de la «atonalidad».

En términos generales, la coherencia de los compositores clásicos se basa sobre los factores de unificación

de ciertas fórmulas de estructura: ritmo, frase, motivo, y sobre la relación constante de todos los tramos melódicos y armónicos con el centro de gravedad: la fuerza tónica. La renuncia a esta fuerza unificadora no afecta a la actividad de todos los otros factores.

El método de composición de los



ARNOLD SCHÖNBERG

doce sonidos sustituye el orden creado por una referencia constante a los centros tonales con un orden en el que cada fragmento de la obra, siendo un derivado de las relaciones tonales con una serie base compuesta de doce sonidos, la «Grundgestalt», obtiene su coherencia de su relación permanente con ésta.

La referencia a esta serie facilita también la justificación de los sonidos disonantes. La música contemporánea utiliza mi empleo ausas de las disonancias. No olvidemos que yo llegué a esto gradualmente, como resultado de una evolución lógica, que me

ha permitido establecer la ley de la emancipación de la disonancia, según la cual la comprensión de ésta puede ser considerada como igual a la de la consonancia. Así, las disonancias no tienen ninguna razón de ser consideradas como una especie que se añade a los sonidos inspidos. Ahora son la sustancia natural y lógica de un organismo. Y este organismo vive de sus frases, ritmos, motivos, melodías.

Se me ha interrogado estos últimos años para saber si algunas de mis composiciones son absolutamente ortodoxas en relación al sistema de los doce sonidos o si, al menos, tenían alguna cosa de este sistema. En verdad yo no sé nada de esto. Soy más compositor que teórico. Cuando compongo olvido todas las teorías y sólo escribo cuando tengo el espíritu libre de teorizaciones. Considero necesario poner a mis amigos en guardia por lo que se refiere a la ortodoxia: la composición a base de los doce sonidos es solamente, de una manera demasiado estrecha, un método prohibitivo, exclusivista. Ante todo, se trata de un «ritmo» de un orden y una organización lógica, de la que el resultado principal debe ser hacer esta música comprensible.

Si alguna de mis composiciones no

CONTRAPUNTO

STRAWINSKY EN EL ATENEO.—La obra de Igor Stravinsky constituye uno de los datos más claramente definitorios de la cultura de nuestro siglo. Esta música, con su alto valor estético, y, precisamente, por el nuevo sentido a que apunta este valor, viene a nosotros, de un modo genial y profético, toda una vertiente del arte, hasta a pensar contemporáneo. De este modo excede en su interés de lo puramente musical, hasta llegar a ser un poco símbolo para tantos que en nuestros días sueñan con un mun-



do clásico, sujeto a una norma exterior, bella y exacta, como un mural antiguo. Stravinsky, con su musical estatutaria, ha llegado al Ateneo en la palabra—claridad de concepto, agudeza intuitiva del F. S. Sepúlveda. En el ensayo que sobre el gran compositor ruso ha venido dando el director del Conservatorio, se ha dado cuenta y razón, con elegancia y rigor—al modo universitario que se hace de la cosa—de esta música y de su circunstancia histórica, que a todos tanto nos atrae. El F. Sepúlveda, que precisamente en estos días publica la segunda edición de su «Historia de la Música», dedicada a universitarios, tuvo en estos a los mejores y más apasionados oyentes.

ORQUESTA NACIONAL.—En un concierto extraordinario, organizado por el Ayuntamiento madrileño con motivo de las fiestas de San Isidro, hemos escuchado, por última vez en este curso, a la Orquesta Nacional, dirigida en esta ocasión con elegante politeria por Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt. En el programa, Haydn, Hindemith, Beethoven. Un concierto frío para despedir a nuestra primera orquesta que, con algo español, habrá seguramente encontrado más vez y se hubiera ajustado mejor a la intención de los festejos municipales.

CUARTETO VEGH.—El cuarteto Vegg ha sido la más importante de estos días, por no decir de la temporada. Su apasionada perfección nos ha dado verdaderas memorables de Hindemith, Debussy, Berg y Bartók. Quedan estas líneas como entusiasta constancia. Aún falta un concierto de esta agrupación, de la que nos hemos de ocupar no en la extensión que merece.

