

Between Left-led Republic and Falangism? Spanish Women Composers, a Critical Equation



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A Critical Equation

The nature of this research depends on the German concept *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, a term consisting of the words *Vergangenheit* (past) and *Bewältigung* (improvement), equivalent to “critical engagement with the past.”¹ This term is internationalized in the sense that it expresses the particular German problem regarding the involvement that the generations after Second World War had with the Nazis crimes. Germany forced itself to take a leading role in addressing critically their own history.

Spain offered in this area for a long time a counterexample. The broader debate on the valuation of the recent past carried out both in politics and in public life only began at the turn of the century, for example in the legislative period from 2004 to 2008 with the “Ley de Memoria” (Memory Law), which sought moral and material compensation for victims of Civil War and Dictatorship.² But the law is a consequence not a cause.

¹ W. L. Bernecker & S. Brinkmann, *Memorias divididas. Guerra civil y franquismo en la sociedad y la política españolas (1936-2008)* (Madrid: ABADA Ed./Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2009). [Author's translation.]

² *Ibid.*, 8.

Therefore, I present this research as a work in progress,³ because today bibliographies devoted to recover the legacy of Spanish women composers during this period show an instrumental absence of this type of analysis, and instead have favored nationalistic appreciations. Particularly since the 1990's, together with important asset for the feminist reinivindication of women in music memory, and the development of Gender Studies in music. However, it is possible that if they were not justified by the demands of regional governments and the policies of "equality" of the central government, the work of these women might have remained unnoticed. It continues to exist under the shadow of their contemporaries, as the "Generación del 51" (Generation of 1951)⁴ and the Group "Nueva Música,"⁵ in addition to the new generations of women composers, who demand more participation in official culture.

As can be seen, the combination of these elements results in *a critical equation*. Both, the "contingent history" of women⁶ and the *divided memory* of Spanish society, between the Civil War and the Franco Regime, as Walther L. Bernecker and Sören Brinkmann say in their book *Memorias divididas. Guerra civil y franquismo en la sociedad y la política españolas (1936-2008)* (Divided memories. Civil War and Franco in the Spanish society and politics). For this reason, the the guiding principle of this work in progress is: "*the primordial social condition of memory.*"⁷ The social interaction between "Memory" and "Identity," called "Culture of Memory," is a concept that puts "Remembering" as a social function at the center of historical research.⁸

Woman's Body and Nation; Sense of the Past and Identity

This equation faced a critical problem between past politics and present real memories in a society. My intention is to explore how the public memory and its performance are highly political, and in this sense, how the cultivation of "Tradition," which was only possible from the perspective of the victors, is focused on the woman's body. This phenomenon forms a complex social performance as an empowerment of public space, especially in "art music." However, the music that is created for private spaces, such as "domestic music" or "educational music," cannot be studied with the same paradigms as "art music." In spite of this, scholars are characterizing both (amateurs housewives and professionals artists) as "women composers." The problem is that both perspectives have in common a "contingent history." This statement may be "politically incorrect" but reveals the relationship

³ This work in progress is part of a book project to be developed with the support of Dr. Walter A. Clark, the series editor for Oxford University Press's *Currents in Latin American and Iberian Music*.

⁴ Formed, according to the prestigious composer and musicologist Tomás Marco, by Juan Hidalgo (1927), Ramón Barce (1928-2008), Carmelo Bernaola (1929-2002), Luis de Pablo (1930), Cristóbal Halffter (1930).

⁵ Founded in 1958 by Luis de Pablo, Cristobal Halffter, Ramón Barce and Antón García Abril (1933).

⁶ Laura Ruetsche, "Virtue and Contingent History: Possibilities for Feminist Epistemology," *Hypatia* 19/1, special issue: Feminist Science Studies (February 2004): 73-101.

⁷ W. L. Bernecker & S. Brinkmann, 9. [Author's translation.]

⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

between women composers, women *as* composers, and national identities.

Proof of this practice is at hand in the catalog *Compositoras españolas. La creación musical femenina desde la Edad Media hasta la actualidad* (Spanish women composers. Female musical creation since the Middle Ages to the present), published in 2008 by the Centro de Documentación de Música y Danza (Documentation Center of Music and Dance), the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Equality of Spain.⁹ This collection was prepared by such prestigious specialists as Josemi Lorenzo Arribas, Ana Vega Toscano, Leticia Sánchez de Andrés, María Palacios, Marta Cureses, and Cecilia Piñero Gil. The most important publication in this area of our time, it is organized by name, which highlights the most important thing here: the sheer number of entries is impressive, regardless of whether they were “amateurs” or “professionals.”

The catalog presents a critical problem: how to evaluate the production of these women as part of the official culture, which itself has been dominated by the musical production of male composers, professionals working for pay and public recognition. At the present time, scholars have chosen to overcome the exceptional case of a “**woman as composer**,” in order to compensate women as victims, and remember them inside a particular historical narrative of “Spanish” or “regional” (Basque, Catalan, Valencian, Asturian) imaginaries, one that gives continuity to the *story* of a “national music,” instead of the historical consciousness of society. For instance, one might consider the case of Emiliana de Zubedía in the context of Basque separatism.

