UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Composers of the Piano Cycle During Wartime, 1936-1945:

Joaquín Rodrigo, Émile Goué, and Samuel Barber

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Musical Arts

by

Valerie Stern

2021

© Copyright by

Valerie Stern

2021

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Composers of the Piano Cycle During Wartime, 1936-1945:

Joaquín Rodrigo, Émile Goué, and Samuel Barber

by

Valerie Stern

Doctoral of Musical Arts

University of California, Los Angeles, 2021

Professor Inna Faliks, Co-Chair

Professor William Kinderman, Co-Chair

Times of war and political turmoil provoke an array of musical responses. The years between 1936 and 1945 saw unprecedented casualties for humanity in the horrors inflicted by the Third Reich. Artistic freedom also suffered under such oppressive forces, and mounting nationalistic impulses in Europe and the United States served to both strengthen and convolute composers' sense of identity.

Seminal works of the era include Shostakovich's Seventh Symphony, which was famously performed during a violent siege by the Axis forces and Messiaen's *Quartet for the End of Time*, written while the composer was a prisoner of war. This dissertation will focus on smaller compositions, works for solo piano that echoed the sentiment of their composers' inward nostalgia and nationalist spirit that came to the fore as a result of the turbulent political climate.

I shall explore these issues through three piano cycles of similar scope. Joaquín Rodrigo's *Cuatro Piezas para Piano* was written during the Spanish Civil War, a conflict that elicited in the composer a reflective glance at the past through folk traditions and early music. Émile Goué composed *Préhistoires* in a Nazi prison camp, and his unfortunate circumstances inspired the development of his unique compositional voice. Samuel Barber wrote *Excursions, Op. 20* as a medley of regional styles during a time when most of his works were contributions to U.S. war propaganda.

The research shall highlight the ways in which these three very different composers crafted their music, examining through analysis their use of traditional devices against a modern compositional idiom. An abundance of primary source material will inform the research, including the original manuscripts of Goué and the recently translated writings of Rodrigo. Scholarship from the war years as well as our current era illuminates how perceptions have evolved and also remind us that the challenges of confronting this pivotal era have not yet been exhausted.

The present dissertation is not a comprehensive study, but a snapshot of three individuals who, through these piano cycles, offer nuanced musical responses to their varied wartime experiences. Looking at the music through the lens of nostalgia raises questions about modernism and traditionalism, the past and present, and how the notion of freedom exists within those dichotomies.

The dissertation of Valerie Stern is approved.

David Kaplan

Antonio Lysy

Elizabeth Upton

Inna Faliks, Committee Co-Chair

William Kinderman, Committee Co-Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2021

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES......vii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS......ix

VITA......x

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION......1

Context and Composers......1

Music as Nationalism and Propaganda......4

Nostalgia and the Expansion of Artistic Culture...... .9

Stories of War Told Through Music......12

CHAPTER 2: JOAQUÍN RODRIGO'S *CUATRO PIEZAS PARA PIANO*...... 16

Rodrigo and the Music of Spain Before the Spanish Civil War...... 16

The War Years, 1936-1939...... 21

Constructing a Spanish Musical Identity: *Andalucismo, Castellanismo,* and *Neocasticismo*......24

Cuatro Piezas Para Piano...... 29

Rodrigo and Francoism......40

CHAPTER 3: ÉMILE GOUÉ'S *PRÉHISTOIRES*, OP. 40...... 46

French Musical Politics Before and During World War II......44

The Life of Émile Goué...... 51

Goué's Compositional Aesthetics and Spirituality...... 56

Préhistoires, Op. 40…………………………………………………………... 62

Composing in Captivity……………………………………………………… 72

CHAPTER 4: SAMUEL BARBER'S *EXCURSIONS*, OP. 20……………………………. 74

Music for Morale………………………………………………………………... 74

Samuel Barber as a Neo-Romantic………………………………………………… 80

Barber's Wartime Output………………………………………………………...83

Excursions, Op. 20……………………………………………………………91

Reception…………………………………………………………………………..102

CONCLUSION…………………………………………………………………………105

The Paradox of Freedom………………………………………………………..105

Performance Considerations……………………………………………………107

Implications for Future Study…………………………………………………..108

BIBLIOGRAPHY………………………………………………………………………111

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter 2

FIGURE 2.1. Rodrigo, *Suite para Piano*, “Menuet,” mm. 1-4 18

FIGURE 2.2. Ravel, *Le Tombeau de Couperin*, “Menuet,” mm. 5-8 18

FIGURE 2.3. Rodrigo, *Suite para Piano*, “Prélude,” mm. 1-2 19

FIGURE 2.4. Rodrigo, *Preludio al Gallo Mañanero*, mm.1-4 20

FIGURE 2.5. Rodrigo, *Preludio al Gallo Mañanero*, mm.168-172 20

FIGURE 2.6. Rodrigo, *Cuatro Piezas para Piano*, “Caleseras,” mm. 1-4 31

FIGURE 2.7. Malagueña, traditional. mm. 1-4 32

FIGURE 2.8. Rodrigo, Cuatro *Piezas para Piano*, “Caleseras,” mm. 5-11 32

FIGURE 2.9. Rodrigo, Cuatro *Piezas para Piano*, “Caleseras,” mm. 73-82................................33