OTRA VEZ LA FURIA ESPAÑOLA.—Esteban Sánchez ha ganado el premio internacional Alfredo Kraus, en Italia. El enorme temperamento y la excelente técnica de este jovenísimo pianista han valido a triunfar. Esteban, que parece que ha heredado la «vieja» «furia» de nuestros deportistas, enciende con un fuego colidieron la música que para por sus delirios. El es un genio aparte en la nueva generación de pianistas que apunta en Europa. En la escuela de la violencia, en el orden, de la pasión ante lo ponderado, de la brillantez frente a la serenidad. Con estas cualidades, que responden al concepto que de lo nuestro se tiene más allá de nuestras fronteras, no es extraño su arrollador triunfo internacional.

and to the late compositions opp. 41, 42 and 45 in a program devoted entirely to those on 9 March 1955, and, finally, commenting (19 April 1959) the 1957 Columbia recording of *Moses und Aron*, a work that the members of the *Club 49* had already listened to in 1956; a tape recording of the broadcast of Hans Rosbaud's Hamburg premiere in March 1954 had been obtained.

Recordings were also the chief source of knowledge about Schönberg by the Madrid cultural *milieu* during the first half of the 1950s: the young composer Cristóbal Halffter (b. 1930) scheduled a series of programs with the title "Arnold Schönberg and his work" during the spring of 1954 for the National Broadcasting Service, an event that predated the publication of some articles by or about the composer as a sign of the "*debate or, at least, curiosity*" raised by Schönberg's compositions. These included the selective Spanish translation of the 1949 text "My Evolution" (Plate 3)³⁸ and a brief approach to his music in the journal of Spanish conservatories, *Música*, whose author, despite the lack of 'historical perspective' for a suitable intrinsic evaluation, summarized some features of non-tonal harmony and twelve-tone procedures and illustrated this with some short comments on opp. 25, 26, and 33.³⁹

There were even fewer live performances of Schönberg's music over these years than the already limited number of recordings and broadcasts.⁴⁰ A very noteworthy, large-scope exception deserves mention, however: the 1953–54 season of the exclusive "Bartomeu concerts" series, held at the private residence of the engineer Josep Bartomeu in Barcelona (Plate 4). The series was fully devoted to "Arnold Schönberg and his school" – let us understand 'school' in a very broad sense, as it included not only works by Berg, Webern, and Krenek, but also by Boulez, Stockhausen, Nono, and even a session devoted to *musique concrète*! The project was supervised by the Catalan conductor of Swiss origin Jacques Bodmer (1924–2014), a former pupil of Hermann Scherchen and Willy Burkhardt.

The season, as shown in Table 1, included 19 compositions by Schönberg, most of them most likely Spanish premieres,⁴¹ performed chiefly by local musicians. The works presented ranged from piano and vocal compositions to chamber and even orchestral music, crowned by a performance of *Gurre-Lieder* in the reduced orchestral version by Erwin Stein, a work whose recording

38 Arnold Schoenberg: Mi evolución, in *Ateneo* (Madrid) 59 (1 June 1954), 12; a partial reprint of the Spanish translation was published in *Nuestra música* (Ciudad de México) 4 (1949), 239–249.

39 Amadeo Solé Leris: Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951), in *Música* (Madrid) 7 (January–March 1954), [29]–46, 43.

40 Although there were very few broadcasts of Schönberg's works in Spain during those years (for instance, in the first half of 1954, only *Gurre-Lieder* and *Transfigured Night*, op. 4 were broadcast), some other less known compositions were later on the air: for instance, the *Piano Concerto*, op. 42 was broadcast by the National Radio of Spain in Barcelona (27 July 1960).

41 The performance of another work by Schönberg (the *Serenade*, op. 24) was initially scheduled but later cancelled because of a delay in the delivery of the score. Additionally, Bodmer had already conducted Schönberg's *Suite*, op. 29 in the "Bartomeu concerts" series two years before the 1953/1954 season (5 July 1952).

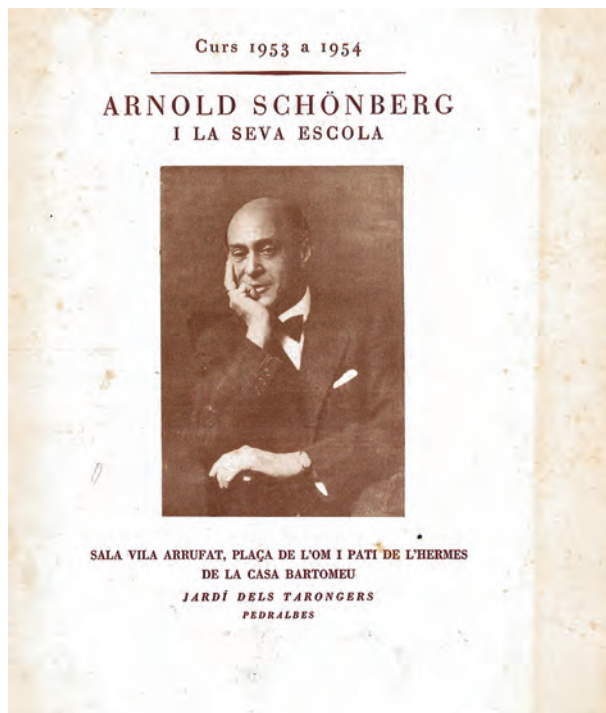


Plate 4: Concert booklet of the 1953–54 “Bartomeu concerts” series, “Arnold Schönberg and His School” (front cover) (Private collection)