Examples of these kinds of studies, without diminishing their value and important contributions, are:

- *Emma Chacón, una compositora bilbaína* by Isabel Díaz Morlán, published in 2000;¹⁰
- the articles on Emiliana de Zubeldía, as “Emiliana de Zubeldía: Una vida itinerante y creativa” by Francisco Esnaola, included in the book *La mujer vasca en el exilio de 1936*, published in 2007.¹¹ However, Zubeldía was an emigrant, not an exile, as documented by Fernando Pérez Ollo¹² and Leticia Varela¹³ in

⁹ A. Álvarez Cañibano, M^a J. González Ribot, P. Guitérrez Dorado, and C. Marcos Patiño, eds., *Compositoras españolas. La creación musical femenina desde la Edad Media hasta la actualidad* (Madrid: Centro de Documentación de Música y Danza, 2008).

¹⁰ Isabel Díaz Morlán, *Emma Chacón, una compositora bilbaína* (Urria: Bizkaiko Gaiak/Temas Vizcainos, 2000). The title refers to a kind of nationalist appropriation, even if the author reports that the Composer was born and studied music in Barcelona, moving to Bilbao only after marriage.

¹¹ Francisco Esnaola, “Emiliana de Zubeldía: Una vida itinerante y creativa,” *La mujer vasca en el exilio de 1936*, coord. José Ramón Zabala Agirre (San Sebastián: Saturrarán, 2007), 353-57.

¹² Fernando Pérez Ollo, “Emiliana de Zubeldía: años europeos,” *Cuadernos de Sección. Música*, n6 (1993): 105-120.

¹³ Leticia Varela, “Emiliana de Zubeldía en América,” *Cuadernos de Sección. Música*, n6 (1993): 121-34.

their articles published in 1993;

- Other examples are the two books devoted to Matilde Salvador published in Valencian language, the first entitled *Matilde Salvador* by Paula Reig, Josep Domenech, Jesús Huguet, and Josep Miquel Francés in 2000,¹⁴ and the second *Matilde Salvador. Converses amb una compositora apassionada*, by Rosa Solbes in 2007;¹⁵
- Finally, the doctoral dissertation of Pilar Suares Guaita, *Elena Romero Barbosa (1907-1996). Estudio biográfico y análisis interpretativo: el piano, la composición y la dirección de orquesta* (read at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid-UCM in 2009).¹⁶ The thesis explores the topic of Elena Romero as an example of a woman pianist, Composer, and conductor, representing “empowerment.”

Elena Romero’s case is highly controversial and requires critical examination of the facts. We must look closely at the conditions under which she developed an active career, especially her participation in the framework of the ruling culture during the Franco regime, and how during the restoration of democracy, her figure was recovered by the activism of women’s associations, for example during the Eighth International Congress of Women in Music, celebrated in Bilbao March 8-12, 1992, and in concerts and recording projects sponsored by the Association of Women in Music of Spain (Asociación Mujeres en la Música).¹⁷

Another exceptional case is María Teresa Prieto Fernández de la Llana. She participated in the official cultural environment of post-revolutionary Mexico, but her figure has been appropriated for the “political memory” of the “spanish cause,” evidenced by the fact that she has been considered an “exile,” in line with the important Spanish exiles in Mexico after the Civil War.¹⁸ But this is part of the modern Spanish cultural imaginary, because Prieto was in no sense an “exile,” but rather an immigrant from the Asturian bourgeoisie.

¹⁴ P. Reig, J. Domenech, J. Huguet, and J.M. Francés, *Matilde Salvador* (València: Saó, 2000).

¹⁵ Rosa Solbes, *Matilde Salvador. Converses amb una compositora apassionada* (València: Tàndem, 2007).

¹⁶ Pilar Suárez Guaita, *Elena Romero Barbosa (1907-1996). Estudio biográfico y análisis interpretativo: el piano, la composición y la dirección de orquesta* (Doctoral dissertation directed by Victoria Eli Rodríguez, Faculty of Geography and History, Department of Musicology, Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Read in Madrid, 2009; unpublished).

¹⁷ Association of Women in Music of Spain Official Weblog: <http://www.mujeresenlamusica.blogspot.com/>

¹⁸ Dr. Emilio Casares reports: “El 1 de noviembre de 1936 desembarcaba en México la compositora, en este caso no por razones políticas directas, dado que se muestra durante toda su vida como apolítica, pero sí por razones indirectas de seguridad. España no era lugar tranquilo para vivir.” In Emilio Casares Rodicio, “La compositora María Teresa Prieto: del postromanticismo al estructuralismo dodecafónico,” *Boletín del Real Instituto de Estudios Asturianos* 32/95 (1978): 723.

Neither Zubeldía nor Prieto were exiles. The real question of this *story* is: why are they studied by the scholars linked with the composer María Rodrigo Bellido, and the “Silver Age” connected with the Second Republic,¹⁹ including Rosa García Ascot?²⁰ García Ascot participated with her husband Jesús Bal y Gay in Republican political activities in Spain and Mexico. She was a professional pianist and eventually composed music,²¹ but she has been included by the scholars as a “female quota” in the so-called “Grupo de los Ocho” (Group of Eight).²² Rosa García Ascot studied with Manuel de Falla, but this cannot be a reason to call her a “professional composer” like María Rodrigo Bellido. In my opinion, each one represents a different case, but they all have been lumped together because of specific politics of memory.