FIGURE 2.10 Rodrigo, Cuatro *Piezas para Piano*, “Fandango del Ventorrillo,” mm. 6-17.........35

FIGURE 2.11. Rodrigo, Cuatro *Piezas para Piano*, “Fandango del Ventorrillo,” mm. 30-34......35

FIGURE 2.11. Rodrigo, *Cuatro Piezas para Piano*, “Fandango del Ventorrillo,” mm. 30-34 36

FIGURE 2.13. Rodrigo, *Cuatro Piezas para Piano*, “Plegaria,” mm. 92-95................................37

FIGURE 2.14. Rodrigo, *Cuatro Piezas para Piano*, “Plegaria,” mm. 74-81................................37

FIGURE 2.15. Rodrigo, *Cuatro Piezas para Piano*, “Danza Valenciana,” mm. 1-7 38

FIGURE 2.16. Rodrigo, *Cuatro Piezas para Piano*, “Danza Valenciana,” mm. 43-48 39

Chapter 3

FIGURE 3.1. Goué, *Deux Nocturnes*, Op. 13, “Rives Changeantes,” mm. 29-33.........................57

FIGURE 3.2. Goué, *Deux Nocturnes*, Op. 13, “Le Phare,” mm. 45-56..58

FIGURE 3.3. Goué, *Horizons*, “Phare Tournant,” mm. 62-70..59

FIGURE 3.4. Goué, *Préhistoires*, “Incantation,” mm. 1-10 63

FIGURE 3.5. Goué, *Préhistoires*, “Incantation,” mm. 13-16 (original manuscript). 64

FIGURE 3.6. Goué, *Préhistoires*, “Incantation,” mm. 41-47 (original manuscript). 65

FIGURE 3.7. Goué, *Préhistoire*s, “Incantation,” mm. 149-153 (original manuscript). 66

FIGURE 3.8. Goué, *Préhistoires*, “Incantation,” mm. 164-165. 66

FIGURE 3.9. Goué, *Préhistoires*, “Imploration,” mm. 1-8. 67

FIGURE 3.10. Goué, *Préhistoires*, “Imploration,” mm. 22-25. 68

FIGURE 3.11. Goué, *Préhistoires*, “Imploration,” mm. 37-41. 68

FIGURE 3.12. Goué, *Préhistoires*, “Invocation,” mm. 1-8 (original manuscript). 69

FIGURE 3.13. Goué, *Préhistoires*, "Invocation," mm. 32-37. 70
FIGURE 3.14. Goué, *Préhistoires*, "Invocation," mm. 65-72 (original manuscript). 70
FIGURE 3.15. Goué, *Préhistoires*, "Invocation," mm. 108-115 (original manuscript). 71

Chapter 4

FIGURE 4.1. Brahms, *Ballade*, Op. 10 No. 2. mm. 1-2...81
FIGURE 4.2. Barber, *Interlude I*, mm. 1-5 82
FIGURE 4.3. Barber, *Symphony No. 2*, 1st movement, mm. 1-5 (winds) 87
FIGURE 4.4. Barber, *Symphony No. 2*, 1st movement, mm. 1-6 (percussion and strings) 88
FIGURE 4.5. Barber, *Symphony No. 2*, 3rd movement, m. 1..88
FIGURE 4.6. Barber, *Excursion I*, mm. 1-3..93
FIGURE 4.7. Barber, *Excursion I*, mm. 29-32..94
FIGURE 4.8. Barber, *Excursion I*, mm. 56-57..94
FIGURE 4.9. Barber, *Excursion I*, mm. 92-95..95
FIGURE 4.10. Piet Mondrian, *Broadway Boogie-Woogie* 95
FIGURE 4.11. Barber, *Excursion II*, mm. 17-20 96
FIGURE 4.12. Barber, *Excursion II*, mm. 28-30 97
FIGURE 4.13. Barber, *Excursion III*, mm. 1-8 98
FIGURE 4.14. Barber, *Excursion III*, mm. 41-42 99
FIGURE 4.15. Barber, *Excursion III*, mm. 61-62 99
FIGURE 4.16. *Tresillo* rhythmic pattern..99
FIGURE 4.17. Barber, *Excursion III*, mm. 13-14 100
FIGURE 4.18. Barber, *Excursion IV*, mm. 1-7 101
FIGURE 4.19. Barber, *Excursion IV*, mm. 57-58. 101
FIGURE 4.20. Barber, *Excursion IV*, mm. 42-44 102

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are a number of people who have helped make the completion of this project possible. First of all, I would like to thank my committee members for their thoughtful suggestions and insight throughout my research, especially my co-chairs Dr. Inna Faliks and Dr. William Kinderman for their continuous guidance. My valuable correspondence with members of the Goué family in France has allowed me to explore underrepresented piano repertoire in ways I never imagined possible. I am also grateful to my parents, my friends, and my husband Macain for supporting me unconditionally. Lastly, I would like to thank my unborn kid for so graciously waiting to be born until this project was finished.