release in Spain by the label Belter in early 1956⁴² was accompanied by extensive publicity and critical acclaim,⁴³ as was also the case, two years later, on the occasion of the release of Horenstein’s renderings of opp. 4 and 9 (Vox 1956), provided with Spanish liner notes by Juan Eduardo Cirlot.⁴⁴ This overambitious initiative was unfortunately not very successful, as the organisers of the season had to admit;⁴⁵ additionally, its exclusive nature restricted the propagation to a

42 Belter 30026-30027 (1956), a reissue of the recording made by René Leibowitz for The Haydn Society in 1953.

43 Belter anuncia la publicación de los Gurre-Lieder, de Schoenberg, in *Ritmo* (Madrid) 275 (1 December 1955), 23; [Fernando] Rodríguez del Río: “Gurre Lieder”, de Arnold Schoenberg, producción única y maravillosa, in *Ritmo* (Madrid) 279 (1 June 1956), 20.

44 Belter 30154 (1958). The same label distributed the recording of the concertos opp. 36 and 42, conducted by Michael Gielen, for Vox (Belter 30192, 1959).

45 “This season, it cannot be said that the Schönberg series has been a success. The performance difficulties that have demanded a longer preparation have led to the result that the majority of the interesting works were presented at the end of the season, causing a saturation of the availability of time and nerves of the audience. Some

gave up and were not replaced by sufficient ‘newcomers’ that were eager to satisfy their so praiseworthy curiosity”. *Curs 1953 a 1954. Arnold Schönberg i la seva escola* (Barcelona [1954]), s. p. After the 1953–54 season, the “Bartomeu concerts” scheduled Schönberg’s music only two more times: 28 April 1957 (the *Suite for piano*, op. 25; Jaume Padrós, piano) and 15 June 1957 (the orchestral version of *Transfigured Night*, op. 4; Orquestra Simfònica; Domènec Ponsa, conductor).

Table 1: Compositions by Arnold Schönberg scheduled at the 1953–54 “Bartomeu concerts” series

Date	Composition(s)	Performer(s)
14 November 1953	<i>Chamber Symphony</i> , op. 9	Orquestra Catalana da Camera; Jacques Bodmer, conductor
30 January 1954	<i>Foliage of the Heart</i> , op. 20	Instrumental Ensemble, Lolita Torrentó, soprano; Jacques Bodmer, conductor
20 February 1954	opp. 11, 19, 25, and 33a	Jaume Padrós, piano ^a
21 February 1954	opp. 8/1–3, 12/1, 14/1, 15	Carmen Goller, soprano; Margarita Goller, mezzosoprano, only op. 15; Jaume Padrós, piano
27 March 1954	<i>String Quartet</i> No. 3, op. 30, and No. 4, op. 37	Cuarteto Dini
10 April 1954	<i>Pierrot lunaire</i> , op. 21	Instrumental Ensemble, Margarita Goller, voice; Jesús García Pérez, conductor
1 May 1954	<i>Wind Quintet</i> , op. 26	Quinteto de Viento de Barcelona
15 May 1954	<i>Six Little Piano Pieces</i> , op. 19	Gerd Kaemper, piano
4 July 1954	<i>Gurre-Lieder</i>	Orquestra Catalana da Camera, Coral Sant Jordi, Agrupació Madrigal, Cor Professional, Vocal soloists ^b ; Jacques Bodmer, conductor
11 July 1954	<i>Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte</i> , op. 41	Orquestra Catalana da Camera, Núria Quer, reciter / Jacques Bodmer, conductor
17 July 1954	<i>String Quartet</i> No. 2, op. 10	Agrupación de Música de Cámara da Barcelona; Lolita Torrentó, soprano
24 July 1954	<i>Transfigured Night</i> , op. 4	Jaume Llecha; Joan Farrarons, violins; Josep Rodríguez de la Fuente, Mateu Valero, violas; Albert Morell, Esteve Clot, violoncelli

a Jaume Padrós played the same pieces three more times over the following months, both in Barcelona (10 March 1954; September 1954) and Madrid (19 March 1955).