¹⁹ M. Nagore, L. Sánchez de Andrés, and E. Torres, eds., *Música y cultura en la Edad de Plata 1915-1939* (Madrid: ICCMU, 2009).

²⁰ Ibid., 718. In the original: “Hasta el siglo XX no asistimos a lo que podríamos llamar liberación musical de la mujer, con la presencia de destacadas compositoras en el campo musical, recordemos el caso de Germaine Tailleferre del grupo de “Los seis” y alumna, como M^a Teresa, de Darius Milhaud, la española Rosa M^a Ascot de la generación de la República, que va a coincidir con M^a Teresa Prieto en su exilio en México, la polaca Grazyna Bacewicz, con una obra de importancia trascendental en la música moderna, Ethel Smith, Pia Sebastiani, M^a Rodrigo, Emiliana Zubeldía, etc.”

²¹ Leticia Sánchez de Andrés, “Las mujeres en la música del primer tercio del siglo XX,” *Jornadas: Las mujeres intelectuales de la Edad de Plata*, Residencia de Estudiantes (Oct. 2, 3 and 4, 2007), fols. 9-10. In the original: “Compuso piezas para piano, para guitarra y una Suite orquestal. No fue una compositora muy prolífica y además la mayoría de sus obras se han perdido o permanecen inéditas. [...] Como pianista tuvo una gran relevancia, fue especialista en la obra de Falla, con quien estrenó en París, en 1921, la versión a cuatro manos de *Noches en los jardines de España*. También estrenó y divulgó gran parte de la obra pianística de los máximos representantes de la generación del 27 que eran sus compañeros y amigos.” [Unpublished, cited with the permission of the author.] Other examples include the series “The Group of Eight and the New Music (1920-1936)” during the Second Concert (Wednesday, March 10, 2010, Fundación Juan March) and the performance of her *Petite Suite* (Allegro, Poco Adagio, Allegretto, Allegro), by Manuel Escalante, piano. Program available at the: http://www.march.es/Recursos_Web/Culturales/Documentos/Conciertos/CC653.pdf At the recent *Ellas Crean Festival 2011*, the concert “Spanish women composers of the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries” (Tuesday, March 15, Instituto Cervantes) featured her *Allegretto de una Sonatina*, and *Escena - La noça i la mendicant (La boda y la mendiga)* by Carmen Martínez-Pierret, piano. Official web site: <http://www.ellascrean.com/programa/musica/carmen.html#> (accessed 21/02/2011).

²² A good example is the book *Los músicos del 27*, by Cristóbal L. García Gallardo, Francisco Martínez González, and María Ruíz Hullo (Universidad de Granada, 2010), especially the chapter “La participación de la mujer: Rosa García Ascot.” The Group of Eight, or “Grupo de Madrid,” was made up of Spanish composers and musicologists, including Jesús Bal y Gay, Ernesto Halffter and his brother Rodolfo, Juan José Mantecón, Julián Bautista, Fernando Remacha, Rosa García Ascot, Salvador Bacarisse, and Gustavo Pittaluga. The group was founded in the spirit of *Les Six* and *The Five*, similar nationalistic coalitions of composers.

As indicated by Kathleen Richmond²³ and other scholars,²⁴ fascism restricted the participation of women only to very specific practices of official culture. However, Elena Romero, María Teresa Prieto, Emma Chacón, and Matilde Salvador, for example, were able to participate in concerts, receiving national and international awards, and they published some of their works, all during the Franco Regime. How could this be possible? Part of the answer is in the music of these women, which united nationalistic interests with the neoclassical and modern-classicism aesthetics that dominated Spanish musical thinking from 1915 to 1939,²⁵ and which persisted until the Generation of 51. This “women's music” is located in a “**conjunction**” between the code used for “female musical education,” the sense of Nation connected to the past, and the representation of regional identities. Instrumentally, this combination results in a kind of historical memory “quota” from the restrictions of fascism (linked to marriage, children, and women as guardians of “tradition”), and the status of single, professional women during the postwar period.

What can be found in the music preserved of Emma Chacón (1886-1972), Emiliana de Zubeldía (1888-1987), María Teresa Prieto (1896-1982), Elena Romero (1907-1996), and Matilde Salvador (1918-2007), for example,²⁶ is not only the *memory divided* between Left-led Republic and Falangism. We also find **poietics of the Self constructed in everyday life, contingently to the mainstream**. In pursuing this goal, I interviewed Dr. Consuelo Díez, one of the most prominent Spanish contemporary women composers, at the present time Music Advisor of the Comunidad Autónoma de Madrid. Dr. Díez says (I quote the original in Spanish):

