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Enrique Granados en Contexto

***La escuela española de piano y los movimientos
artísticos entorno a la Gran Guerra***

EDITORES: LUISA MORALES - MICHAEL CHRISTOFORIDIS -
WALTER A. CLARK

Enrique Granados in Context

The Spanish Piano School and Pre-war Artistic Movements

EDITED BY LUISA MORALES - MICHAEL CHRISTOFORIDIS -
WALTER A. CLARK



Enrique Granados en contexto • Enrique Granados in context

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IN THE WAKE OF GRANADOS: MANUEL DE FALLA'S ARTISTIC REORIENTATION (1916-1919)

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Es inusual, en el relato establecido por la mayoría de los comentaristas, considerar a Enrique Granados una figura clave en la configuración de la trayectoria artística de Manuel de Falla. Sin embargo, podría argumentarse que la muerte en 1916 del compositor catalán fue decisiva en determinar el posterior éxito de su colega andaluz. Este impacto fue probablemente más evidente en el período 1916-1919 en dos aspectos: la reorientación artística de Falla y las oportunidades ofrecidas al compositor. Se argumentará que el reconocido estatus de Falla hacia 1919 como una figura fundamental de la música española, estuvo estrechamente alineado con el legado artístico y las condiciones que surgieron tras la muerte de Granados. Este artículo examina algunos aspectos de las influencias creativas y musicales, así como los consiguientes cambios en las circunstancias estéticas y políticas, y especula sobre sus implicaciones para Falla. De principal importancia entre los realineamientos creativos de Falla, fue su renovado compromiso con la música de Domenico Scarlatti así como su creciente interés en las reinterpretaciones de lo goyesco en la música y el arte. La creciente antipatía de Falla por la música alemana y su compromiso con los Ballets Russes son también relacionados con los debates en torno a Granados y la música española. Finalmente, se argumentará que la base del espectacular éxito de El Sombrero de tres picos en 1919 en Londres, fue preparada por la crítica propagandística en favor de la música española divulgada en Gran Bretaña tras la muerte de Granados en el Canal de la Mancha.

Enrique Granados is not usually viewed as a key figure in shaping the artistic trajectory of Manuel de Falla in the narrative established by most commentators. This tendency was already evident in the studies of the composer published during his lifetime, including the biographical writings of J. B. Trend (1929), Alexis Roland-Manuel (1930) and Jaime Pahissa (1946). Adolfo Salazar, in his landmark *La música contemporánea en España* (1930), goes so far as to upset his chronological narrative by placing the chapter on Falla before that on Granados, in an attempt not only to stress the critical importance of Isaac Albéniz and Falla to the evolution of Spanish music, at the expense of Granados and Joaquín Turina, but also to dispel the usual pairings of Albéniz-Granados and Falla-Turina.

El hecho de incluir este capítulo y el próximo a seguida de los dos anteriores, en lo que se trata de las que, a mi juicio son las dos figuras [Albéniz y Falla] culminantes de nuestra música actual, indica, además, que en mi concepto los nombres de Granados y Turina deben seguirles inmediatamente y no sólo por razones de cronología.²

And yet, it could be argued that the death of Granados in 1916 had a significant impact in determining the later success of his Andalusian colleague, and in some measure on the trajectory of Spanish music in the decade that followed. This impact was probably most tangible in the years spanning 1916 to 1919, both in respect to Falla's artistic reorientation and in the opportunities afforded to the composer. It could be argued that Falla's acknowledged status as a seminal figure in Spanish music by 1919 was closely aligned to the artistic legacy and the circumstances that arose following the death of Granados. This paper will speculate on some of the possible creative and musical influences on Falla, in the context of his engagement with the cultural debates of the time. Falla's creative realignments included a renewed enthusiasm for the music of Domenico Scarlatti and an interest in reinterpretations of the Goyesque in music and art. Falla's growing antipathy towards German music and his engagement with the Ballets Russes are also related to debates surrounding Granados and the music of Spain. Finally, it will be argued that the groundwork for the spectacular success of *The Three-Cornered Hat* in London in 1919 had been laid by the critical propaganda in favour of Spanish music that was disseminated in Britain after the death of Granados in the English channel.