b Bartomeu Bardaji (Waldemar), Maria Arronia (Tove), Rosario Gómez (Wood Dove), Eskild Rask Nielsen (Peasant), Francesc Paulet (Klaus the Jester), Núria Quer (speaker).

small audience. The above-mentioned Xavier Montsalvatge used the concerts for his own purposes by taking advantage of what he described the “excess” of Schönberg’s music in these concerts, making the counterproposal that the compositions of Berg and Dallapiccola pursued a less bellicose path more suitable for contemporary music.⁴⁶

As a matter of fact, the private, or at least only semi-public, performance of these “Bartomeu concerts” also extends to the discontinuous trickle of

46 Xavier Montsalvatge: Música. Conciertos íntimos, in *Destino* (Barcelona) 888 (29 July 1954), 27–28.

Schönberg's compositions performed in Spain until the beginning of the 1960s: these were almost exclusively piano pieces played in concerts organised by foreign cultural institutes,⁴⁷ music teaching institutions⁴⁸ and residence halls,⁴⁹ or as a part of the program of the newly created Spanish section of the International Society for Contemporary Music (Sociedad Internacional para la Música Contemporánea, ISCM).⁵⁰ Two exceptions from this scant offering should be mentioned: on the one hand, the repertoire of Agrupación Coral de Cámara de Pamplona included some of Schönberg's pieces for choir from late 1953 on,⁵¹ and on the other, the Agrupación de Música de Cámara de Barcelona with the soprano Lolita Torrentó performed the *String Quartet No. 2*, op. 10 in Barcelona at least four times between May 1954 and May 1960 in large auditoriums such as the Palau de la Música Catalana.

Even though it seems that there were very few live performances, these could still have provided the impetus for a critical re-evaluation of Schönberg's music and influence in Spain, but the common stance of rejection remained almost unchanged among authoritative composers and essayists. Referencing only two of many examples, I can point to the determined defence of tonality by Óscar Esplá as the only 'ethical' way for music composition against the "*mist of aesthetic prejudices and psychological confusions*" underlying Schönberg's creative proposals,⁵² and the negative impression that Joaquín Rodrigo obtained of the "*automatist and monochrome*" nature of the twelve-tone works featured at the 1955 ISCM.⁵³

This pejorative view of the aesthetic values of non-tonality and twelve-tone music, often attributed exclusively to Arnold Schönberg and his direct pupils, was generally adopted and unceasingly restated by Spanish music criticism. Thus, the Viennese composer and his followers had to be considered, as the music critic of the Madrid newspaper *El Alcázar*, Fernando Ruiz Coca, asserted, a mere symbol of those Expressionist times of "*nostalgia, pessimism*

47 As in the case for Beatrice Berg's performances of op. 33a in Madrid and Barcelona in Spring 1954, sponsored by the French Institute.

48 The pianist Gerd Kaemper played opp. 19 and 33a in the Madrid Conservatory (29 April 1954) and in a public recital two weeks later in Barcelona (19 May 1954).

49 Such as the "Colegio Mayor San Jorge", the setting for a performance of the *Suite for piano*, op. 25 by the composer Josep Cercós (Barcelona, 19 May 1956).

50 For example, the "Contemporary Piano Course" given by Margot Pinter in the

Madrid Conservatory in July 1956, where the pianist Pedro Espinosa – a regular participant at the Darmstädter Ferienkurse from 1958 on – played Schönberg's opp. 11, 19, and 33a and b and possibly other works by the composer. See Ángel Ruiz Campo: *Siete días en Madrid*. Schoenberg, 35 grados centígrados, in *Revista de actualidades, artes y letras* (Barcelona) 222 (12 July 1956), 6; reprinted in *Diario de Las Palmas* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria) (6 August 1956), 3–4.

51 Performed in Pamplona, 1 December 1953, and Granada, 27 June 1954; Actividades de la Agrupación Coral de Cámara de Pamplona durante el año 1954,

in *Diario de Navarra* (Pamplona) (6 January 1955), 6. There are no exact references to the specific work; it may be one (not likely the whole collection) of the *Three Folksongs*, op. 48, published in 1949.

52 Óscar Esplá y Triay: *Función musical y música contemporánea* (Madrid 1955), 30–39, 34. Reprinted in *Escritos de Óscar Esplá*, edited by Antonio Iglesias (Madrid 1977), [145]–172.