En los años noventa estábamos varias compositoras jóvenes que salimos al mundo mediático como una novedad, ahora es más normal . . . la generación anterior a la nuestra fue una generación terrible, hubo muchos problemas con la postguerra, la época del franquismo y la transición . . . un ambiente de desatención a cualquier cosa que viniera de una compositora. A esto hay que sumar que antes del siglo XX nadie tenía asumido que España tuviera compositoras . . . pero nuestra generación si lo hizo visible. En todo caso, sí creo que hay que salir a la luz por calidad, por curriculum, por la música misma, da igual que nos visualicen o no . . . no soy partidaria de las cuotas, pero al punto que hemos llegado, creo que se hace necesario que se afirme una cuota de música española y de compositoras, al menos un

²³ Kathleen Richmond, *Women and Spanish Facism. The Women's Section of the Falange 1934-1959* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

²⁴ Mónica Moreno Seco, coord., *Mujeres en el Franquismo* (Dossier), *Revista Arenal* 1/12 (January-June 2005), and such Internet resources as “La Mujer durante el franquismo,” Biblioteca Gonzálo de Berceo, available on: <http://www.vallenajerilla.com/berceo/garciacarcel/lamujerduranteelfranquismo.htm> (accessed 07/02/2011).

²⁵ Ruth Piquer Sanclemente, *Clasicismo moderno, neoclasicismo y retornos en el pensamiento musical español (1915-1939)* (Sevilla: Ed. Doble J, 2010).

²⁶ I choose this group of women composers as representative of this period (1939-1975); unfortunately, María Rodrigo's works from her exile in Colombia and Puerto Rico have not been located, although the catalog published in 2008 includes more women composers.

mínimo.²⁷

Dr. Consuelo Díez indicates three important points in connection with this critical equation: 1) the absence of attention to women composers music and contemporary Spanish music during the postwar period, Franco regime and transition; 2) the concern to restore this music as part of our cultural heritage; and 3) the need for a balance between quality and equality politics.

Poietics of the Self Constructed in Everyday Life

Now that I have introduced the critical equation that motivates this work in progress, with the aim to illustrate this “conjunction” between the code used for “female musical education,” the sense of nation connected to the past, and the representation of regional identities, I will focus on the status of the Spanish woman as composer, analyzing two cases between Spain and “The Americas.”

I will start with two works for voice and piano by Matilde Salvador, of the cycle *Homenatge a la poesia femenina d’Amèrica* (Tribute to Latin American women’s poetry), composed between 1946 and 1956. The cycle was recorded in 2008 by Isabel Monar (soprano) and Mac McClure (piano) on the disc *Voces de la otra orilla* (Voices from the other side). I take as examples two of the songs with texts by Gabriela Mistral (1889-1957) a prominent Chilean poet, diplomat and educator. In 1989, Salvador also dedicated to the Chilean poet her *Homenatge a Mistral* for guitar, commissioned by the Concours International de guitare de la Ville de Carpentras, in France.²⁸

On this occasion I included the translation of the two poems into English, by the prestigious American writer Ursula K. Le Guin.²⁹

Table No. 1: *Homenatge a la poesia femenina d’Amèrica*, “Dame la mano.”

“Dame la mano” “[1951]	“Give me your hand” ³⁰
[A Tasso de Silveira* ³¹ , <i>Ternura</i> 1924, Rondas]	
Text: Gabriela Mistral	Translated by Ursula K. Le Guin

²⁷ Susan Campos Fonseca, “Entrevista a Consuelo Díez. Consuelo Díez, una compositora española ante la Consejería de Cultura de la Comunidad de Madrid,” *OpusMusica, Revista de música clásica*, n21 (December-January 2008). Available on: <http://www.opusmusica.com/021/consuelo.html> (accessed 11/01/2011).

²⁸ Official web site: <http://www.worldguitarist.com/carpentras.html>.

²⁹ Ursula K. Le Guin, trans., *Selected poems of Gabriela Mistral* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 72-73.

³¹ Tasso Azevedo da Silveira (Curitiba, 1895; Rio de Janeiro, 1968) was a Brazilian writer. Mistral add a note: “(*) Mi compañero el poeta Tasso de Silveira me salvó una estrofa perdida de esta Ronda, la única que tal vez importaba cuidar, y que había sido suprimida por editor o tipógrafo. . . .”

<p>Dame la mano y danzaremos; dame la mano y me amarás Como una sola flor seremos, como una flor y nada más...</p> <p>El mismo verso cantaremos, al mismo paso bailarás, Como una espiga ondularemos, como una espiga y nada más.</p> <p>Te llamas Rosa y yo Esperanza; pero tú nombre olvidarás, porque seremos una danza en la colina, y nada más [...]</p>	<p>Give me your hand and give me your love, give me your hand and dance with me. A single flower, and nothing more, a single flower is all we'll be.</p> <p>Keeping time in the dance together, singing the tune together with me, grass in the wine, and nothing more, grass in the wind is all we'll be.</p> <p>I'm called Hope and you're called Rose: but losing our names we'll both go free, a dance on the hills, and nothing more, a dance on the hills is all we'll be.</p>
<p>[Verses added by the composer]³²</p> <p>Tan al capricho de una mano o de un viento yo la quiero consciente indomable y bella. La moverá el gran ritmo de un corazón sangriento de vida sobre humana. He de sentirme en ella fuerte como en los brazos de Dios ¡En todo viento en todo mar templadme su pro ra (<i>sic</i>) de centella! La cargaré de toda mi tristeza y sin rumbo iré como la rota corola de un nelumbo por sobre el horizonte liquido de la mar Barca, alma hermosa, ¿hacia qué tierras nunca vista hondas revelaciones de cosas imprevistas iremos? Yo ya muero de vivir y soñar...</p>	

³² From the liner notes for Matilde Salvador, *Voces de otra orilla*, Isabel Monar, soprano, Mac McClure, piano, Columna Música, CM 0166, 2007, 21.