The death of Granados—while tragic—was fortuitous for musical modernism in Spain and was probably crucial to Falla's pronouncements on musical nationalism during World War I, giving the Andalusian composer's critique of German music greater legitimacy.³ In the capital of neutral Spain, it galvanized the Francophile inclinations of the promoters of the Sociedad Nacional de Música, a society that had been formed in the previous year primarily as a forum for the dissemination of new Spanish music and foreign currents in music. Falla's written tribute—"Enrique Granados: Evocación de su obra", published in April 1916 shortly after the Catalan composer's death—highlights the great loss to Spanish music resulting from the death of Granados. In the four further essays published by Falla in the following twelve months ("El gran músico de nuestro tiempo: Igor Stravinsky"; "La música francesa contemporánea: Prólogo al libro de Jean-Aubry"; "Introducción a la música nueva"; and the "Prólogo a la *Enciclopedia abreviada de música* de Joaquín Turina"),⁴ the Andalusian composer continued to build a nuanced argument against blindly following the German Romantic traditions of the previous cen-

tury, and to advocate that Spain would do better to follow some of the examples emanating from France and Russia (at that time the principal allies in the fight against perceived German aggression). In his book, translated as *La música francesa contemporánea*, Georges Jean-Aubry had also acknowledged the importance of Spaniards in the creation of modern French music with the inclusion of chapters on Ricardo Viñes and Joaquín Nin, which Falla took to highlight the natural affinities between France and Spain in the development of new musical modes of expression. These writings culminated in Falla's essay "Nuestra música" of June 1917,⁵ which includes his most direct attack upon Germanophile Spanish critics and music lovers. Such ideas were promulgated extensively by Falla in the following two years, with his most vociferous attack on German music coming on the eve of the premiere of *The Three-Cornered Hat* in London in July 1919:

Most nineteenth-century music is to be mistrusted, and as regards the classical symphonies and sonatas, the teacher's one duty is to utter warnings against them!⁶

These ideas were pronounced to a receptive public in post-war London in the grip of Ballets Russes balletomania, a public that had become more highly attuned to Spanish music in the wake of the death of Granados.

It is unclear exactly when Falla became acquainted with Granados and his music, although the Catalan composer's piano music was certainly well known to Falla during his Paris years. This was a period during which Falla engaged extensively with Catalan musicians and artists (building on his close association with Felipe Pedrell), who ranged from Albéniz and Ricardo Viñes to Santiago Rusiñol and Josep Maria Sert. From the 1916 text "Enrique Granados: Evocación de su obra" it seems clear that Falla had played through the *Goyescas* in the aftermath of Granados's death, reflecting on the way in which the Catalan composer performed his music. Falla claimed that:

al descifrar yo ahora al piano sus obras de mi predilección, he reproducido inconscientemente los acentos rítmicos, los matices, las inflexiones que él imprimía a su música... No olvidaré jamás la lectura que en casa de Joaquín Nin, en París, nos hizo Granados de la primera parte de su ópera *Goyescas*. Aquella danza del Pelele, tan luminosamente rítmica, con que empieza la obra; aquellas frases tonadillescas traducidas con tan exquisita sensibilidad; la elegancia de ciertos giros melódicos...⁷

This approach to reimagining the music of Spain's past resonated deeply with Falla as he was about to commence work on the score for the theatrical panto-

mime *El corregidor y la molinera* (1916/1917, precursor of *The Three-Cornered Hat*) that would begin to shift the focus of his musical identity away from the predominantly Andalusian traits that had defined most of his scores to date. In *El corregidor y la molinera* there are frequent references to a variety of Spanish folk styles viewed through the prism of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century compositions, and inflected with a modernist sensibility. The influence of Granados's approach is most evident in sections of the work such as "La danza de la molinera" (especially when performed in the solo piano arrangement by performers such as Alicia de Larrocha). On occasion there is even the hint of a more direct debt, as occurs in the "Danza de los vecinos" (Seguidilla), the opening theme of which bears a similarity in melodic and rhythmic contour to the second theme of "Los Requeibros" (which was in turn adapted from Blas de Laserna's "Tirana del Trípoli").⁸

The pianism and piano writing of Granados undoubtedly influenced Falla, most notably in his most extensive solo piano work, the *Fantasia Baetica* composed in 1919. In this work, Falla drew inspiration from the extended use of the piano's resources in the projection of Spanishness in Albéniz's *Iberia* (1905-1909) and Granados's *Goyescas* (1911). While the *Fantasia Baetica* is often rightly associated with aspects of Albéniz's evocation of Andalusian idioms in *Iberia*, there may also be traces of the techniques employed by Granados to conjure Goyesque elements. The lento sections of the *Fantasia Baetica* in which Falla emulates *cante jondo* melodies perhaps owe something to Granados's presentation of the themes in "Los Requeibros" and "La maja y el ruiseñor" from *Goyescas*, while the quasi-primitivist rhythmic dynamism of the *Fantasia Baetica* is also suggested in passages from "El fandango de candil".