53 Joaquín Rodrigo: El XXIX Festival de la Sociedad Internacional de Música Contemporánea. Rumbo al dodecafonismo, in *Imperio* (Zamora) (13 January 1956), 8.

and bitter and cynical lack of hope”,⁵⁴ a dehumanized dead-end road opposed to the fertility of the models of Stravinsky or Bartók, and even incompatible with Spanish spiritual idiosyncrasy.⁵⁵ This common opinion could be also observed in Barcelona in the writings of the journalist and composer Rossend Llates between 1953 and 1955; just like Montsalvatge, Sopena, and Ruiz Coca, Llates, who occasionally adopted a more objective approach to the subject,⁵⁶ often repeated the misjudgement that Schönberg’s music was an “*art that expresses desperation [...] and tends to pervert the human purpose of art and become its sole objective*”⁵⁷ and was thus unable to provide an appropriate model for younger composers.⁵⁸ Its conceived lack of appeal, strongly marked by Christian Existentialist parameters, led Dolores Palá to label twelve-tone technique and its aesthetic consequences in 1957 an “*enigma of our time.*”⁵⁹

Towards a turning point (1958–60)

The initiative to stand up against such well-established stereotypes fell precisely to those younger composers who were quite aware of the revitalizing role that Schönberg’s experiences and twelve-tone practices could mean for their own technical and aesthetic development and for the evolution of Spanish composition. As early as 1955, José Luis de Delás (1928–2018) – shortly after his return from Munich, where he had studied –, had praised the “*structural order and universality*” of the “*inevitable and radically new*”⁶⁰ twelve-tone music. Somewhat later composers such as Ramón Barce (1928–2008) and Luis de Pablo (b. 1930), through a series of essays published in the second half of 1958, stated that twelve-tone technique was the only “*genuine evolution*” of music and its most “*alive and current*” path.⁶¹ Moreover, they forcefully denied the alleged arbitrariness of its compositional solutions and its limitation to outdated historical circumstances or ‘Expressionist’ character peculiarities, refuting so Sopena’s and Ruiz Coca’s aesthetic evaluation:

54 Fernando Ruiz Coca: *Estética de la nostalgia*, in *Ateneo* (Madrid) 77 (15 February 1955), 12.

55 Idem: *Paisaje de la esperanza*, in *Ateneo* (Madrid) 65 (1 September 1954), 40; idem: *El atonalismo, hoy*, in *Índice de artes y letras* (Madrid) 93 (September 1956), 17. Only some works by Alban Berg (among them the *Lyric Suite* and the *Violin Concerto*) seemed to escape that overall condemnation, by virtue of an alleged more directly ‘affective’ content.

56 Rosendo Llates: *Algo sobre el dodecafonismo*, in *Revista de actualidades, artes y letras* (Barcelona) 175 (18 August 1955), 19.

57 Idem: *La música de Alban Berg*, in *Revista. Semanario de información, artes y letras* (Barcelona) 66 (16 July 1953), 14.

58 Idem: *Las últimas tendencias*, in *Revista de actualidades, artes y letras* (Barcelona) 173 (4 August 1955), 18.

59 Dolores Palá Berdejo: *Un enigma de nuestro tiempo. El dodecafonismo como*

nueva poética musical, in *Revista de Ideas Estéticas* (Madrid) 15/60 (Autumn 1957), [329]–347.

60 José Luis de Delás: *Perspectiva de una nueva música española*, in *Ateneo* (Madrid) unnumbered special issue (January 1955), 46–47, 47.

61 Ramón Barce: *Atonalidad y dodecafonismo / Discografía de Arnold Schönberg*, in *Índice de artes y letras* (Madrid) 115–116 (August–September 1958), 20 and 25.

*There is nothing, absolutely nothing – neither in its aesthetic assumptions nor in its technique – that prevents twelve-tone music from following the paths of joy and heroism [and to convey] a collective, even gleefully multitudinous, expression.*⁶²

While the more established voices among Spanish music criticism kept turning Schönberg away from the “*more solid mainstays*” of Twentieth-Century music,⁶³ a door was beginning to open to his music, twelve-tone or not, by 1958. This tendency quickly gained ground during the triennium 1958–60, in which major Spanish avant-garde forums such as *Jeunesses Musicales* and *Club 49* in Barcelona and several Madrid institutions, including the “Aula de Música” of the Ateneo and the concert series “Tiempo y Música” and “Cantar y Tañer”, began to program Schönberg’s works, often together with compositions by young Spanish composers and others from the Second Viennese School and more avant-garde repertoires: A true musical pro-Schönberg ‘offensive’ made up of essays, lectures and courses on his music⁶⁴ entrusted to composers and committed music critics, as well as public guided listenings of selected compositions.⁶⁵

For instance, on 22 May 1959, the “Aula de Música” of the Ateneo presented the long-awaited Madrid premiere of *Pierrot lunaire*,⁶⁶ in a concert sponsored by *Jeunesses Musicales*, the Ministry for National Education, who presided over the event, and the Spanish Embassy in Bonn. In it, according to several music critics, only “*scattered and moderate displays of disapproval*” were to be noticed among a large audience;⁶⁷ and even the formerly reluctant Ruiz

62 Idem: ¿El dodecafonismo, música de la angustia?, in *Índice de artes y letras* (Madrid) 118 (October 1958), 21.

63 Namely Stravinsky, Bartók, Hindemith, Prokofiev – and Manuel de Falla, according to Xavier Montsalvatge: *La desintegración actual de la música*, in *ABC-Blanco y Negro* (Madrid) 2429 (22 November 1958), 67–68, 68.