Table No. 2: *Homenatge a la poesia femenina d'Amèrica*, “Balada.”

“Balada” [1946]	“Ballad: The other woman” ³³
[<i>Desolación</i> , Dolor 1922]	
Text: Gabriela Mistral	Translated by Ursula K. Le Guin
<p>Él pasó con otra; Yo le ví pasar. Siempre dulce viento y el camino en paz ¡Y estos ojos míseros le vieron pasar!</p> <p>El va amando a otra por la tierra en flor. Ha abierto el espino; pasa una canción. ¡Y el va amando a otra por la tierra en flor!</p> <p>El besó a la otra a orillas del mar; resbaló en las olas la luna de azahar. ¡Y no untó mi sangre la extensión del mar!</p> <p>El irá con otra por la eternidad. Habrá cielos dulces. (Dios quiere callar). ¡Y él irá con otra por la eternidad!</p>	<p>He went by with her, I watched him go. Still the soft wind blows down the quiet road. And these wretched eyes watched him go.</p> <p>He’s making love to her on the earth in spring. Hawthorn’s in flower, There’s a passing song. And he’s making love to her on this earth in spring!</p> <p>He gave her a kiss by the ocean side. Orange-blossom moonlight slid over the flood. And the waves weren’t slick with my heart’s blood.</p> <p>He’ll go with her through eternity. The sky will be sweet. (God says: Don’t speak.) And he’ll go with her through eternity!</p>

When, in an interview, the Spanish journalist Rosa Solbes Matilde Salvador if she had ever composed music based on poems of women, she referred to this cycle, which includes poems by Gabriela Mistral, Delmira Agustini (1886-1914), Alfonsina Storni (1892-1938), Juana de Ibarbourou (1892-1979), and Dulce María Loinaz (1902-97), in addition to her 1979 collaboration with Carmen Conde (1907-96),³⁴ the first Spanish female member of the Real Acadèmia Española-RAE (Royal Spanish Academy). Salvador contacted Conde because she knew Mistral, and thereafter, Salvador and Conde developed several works together, including the cycle *Canciones*

³³ Ibid., 20-21.

³⁴ Solbes, *Matilde Salvador*, 55-56.

de nana y desvelo (published by Unión Musical Española in 1960), *Cancionero de la enamorada* and *Retablo de Navidad*, staged together in the Teatre Principal de València in 1953.³⁵

These two poems by Gabriela Mistral (“Dame la mano” and “Balada”) are excellent examples of the presence of a poetics of everyday life in the music of Matilde Salvador. The procedures used by the composer reflect the presence of a tradition, and the continuity of a specific kind of musical thinking. Just when she was asked by Rosa Solbes for her favorite composers, Matilde Salvador answered: “Monterverdi, Scarlatti, Chopin, Mussorgsky, Debussy, Ravel, Stravinsky, Falla, Messiaen and Puccini.” And “regarding composers of her homeland,” she mentioned “Padre Soler, Granados, Albéniz, Mompou, Rodrigo.”³⁶ For this reason, it is interesting that Solbes entitles her book *Matilde Salvador. Converses amb una compositora apassionada*, saying that Matilde Salvador is an “emblematic woman and a clear reference of the more vigorous Valencianism.”³⁷ Salvador is a figure widely recognized and honored in Valencia, but the strategy of Solbes is other, it aims to politicize the figure of Matilde Salvador in a very concrete way.

Another such case is María Teresa Prieto. Studies devoted to her work include “La compositora María Teresa Prieto: del postromanticismo al estructuralismo dodecafónico” to 1978 by Emilio Casares; “María Teresa Prieto. Vida y Obra” to 1986 by Ramón Barce;³⁸ *María Teresa Prieto: a biography and a discussion of Seis melodias* to 1997 by Jennifer Kaye Lynn;³⁹ and Leticia Sánchez de Andrés’ lecture entitled “Las mujeres en la música del primer tercio del siglo XX” (Women in the music of the first third of the twentieth Century), in *Jornadas: Las mujeres intelectuales de la Edad de Plata* (The intellectual women of the Silver Age), celebrated in Madrid in 2007 in the Residencia de Estudiantes.

Dr. Sánchez de Andrés proposed a historiographic organization of the most representative women composers of this period: the first group, “Las compositoras de la Generación de los Maestros” (The composers of the Generation of Teachers) includes María Rodrigo Bellido and Emiliana de Zubeldía; and the second group,

³⁵ Ibid., 56.