The music of Scarlatti was also crucial to Falla's approach in *El corregidor y la molinera*, and his promotion of Scarlatti, which intensified at this time, could also be viewed as a conscious adoption of the legacy of Granados. While Falla's interest in the music of Scarlatti dated back to his early years, it was through his studies with Felipe Pedrell—also a key mentor of Granados—that he gained greater awareness of the claims of Spanish musical influence on the sonatas of Scarlatti.⁹ While Falla was well aware of the edition of 25 Scarlatti sonatas published by Granados in 1905, it was principally through the music of his Catalan colleague that Falla could gauge the impact of the sonatas on modern creativity. Likewise, renditions of the sonatas by many of his Spanish colleagues encapsulated a less sentimentalised approach to performance. Both Albéniz and Granados were renowned for their transparent and relatively "un-Romantic" performances of Scarlatti's music, as was Joaquín Nin, another of

the great champions of the music of the Scarlatti who highlighted the Spanish influence on the Neapolitan composer.¹⁰

However, it was only after the death of Granados that Falla intensified his study of Scarlatti. Falla assisted in the preparation of another volume of the sonatas by his mentor Paul Dukas, for which Falla had offered to look for new Scarlatti pieces in Spanish archives in 1917 and 1918. Although this search for new sonatas proved fruitless it furthered Falla's knowledge of the music and manuscript sources of Scarlatti. Already in *El corregidor y la molinera* there is evidence that the music of Scarlatti could at times serve as the model for Falla in his attempts to archaize some of the folk music presented in his score. Falla's advocacy of Scarlatti's keyboard music as a compositional aid in the creation of Spanish music evoking a bygone era is alluded to in his 1919 response to Angel Barrios's request for models on which to base numbers for his scenic works (including *El Avapiés*):

Las sonatas de Scarlatti pueden servirle de admirable modelo desde el punto de vista rítmico y tonal para hacer piezas en una forma de danza o en lo que Vd. prefiera.¹¹

While this new Scarlattian leaning is evident in passages of *The Three-Cornered Hat*, it would come to the fore in his scores of the 1920s—principally in *El retablo de maese Pedro* and the Concerto for harpsichord.¹² In the process Scarlatti became one of key sources of Falla's musical nationalism and crucial to the evolution of a Hispanic Neoclassical style in the 1920s. But in this music it is Scarlatti, and I would venture at times Scarlattian Granados (particularly in *The Three-Cornered Hat*), that is reinterpreted through a cubist-modernist lens. This Falla-Scarlatti nexus had a profound impact in shaping the conceptual parameters and the soundscape of the subsequent generation of Spanish composers—framing the European reception of Hispanic Neoclassicism and the construction of the so-called “Castilian” sound of the 1920s.¹³

Another concept that underpins the Neoclassical reorientation of the 1920s is a fascination with Castile. For Falla, this emanated from the writings of the Generation of 1898, which he more fully embraced in the aftermath of World War I. Through his reading of contemporary Spanish authors Falla noted many passages that conveyed this new image of Castile, including the following example by Azorín:

Is there anything more romantic, more exalted, more generous than the spirit of Castile? There you have the work of our mystics; there would be few souls in history with such a great and pure idealism.¹⁴

However, I would argue that the example of Granados and the Madrid-based Castilian orientation of the *Goyescas* may have also been a factor in Falla's questioning of the validity of a musical nationalism steeped solely in the idioms of his native region of Andalusia. In attempting to translate the idea of Castile into music, Falla, like Granados, did not primarily draw on the folk-song of Castile or the popular music of Madrid, which provided sources of local colour in the turn-of-the-century zarzuela and had been integrated into the musical language of several of his contemporaries.¹⁵ Rather, he drew on a range of pre-classical musics and searched for the more universal aspects of Spain's culture and history. But even before the more pronounced Castilian reorientation of the 1920s, there is evidence of Falla's engagement with the image of central Spain through the work of Francisco de Goya.