64 A whole list of these events would be excessive; let us mention just four examples:
– Madrid, Conservatory, 30 March 1958, Enrique Franco, lecturer (“Recent Trends in Music”); Manuel Carra, piano [op. 33a].
– Pamplona, Conservatory, 3 September 1958; Enrique Franco, lecturer (“The Big Thing: Expressionism, Non-Tonality and Twelve-Tone Music. Schoenberg and his School”).
– Madrid, Aquinas University Residence / Ateneo, 6 and 10 March 1960; Luis de Pablo, lecturer (“Twelve-Tone Music. A Basis for Its

Comprehension”); Pedro Espinosa, piano (opp. 11, 19, 23, 33a and b).
– Granada, University, 17 March 1960; Cristóbal Halffter, lecturer (“The Viennese School and the New Generations”); Manuel Carra, piano (opp. 19 and 33a).

65 For instance, *Jeunesses Musicales* offered commented listenings of the following works in Barcelona between 1959 and 1960: *Moses und Aron* (25 and 26 November 1959), opp. 38, 39, and 45 (13 January 1960), op. 31 (13 May 1960), opp. 9 and 42 (25 October 1960) and the complete piano works (13 December 1960); and, in the smaller northern town of Pamplona, further public presentations of the *Gurre-Lieder* (29 May 1959) and *Pierrot lunaire*, op. 21 (22 December 1959) were organised.

66 Performers: Margarita Goller (voice) and members of the Orquesta de Cámara de Madrid, conducted by Odón Alonso. A 1936 *Pierrot lunaire* performance in Madrid (to be sung by Marya Freund and conducted

by Gustavo Pittaluga) was scheduled, but then postponed and ultimately cancelled; see *Conciertos*. Madrid. *Música moderna en la Residencia de Estudiantes*, in *Ritmo* (Madrid) 126 (1 March 1936), 11–12, 11.

67 Antonio Fernández-Cid: Estreno de “*Pierrot lunaire*”, de Schoenberg [sic], en el Ateneo, in *ABC* (Madrid) (20 March 1959), 63. The music critic showed “*curiosity and respect*” facing Schönberg’s op. 21, after having judged it “*fully impenetrable*” and “*without any artistic relevance to music history*” some years before; idem: *Las Semanas Musicales de Berlín*. Del “*verismo*” al “*schoemberismo*”, in *La Vanguardia Española* (Barcelona) (14 October 1954), 19; Antonio Fernández-Cid: *Las semanas musicales de Berlín*, in *Correo literario* (Madrid) 8 (January 1955), s. p.

Coca acknowledged the “brilliance”, “continuity in an unescapable evolution”, and “loyalty to the best art vocation” that the Schönberg monodrama disclosed, as he finally admitted.⁶⁸

Yet the main public proof of this change of attitude, although restrained to a midsize circle of *connoisseurs*, was the organisation of a series of lectures and debates with the title “Keys for Arnold Schönberg” in late Autumn 1959 in the “Aula de Música” of the Madrid Ateneo centring upon the significance of Arnold Schönberg’s work. These were preceded by a preliminary series of lectures devoted to the main features of non-tonal and twelve-tone music.⁶⁹ The series was conceived as the first step towards a broader discussion of the “style, evolution and cultural function of twelve-tone music”, as its subtitle stated, and Schönberg’s compositions were offered as a “most promising and suggestive starting point” for the situation of contemporary music by Ruiz Coca, the head of the “Aula de Música”.⁷⁰

In this context of reappraisal of the figure Arnold Schönberg, the polarisation of attitudes increased and took on impassioned accents. Some ‘moderate’ musicians displayed a rather careful opinion, rejecting the adoption of twelve-tone technique without adapting it to an alleged Hispanic nature,⁷¹ whereas more avant-garde composers extolled the most radical works of Schönberg, calling the *Wind Quintet*, op. 26, for instance, an “exacting and beautifully flawless” piece that constituted a correct “starting point for every young composer hoping to create a current music work”.⁷² For its part, more conventional music criticism chose a more sarcastic mood, on the occasion of a performance of the same op. 26:⁷³