³⁶ Ibid., 105. In the original: [Solbes], “I els músics preferits?” - [Salvador], “Monterverdi, Scarlatti, Chopin, Mussorgski, Debussy, Ravel, Stravinsky, Falla, Messiaen i Puccini. Dels “de casa,” el Padre Soler, Granados, Albéniz, Mompou, Rodrigo.” [Author’s translation.] It is striking that includes Manuel de Falla among the “international” not between “of homeland.” During her lifetime Matilde Salvador was modeled on the music of Falla, especially of the *Retablo de Maese Pedro*, indeed, considered herself a “quixotic.” In her book, Solbes makes several comments in this regard. See pages 52-58.

³⁷ Ibid., 11. In the original: “Potser no la coneixen perquè no és, en absolut, el que es considera una dona “mediàtica,” però Matilde Salvador és una de les persones més significatives de la cultura valenciana, una figura indiscutible en un terreny tan aparentment masculí com el de la composició musical. Dona emblemàtica i referent clar del valencianisme més arrelat.” [Author’s translation.]

³⁸ Ramón Barce, “María Teresa Prieto. Vida y Obra,” *Ritmo* (October 1986): 97.

³⁹ Jennifer Kaye Lynn, *María Teresa Prieto: a Biography and a Discussion of Seis melodias* (Thesis, Mills College, 1997).

“Las compositoras de la generación del 27” (The composers of the Generation of 27), includes Rosa García Ascot and María Teresa Prieto. This is justified by the Spanish musicologist with the argument that: “After the Civil War [Prieto was] exiled in Mexico where she became involved with key characters of Spanish music as Adolfo Salazar, Rodolfo Halffter, Bal y Gay, and Rosa García Ascot and where she [Prieto] produced most of her musical work, there being a recognized composer.”⁴⁰ As indicated by Esperanza Pulido, “. . . Prieto and Zubeldia were born in Spain, [but, after all] they lived most of their lives and composed the best and most important part of their production in Mexico. Thus, [Pulido] considers them [as] Mexican composers.”⁴¹ This is a part of history that should not be omitted.

However, when the Spanish conductor José Luis Temes recovered, edited, and recorded the complete orchestral works of María Teresa Prieto in 2007,⁴² this was presented in “the Ateneo Español, place of refuge for Spanish exiles in Mexico City,” and the scores were also published in the collection *Cuadernos de Música* of the Archivo de Música de Asturias (Asturias Music Archive), published by the Consejería de Cultura y Turismo del Principado (Prince of Asturias Council of Culture and Tourism).⁴³ In short, her musical work, developed in Mexico, is understood as being of Asturian-exile heritage.

Ramón Barce summarizes the status of this issue showing how: “Although María Teresa Prieto was not a political exile, she formed part of the large and select colony of Spanish musicians.” For him, “María Teresa Prieto, represents, in some aspects, an episode in the laborious Spanish musical evolution that evolves from neoclassicism folklorism to the twelve-tone system (in its broadest sense); [...] positively, the music of María Teresa Prieto could have been heard in Spain and contribute to the knowledge of recent history, little analyzed and valued.” Barce comments: “Occasionally, some of [Prieto’s] compositions were performed in Spain:

⁴⁰ Leticia Sánchez de Andrés, “Las mujeres en la música del primer tercio del siglo XX,” fol. 10 (unpublished, cited with the permission of the author). In the original: “Tras la guerra civil se exilio en Méjico donde se relacionó con personajes clave de la música española como Adolfo Salazar, Rodolfo Halffter, Bal y Gay y Rosa García Ascot y donde produjo la mayor parte de su obra, siendo una reconocida compositora allí.” [Author’s translation.]

⁴¹ Esperanza Pulido, “Mexican Women in Music,” *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 4/1 (spring-summer 1983): 128.

⁴² María Teresa Prieto, *Obra sinfónica completa*, Carlos Prieto, cello, Orquesta de Córdoba, José Luis Temes, conductor (recorded at Gran Teatro de Córdoba, 2005 y 2006), Verso, VRS 2047 (2 CDs), 2007.

⁴³ Leticia Álvarez, “Cultura recopila la obra de la compositora Teresa Prieto. La OSPA revivirá la música de la autora ovetense exiliada en México,” *El comercio digital* (2007). Available on: <http://www.elcomerciodigital.com/gijon/20070930/sociedad/cultura-recopila-obra-compositora-20070930.html> (accessed 11/01/2011). In the original: “Desde ahora, su obra forma parte ya de la Colección de Cuadernos de Música del Archivo de música de Asturias, editados por la Consejería de Cultura y Turismo del Principado, y a quien se dedica por entero el segundo de los volúmenes. Ayer, este trabajo, del musicólogo José Luis Temes, fue presentado en un emotivo acto en el Ateneo Español, refugio de exiliados españoles en la capital de México.” [Author’s translation.]

her *Cuarteto Modal* [Modal Quartet] obtained the Samuel Ros Award in 1958 and was premiered in Madrid by the Agrupación Nacional de Música de Cámara (National Association of Chamber Music); the *Cuarteto en Sol mayor* [Quartet in G major] was performed in Oviedo in 1951, the same city where *Seis canciones modales* [Six modal songs] were performed in 1964. But her production remains almost unknown in Spain,”⁴⁴ concludes Barce. Once again, the “contingent history.”