And what of the influence of Goya and the Goyesque in *The Three-Cornered Hat*? While there are some Goyesque elements in *El corregidor y la molinera* these became more pronounced in *The Three-Cornered Hat*. In part this was due to the agency of Serge Diaghilev and his interest in art as an important catalyst in the creation of the ballets produced by his company. Diaghilev maintained this approach in his attempts to create a Spanish ballet following the arrival of the Ballets Russes in the Iberian peninsula in May 1916. He commenced with a ballet based on Diego Velázquez's *Las Meninas*, reimagined by José María Sert, to the music of Gabriel Fauré.

In the adaptation of *El corregidor y la molinera* into a full-length ballet the imagery of Goya was brought to the fore (with the complicity of Pablo Picasso), down to the recreation of the scene of *El Pelele* at the height of the final Jota. Given Diaghilev's interest in Goya, and his failed attempts to bring together a ballet on Catalan themes in Barcelona in June 1917, I am tempted to think that the Russian impresario would have embraced the opportunity to collaborate with Granados. This Barcelona sojourn of the Ballets Russes coincided with Picasso's Mediterranean reorientation and Diaghilev's attempts to put forward a project based on a Catalan theme that drew upon the local aesthetic current of *noucentisme*. Marilyn McCully claims that:

With this in mind [Diaghilev] approached the leaders of Noucentista art and music (the classicizing Mediterranean movement in Catalan art of this period): the writer Eugeni D'Ors and the composer Jaume Pahissa. Diaghilev wanted to ask Picasso (whose contemporary classicizing work suited Catalan Noucentisme).¹⁶

While nothing came of this project, Falla was afforded the opportunity to develop *The Three-Cornered Hat* with Picasso, a work that retains traces of the aesthetic of Noucentisme.

Finally, there is little doubt that the enormous success of *The Three-Cornered Hat*, at its premiere in London in 1919—the most resounding and lucrative success of Falla’s career—was facilitated by the cultural and political debates about Spanish music that ensued in the aftermath of the death of Granados. By 1919 the English public was prepared for a major orchestral score by a Spanish composer. Writing for the *Athenaeum*, Edward J. Dent made the following observations:

From a musical point of view Spain has for generations been a sort of Ruritania, an imaginary country which existed only as a department of the theatrical costumier’s warehouse. Thanks to Albéniz, Granados and others, we are at last beginning to realize that Spain has a musical life of its own ... De Falla arrives at an opportune moment. He finds here in London an audience ready prepared with a knowledge of his Spanish predecessors, and with a knowledge, too, of Stravinsky and other non-Spanish composers whom he has evidently studied to some purpose.¹⁷

In the three years preceding the premiere of *The Three-Cornered Hat*, the London public had been exposed to numerous concerts of Spanish music. The political alliances forged during World War I had served to promote interest in modern music from Latin and Slavic countries, and critics like Richard Capell drew several analogies between the present state of Spanish and of English music, noting that

Both schools produced noble and distinguished work in Renaissance music. Both were in rather low water in the greater part of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Both countries now seem on the verge of a great musical revival.¹⁸

The direct impetus for the upsurge in performances of Spanish music was the death of Granados, as outlined in the previous chapter by Ken Murray. Between 1916 and 1918 numerous orchestral works by Granados, Turina and Albéniz were first performed in London and Spanish music received extensive critical attention in the musical press, even from normally pro-German critics like Ernest Newman.

The directness of Falla’s music and its anti-Romantic means of expression impressed postwar critics with modern tendencies. In their minds this set Falla apart from composers such as Albéniz and Granados, who were classed perhaps somewhat unfairly as late Romantic nationalists. Dent claimed that:

Albéniz and Granados were both largely under German influences, like most nineteenth-century composers, and their German idiom, while on the one hand it serves to make their ideas clearer to musicians who have never

crossed the Pyrenees, relegates them on the other hand so completely to the past that modern audiences are inclined to find them somewhat tediously conventional.¹⁹

While Dent was at pains to distinguish Falla from his Spanish antecedents (principally via his modernist leanings), it is clear that in *The Three-Cornered Hat* Falla was building upon developments in Spanish music over the previous two decades, and in particular the more recent achievements of Granados.