[The] terrible forty-five minutes of his ‘Quintet’ were, for the undersigned, something of a crushing monotony, reiteration and even incoherence. Such music, maybe appealing for the professional sector, overwhelms the amateur. The twelve-tone pleasure, the serial charm is born, above all, from surprise. Never more than in this case, brevity is a virtue. In short, heroic the performers ... and all that did not leave the hall.⁷⁴

68 Fernando Ruiz Coca: Música para la esperanza. Schoenberg, Cristóbal Halffter y Luis de Pablo, in *El Alcázar* (Madrid) (23 May 1959).

69 Namely three lectures on “Expressionism, Atonality and Twelve-Tone Music” (26 February, 5 and 12 March 1959), by José Eugenio de Baviera, and a closing talk by Ramón Barce (“Young people Facing Atonality”, 2 April 1959).

70 This 1959 “Keys for Arnold Schönberg” course consisted of four lectures (Fernando Ruiz Coca, “Evolution, Present Times

and Prophecy”, 26 November; Ramón Barce, “The Third String Quartet: Form and Twelve-tone Row”, 3 December; Gerardo Gombau, “Variations op. 31: The Orchestra”, 10 December; and Manuel Carra, “The String Trio op. 45: The Late Style”, 17 December). Together with some excerpts from Schönberg’s “My Evolution” text, summaries of these were published in *Claves para Arnold Schönberg*, in *La Estafeta literaria* (Madrid) 185 (15 January 1960), 16–17.

71 Ricardo Olmos: Divagaciones en torno al dodecafonismo, in *La Estafeta literaria* (Madrid) 176 (1 September 1959), 17.

72 Luis de Pablo: Música. Carta de Madrid, in *La Tarde* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife) (21 April 1960).

73 Madrid, 28 January 1960 (Quinteto de Viento de Madrid).

74 Antonio Fernández-Cid: Presentación del ‘Quinteto de viento de Madrid’, en el Ateneo, in *ABC* (Madrid) (29 January 1960), 58.

Epilogue

In a certainly optimistic fashion, Ramón Barce dared to affirm that the challenge facing Spanish music at the beginning of the 1960s had to be marked by the “*complete incorporation of Serialism*”⁷⁵ in order to achieve real international standards and overcome the everlasting hindrances of old-fashioned Folkloristic and Neoclassicist models. As far as this concerns the actual presence of Schönberg’s music in Spain in the immediately following years, there was a good reason for his optimism, as the selection of works by Schönberg (mainly from his late period) that were first performed in Spain between 1960 and 1965 shows (Table 2); this positive balance would be even more obvious if the table also included performances beyond the Spanish premieres.

The quadrennium 1961–64 would indeed deserve a study on its own, for it represented the consolidation of performances of Schönberg’s music in Spanish concert halls. In a highly symbolic way, it closed with two main events held in Madrid at the First Biennial for Contemporary Music:⁷⁶ two monographic concerts, one devoted to compositions of the Second Viennese School,⁷⁷ and another consisting entirely of works by Schönberg, conducted by Max Deutsch.⁷⁸

By this time, Arnold Schönberg could not only be heard more habitually, but also read about, both in his own words and in analytical essays and biographies. This aspect would also need further elaboration; a thorough examination should be undertaken of the essays on Schönberg that the composer Josep Soler (b. 1935) – who took private lessons with René Leibowitz in Paris in the early 1960s – published in the journal *Serra d’Or* from 1960 onwards;⁷⁹ and, above all, a detailed analysis should be made of the Spanish translations of both *Style and Idea* and the 1951 biography of Schönberg by Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, printed in Spanish translations in 1963 and 1964.⁸⁰

75 Ramón Barce: La música española ante 1960, in *Índice de artes y letras* (Madrid) 133 (January 1960), 12.

76 Inés San Llorente Pardo: La Bienal de Música Contemporánea de 1964, in *Cuadernos de Investigación Musical* 3 (2017), 75–95.

77 Madrid, 7 December 1964; in it, Schönberg’s *Four Songs for Voice and Orchestra*, op. 22, had its Spanish first performance (Orquesta Nacional de España; Carla Henius, soprano; Benito Lauret, conductor).

78 Madrid, 1 December 1964 (Groupe des Concerts de la Sorbonne; Colette Herzog, soprano; Lucienne Dumont and Anne-Marie de la Villeon, piano; John Riley, reciter). It included the opp. 11, 15, 29, 33, and 41.