Cuarteto Modal (Ediciones Mexicanas de Música ©1959), score fragment.⁴⁵

a mi hermano Carlos

CUARTETO MODAL

(Dórico)

I

MARIA TERESA PRIETO
(1957)

Adagio

Prieto’s *Cuarteto Modal* in four movements (I. Dórico, II. Lidio, III. Eólico, IV. Jónico), is an enigmatic work, its aesthetics vary between modal and transtonal, including “stile antico” and post-Romantic style, and counterpoint at contradictory space-time lags. This quartet requires performers who know how to find a balance inside a historical implementation and possess the highly technical sophistication of the modern quartet. In 1959, the Mexican critic and composer Salvador Moreno wrote: “Although the *Cuarteto Modal* is not a formal quartet, strictly speaking, it is

⁴⁴ Barce, “María Teresa Prieto. Vida y Obra,” 97. In the original, in order of appointment: “Aunque María Teresa Prieto no era exiliada política, hizo parte, con la numerosa y selecta colonia musical española.” . . . “María Teresa Prieto, representa, en algunos aspectos, un episodio más de la trabajosa evolución musical española desde el folklorismo neoclasicismo a las concepciones dodecafónicas (en su sentido más amplio);” . . . “Será positivo que la música de María Teresa Prieto pudiera escucharse en España y contribuir así al conocimiento del una historia reciente y muy poco analizada y valorada.” . . . “Ocasionalmente se estrenaron en España algunas de sus composiciones: su *Cuarteto Modal* obtuvo el premio Samuel Ros en 1958 and lo estrenó en Madrid la Agrupación Nacional de Música de Cámara; el Cuarteto en Sol mayor se dio a conocer en Oviedo en 1951; en la misma ciudad se estrenaron las Seis canciones modales en 1964. Pero su producción permanece casi desconocida en España.” [Author’s translation.]

⁴⁵ Casares Rodicio, 743.

achieved with great economy of technical resources and encouraged by a sense of anointing, in keeping with the character of the music media used by the author. It clearly deserves the award [Samuel Ros, 1958].”⁴⁶

The quartet, dedicated to her brother Carlos Prieto (father of the cellist Carlos Prieto Jr.), was completed in 1957 and published in 1959 by Ediciones Mexicanas de Música. María Teresa Prieto composed five string quartets during the 1950's.⁴⁷ In 1959, Antonio Fernández-Cid mentioned in *Blanco y Negro* (a weekly publication from Madrid) the recording of a disc (untraceable) that included Prieto's *Cuarteto Modal*, which appeared in Mexico, her country of residence.⁴⁸ Only fifty years later, with the album *Cuartetos* in 2010, was it possible to release a Spanish Edition,⁴⁹ the CD of which I co-produced.

In summary, María Teresa Prieto is incorporated in the historical view of the “Silver Age” and the “Spanish Exile.” However, as reported by Emilio Casares: “In 1967 the composer [Prieto] was performed at the V Festival de Música Contemporánea de México [V Festival of Contemporary Music of Mexico]. Her orchestral work *Tema variado y Fuga Dodecafónica* [Varied Theme and Twelve-tone theme Fugue] will be heard alongside the works of Anton Weber, Ligeti, Henze, Baird, Cassella, Boulez, Cristobal Halffter, Luis de Pablo and Lutowski, etc. that is, the great exponents of the last musical movements.”⁵⁰ Dr. Casares does not indicate his source, but records the possibility that the music of Prieto shared space with two of the leading figures of the “Generation of 1951” and the Group “Nueva

⁴⁶ Salvador Moreno, *Detener el tiempo. Escritos musicales* (edición selección e introducción por Ricardo Miranda) (México City: CENIDIM, 1996), 55. In the original: “Su *Cuarteto Modal* aunque no se nos pareció un cuarteto formal, en sentido estricto, está logrado con gran economía de recursos técnicos y alentado por un sentimiento de unción, a tono con el carácter de los medios musicales empleados por su autora, que lo hacen, sin duda, merecedor del premio.” [Author's translation.]

⁴⁷ María Teresa Prieto string quartets: *Cuarteto para cuerda en Sol mayor* (1951), *Fuga para cuerda en Si b menor* (1952), *Fuga Postdodecafónica para cuerda* (1953), *Cuarteto en Fa Menor* (1954), *Cuarteto Modal* (1957). Casares Rodicio, 750.

⁴⁸ Josemi Lorenzo Arribas, “Cuartetos,” *OpusMúsica*, n47 (July-August 2010). Available on: <http://www.opusmusica.com/047/cuartetos.html> (accessed 11/01/2011). In the original: “Hace 52 años, Antonio Fernández-Cid noticiaba en *Blanco y Negro* (19-IX-1959, p. 111) la grabación de un disco (incontrable) que incluía el Cuarteto de la asturiana María Teresa Prieto, vinilo aparecido en México, su país de residencia. ‘Por tratarse de un premio Samuel Ros quede constancia de un disco no publicado todavía en España,’ decía el crítico.”