Finally, the success of *The Three-Cornered Hat* was also critical to Falla's ongoing financial security in the years that followed, which allowed the composer extended time to focus on the conception and creation of some of the key works of Hispanic modernism in the 1920s, *El retablo de maese Pedro* and the *Concerto* for harpsichord and five instruments. I would venture to say that in the creation of these landmark works, and more particularly their immediate precursor *The Three-Cornered Hat*, Falla was nourished by the stylistic reorientation and opportunities for Spanish music afforded by Granados in his final years.

NOTES

- ¹ The research and writing of this paper has been supported by the Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, The University of Melbourne. I am very grateful to Elizabeth Kertesz for her assistance in the research for this paper.
- ² Adolfo Salazar, *La música contemporánea en España* (Madrid: Ediciones la nave, 1930), 190-91.
- ³ For further reference to Falla's *aliadófilo* views in relation to Granados see Carol A. Hess, *Manuel de Falla and Modernism in Spain, 1898-1936* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 59-64.
- ⁴ Reproduced in Manuel de Falla, *Escritos sobre música y músicos*, ed. Federico Sopeña, 4th ed. (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1988 [1950]), 25-54.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, 54-58.
- ⁶ "To the Young Composer: Senor Manuel de Falla and German Formalism," *Daily Mail* [London] 18 July 1919.
- ⁷ Reproduced in Falla, *Escritos*, 4th ed., 21.
- ⁸ Walter Aaron Clark, *Enrique Granados: Poet of the Piano* (New York: OUP, 2006), 125.
- ⁹ For further information on the impact of Scarlatti's music on Spanish composers through to Falla, see Montserrat Bergadà, Elena Torres Clemente, and Stefano Russomanno, *Manuel de Falla e Italia* (Granada: Archivo Manuel de Falla, 2000), in particular Torres Clemente's article "La presencia de Scarlatti en la trayectoria musical de Manuel de Falla," 63-122; Michael Christoforidis, "Domenico Scarlatti and Manuel de Falla's Construction of Hispanic Neoclassicism," in *The Past in the Present: Papers Read at the IMS Intercongressional Symposium and the 10th Meeting of the Cantus Planus, Budapest & Visehrad, 2000*, ed. László Dobszay (Budapest: Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, 2003), 531-44; Emma Virginia García Gutiérrez, "El retorno a Domenico Scarlatti: una mirada al pasado desde la música Española (1880-1939)", PhD, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2016.
- ¹⁰ The differences between the attitude and historical performance of Scarlatti's music by Granados and Nin are outlined by Tamara Valverde-Flores in "Enrique Granados y Joaquín Nin: dos formas complementarias de concebir e interpretar la historia," *Revista de Musicología* 41, 2 (2018): 567-90. Falla's outlook on and performance of Scarlatti sonatas was possibly closer to that of Nin.
- ¹¹ Manuel de Falla, Letter to Angel Barrios, 12 June 1919. Reproduced in Ken Murray "From an Andalusian point of view': Manuel de Falla's compositional advice to Angel Barrios", *Context* 11 (1996): 35.
- ¹² Michael Christoforidis, *Manuel de Falla and Visions of Spanish Music* (London: Routledge, 2018), 163-64, 211-15.
- ¹³ Emma Virginia García Gutiérrez, "El retorno a Domenico Scarlatti", 253-93.
- ¹⁴ Personal annotation by Falla in Azorín, *Lecturas españolas*, vol. 10, *Obras completas* (Madrid: Rafael Caro Raggio, 1920). IN 3222, Archivo Manuel de Falla.
- ¹⁵ Castilian nationalist music employing more localised traditions is evident in the stylistically diverse works of Rogelio Villar, Federico Moreno Tórroba and Antonio José for example.
- ¹⁶ Marilyn McCully, "Picasso and Le Tricorne", in Yvan Nommick and Antonio Álvarez Cañibano (eds.), *Los Ballets Russes de Diaghilev y España* (Granada; Madrid, Fundación Archivo Manuel de Falla; Centro de Documentación de Música y Danza-INAEM, 2000), 98.
- ¹⁷ E.J. Dent, "Music. A Spanish Ballet," *Athenaeum*, 1 August 1919: 691.
- ¹⁸ "Music Notes: Manuel de Falla's Ballet," *Daily Mail*, 19 July 1919.
- ¹⁹ E.J. Dent, "Music. A Spanish Ballet," *Athenaeum*, 1 August 1919: 69