79 Josep Soler: Sobre Arnold Schönberg – I. La seva època – Música atonal, in *Serra d’Or* 2/8 (August 1960), 32–33; Sobre Arnold Schönberg – II. Dodecafonisme, in *Serra d’Or* 2/9 (September 1960), 28–29. Reprinted in Josep Soler Sardà: *Música i espiritualitat* (Vilafranca del Penedès 2016), 40–47 and 68–75. Five years before, Soler took part, as a pianist, in two lectures on twelve-tone music held by Antoni Nicolau

(Barcelona, 22 February and 22 March 1955). – These are not the only “Schönberg connections” of Josep Soler during those years: the melodic material of several roles of his opera *Agamemnon* (1960) stems from the main row of Schönberg’s *String Trio*, op. 45; Agustí Bruach: *Las óperas de Josep Soler* (Madrid 1999), 33–42.

80 Arnold Schoenberg: *El estilo y la idea*. Translated by Juan J. Esteve (Madrid 1963) [from the 1951 London edition]; Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt: *Arnold Schönberg*. Translated by Luis de Pablo (Madrid 1964) [from the 1956 French translation].

Table 2: Premieres of compositions by Arnold Schönberg in Spain, 1960–1965

Location and date	Composition	Performer(s)
Barcelona, 29 February 1960	<i>String Trio</i> , op. 45	Agrupación de Música de Cámara de Barcelona
Madrid, 17 March 1960	<i>Phantasy for Violin with Piano Accompaniment</i> , op. 47	Antonio Gorostiaga, violin; Ana María Gorostiaga, piano
Madrid, 3 November 1961	<i>Variations for Orchestra</i> , op. 31	Orquesta Nacional de España; Hermann Scherchen, conductor
Palma, 28 January 1962	<i>Variations on a Recitative</i> , op. 40	Montserrat Torrent, orgue
Barcelona, 26 October 1964	<i>A Survivor from Warsaw</i> , op. 46	Orquesta Municipal de Barcelona; Coral Antics Escolans de Montserrat; Jordi Torras, narrator; Enrique Jordá, conductor
Barcelona, 5 February 1965	<i>Concerto for Piano and Orchestra</i> , op. 42	Orquesta Municipal de Barcelona; Rita Bouboulidi, piano; Rafael Ferrer, conductor

Without extending the chronological frame of this essay, this ‘Spanish Schönberg panorama’ through the 1950s could be completed by the examination of some side issues. For instance, one could study under what circumstances Spanish practical musicians such as Jacques Bodmer, Manuel Carra, Pedro Espinosa or Odón Alonso were exposed to Schönberg’s music and how they reacted to it from the view of a performer; or the large, often overlooked, role played by peripheral diffusion centres, where surprisingly perceptive approaches to Schönberg’s aesthetics were printed in local newspapers⁸¹ and wide-ranging initiatives in support of contemporary music emerged.⁸²

Just as new compositions by Schönberg were publicly performed in Spain and his music aesthetics spread on the public eye, the more reticent voices against it (from Montsalvatge to Sopeña) began to abandon their earlier reluctant positions or were, maybe, gently silenced or left aside. From the 1951 “laboratory experiment”, through the 1957 “enigma of our time”, the time

81 For example, the full-page essay published by L.R.: Precisiones sobre la música dodecafónica, in *La Nueva España* (Gijón) (27 May 1958), 9. Reprinted in *Diario de Navarra* (Pamplona) (6 May 1958), 9.

82 Such as those launched by the composer Juan Hidalgo (1927–2018), who premiered two of his orchestral works at Darmstadt in 1957 (*Ukanga*) and 1958 (*Caurga*), held the lecture “From Schönberg to Us” in his home town in the Canary Islands (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 22 May 1959), and even promoted a whole concert series of avant-garde and experimental music there in early July of that year, in

which the pianist Margot Pinter performed Schönberg’s *Three Piano Pieces*, op. 11. See Gala de Reschko. Ojeada a la música experimental a través de Juan Hidalgo, compositor, in *Mujeres en la isla* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria) 53 (May 1959), 6–7; and D.L. Segundo recital de Margot Pinter en la Sociedad Filarmónica, in *Diario de Las Palmas* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria) (3 July 1959), 5.

undoubtedly moved forward in its evaluation of the true historical dimension of the figure of Schönberg and its possible necessity for Spanish music, as Luis de Pablo assessed in 1964: *“Nowadays, Schönberg is already history, but a history we have not yet learned. But we need to know it, if we do not want, as so often, to have seen it all before we have even begun to look.”*⁸³

83 Luis de Pablo: Prólogo, in Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt: *Arnold Schönberg* (Madrid 1964), [11]–15, 15.