⁴⁹ *Cuartetos*. World premiere recording: María Teresa Prieto, *Cuarteto Modal*; Beatriz Arzamendi, *Cuarteto*; Mercedes Zavala, *Intermezzo para cuarteto de cuerdas*; Consuelo Díez, *La flecha del tiempo*. Cuarteto Diapente. Banco de Sponido, BS084CD, 2010. Produced with the support of the Asociación de Cooperación Iberoamérica en la Música-ACIMUS, and the Asociación de Mujeres (Spain).

⁵⁰ Casares Rodicio, 741-42. In the original: “En 1967 la compositora colaboraba en el V Festival de Música Contemporánea de México. La obra “Tema variado y Fuga Dodecafónica,” se oirá junto a las obras de Antón Weber, Ligeti, Henze, Baird, Cassella, Boulez, Cristóbal Halffter, Luis de Pablo y Lutowski, etc. es decir, los grandes exponente de los últimos movimientos musicales.” [Author's translation.]

Música” (Cristobal Halffter and Luis de Pablo), promoters of the Festival de Música de América y España (America and Spain Music Festival), sponsored by, among others, the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica (today AECID), the Organización de Estados Americanos-OEA, and the Ministry of Information and Tourism of Spain, between 1964 and 1970, during the last decade of the Dictatorship.⁵¹ Casares, in this article of 1978, published during the Transition, is intersecting the “other side” of this story.

State-of-the-Art: A Critical Equation between Memory and History

Let me conclude by quoting a fragment from the book *Pensamiento español en la era de Franco: 1939-1975* (Spanish Thinking in the Franco era: 1939-1975), published in 1983 by Elías Díaz, Spanish lawyer specializing in legal philosophy. He is the author of *De la Institución a la Constitución: Política y cultura en la España del siglo XX* (From the Institution to the Constitution: Politics and Culture in the Twentieth Century Spain), winner of the International Essay Award Caballero Bonald of 2009. Dr. Díaz says (I quote the original in Spanish):

No ha habido milagro alguno en la transición de la dictadura a la democracia en la España posterior a 1975. Las cosas venían gestándose desde muy atrás: podría decirse que desde el final mismo de la guerra civil.⁵²

Elías Díaz's argument is a basic testimony for any study of this period, and was the result of the notes for a course dictated by the author between 1969 and 1970 at the University of Pittsburgh. Some of this material was published for the journal *Sistema* in 1973, and it appeared as a book entitled *Notas para una historia del pensamiento español actual: 1939-1973* (Notes for a history of modern Spanish thinking: 1939-1973) published in 1974 (reprinted in 1978), and as *Pensamiento español en la era de Franco* in 1983.

I refer to the Spanish philosopher because his argument evinces a political agenda that promotes a *divided memory*, not “a critical engagement with the past” (*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*). Adding, in the case of this work in progress, the status of “ethnological” discourse of “historical” musicology, that includes women as composers in the trilogy “nation, race, sex.” I refer to the theory of “contretemps” of the French woman philosopher and historian Dr. Genèvieve Fraisse. According to her theory, “women are for themselves and otherwise, ends and means. Currency exchange, or still better, a medium of exchange in political history as well as in historical theory.” Fraisse proposed the need to “develop women historicity with this data that resist all thought about emancipation and subversion, the kind of thought in

⁵¹ Federico Sopena, “Festivales de música contemporánea. Doce estrenos mundiales en el Festival de América y España,” *ABC*, September 18, 1964 (edición de mañana), 60.

⁵² Elías Díaz, *Pensamiento español en la era de Franco: 1939-1975* (Madrid: Tecnos, 1983), back cover.

which the woman remains to be an object, even when she becomes a subject of history and of her own history.”⁵³

This theory, proposed by Dr. Geneviève Fraisse, next to the argument of Dr. Elías Díaz, shows why the facts form part of the cultural and historical “imaginary,” in this case, built around the Spanish women composers during the Franco Regime, facing a critical equation as a social performance. Once again, as Walter Benjamin I refer to the view of the *Angelus Novus*,⁵⁴ the Vision of human charge face to face with Time and Memory.

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⁵³ Geneviève Fraisse, “Los contratiempos de la emancipación de las mujeres,” *Pasajes*, n19 (winter 2005). Available on: <http://www.revistas culturales.com/a/imprimir/533/los-contratiempos-de-la-emancipacion-de-las-mujeres.html> (accessed 11/01/2011). In the original: “. . . las mujeres son para son mismas y para otra cosa, son un fin y un medio. Moneda de cambio o, mejor aún, medio de cambio en la historia política tanto como en la teoría histórica.” (...) “elaborar su historicidad con este dato que resiste a todo pensamiento de emancipación y de subversión, este pensamiento de la mujer que permanece como objeto, incluso cuando se convierte en sujeto de la historia y de su historia.” [Author’s translation.]

⁵⁴ Walter Benjamin, “On the Concept of History” (Andrew Feenberg, Canada Research Chair in Philosophy of Technology, School of Communication, Simon Fraser University website). Available on: <http://www.sfu.ca/~andrewf/CONCEPT2.html> (accessed 11/01/2011).

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