VITA

2005	Bachelor of Music, Piano Performance University of Southern California Los Angeles, CA
2001-2005	Presidential Scholarship Recipient University of Southern California Los Angeles, CA
2005-2007	Teaching Assistantship, Piano Department University of Southern California Los Angeles, CA
2007	Master of Music, Piano Performance University of Southern California Los Angeles, CA
2008-2019	Adjunct Faculty, Music Department Long Beach City College Long Beach, CA
2018-2020	Scholarship Recipient University of California, Los Angeles Los Angeles, CA
2021	Teaching Assistantship, Piano Department University of California, Los Angeles Los Angeles, CA
2014-present	Adjunct Faculty, Fine Arts Department El Camino College Torrance, CA

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Context and Composers

In a thoughtful essay on the subject of music and war, Leon Botstein wrote that "the love of music and its pursuit can make a contribution in wartime to the cause of peace and harmony among human beings."[1] The relation of musical art to social and political issues in times of conflict is complex and even bewildering, but it is instructive to examine musical works in the challenging historical context that arises during wartime conditions. How does a composer respond during a period of imprisonment? How do composers respond when wartime conditions push artistic expression toward an ideological path colored by patriotism or propaganda?

The political turmoil of the period preceding and during the Second World War elicited a wide array of musical responses in Europe and the United States. Some works veered toward propaganda and nationalism; others were reactionary, defiant, or introspective.[2] Especially during these years, musical figures from the past could serve as symbolic champions for new ideological movements, while contemporary composers sought to reconcile a sense of patriotic or escapist nostalgia[3] with their current compositional trends.

---

[1] Leon Botstein, "Music in Time of War," *Conjunctions* 16 (1991), 126.

[2] To offer some examples, among the many works used for German propaganda is the Badonviller Marsch by Georg Fürst, which became Hitler's official march. New works by Carl Orff and Hans Pfitzner were also celebrated by the Nazi regime. In the United States, Marc Blitzstein's *Airborne Symphony* (1945) was commissioned for use in war propaganda. Aaron Copland's *Lincoln Portrait* (1942) and *Fanfare for the Common Man* (1942) express patriotic and nationalistic sentiments. The oratorio *A Child of Our Time* (1941) by Michael Tippett tells the story of the Nazis' violent and repressive response to the actions taken by a young Jewish refugee. Arnold Schoenberg's *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte* (1942) is symbolic of a defiant protest against Hitler's tyranny. The elegiac *Metamorphosen* (1945) by Richard Strauss is an introspective look backward to the Germany that Hitler destroyed. In the solo piano repertoire, Sergei Prokofiev's Sonatas Nos. 6, 7, and 8 (1940-1944) are referred to as the War Sonatas.

[3] This dissertation bases its discussions of nostalgia on the works of Svetlana Boym. See Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001).

Choosing three sets of character pieces composed for the piano between the tumultuous years of 1936 and 1945—Joaquín Rodrigo's *Cuatro Piezas para Piano* (1936-1938), Émile Goué's *Préhistoires, Op. 40* (1943), and Samuel Barber's *Excursions, Op. 20* (1944)—I shall examine these composers' use of the instrument as a medium conveying their artistic responses during a period of cataclysmic world events. The present dissertation is by no means a comprehensive study of wartime piano music, but provides a case-study approach, focusing on aspects of nationalism and nostalgia that surfaced in three nations amid the rapidly changing cultural backdrop of the mid-twentieth century. My choice of composers is not arbitrary, but neither is it motivated by any insistence on detailed similarities, given the substantial differences pertaining to Rodrigo, Goué, and Barber.

The trio of composers in this study were each born in the first decade of the century and experienced the impact of war at pivotal points in their careers. Joaquín Rodrigo, a blind composer from Spain who rose to international fame with his works for classical guitar, was a virtuoso pianist, though his more than fifty piano miniatures have not entered the standard keyboard repertoire. He composed *Cuatro Piezas para Piano*, a nostalgic tribute to his homeland, while living in Nazi-ruled Germany following the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. French composer Émile Goué—whose name is virtually absent from war era music scholarship—was extraordinarily prolific during the five years he spent confined in a Nazi prison camp. *Préhistoires*, like his other scores for piano, chamber ensemble, orchestra, and voice, has only recently been published, placing Goué into that sizable category of overlooked World War II artists who warrant our belated consideration in the twenty-first century. Samuel Barber, on the other hand, enlisted in the United States military in 1942 and struggled to maintain his artistic integrity while composing almost exclusively at this time for the U.S. government and its war

efforts. His *Excursions* are an established staple of twentieth-century piano repertoire and offer a springboard for comparison with the two lesser-known sets of short character pieces by Rodrigo and Goué.

While the piano works of Rodrigo, Goué, and Barber differ according to their inclusion in or exclusion from the modern concert repertoire, they can each be examined through the lens of the composers' personal and political journeys. Each composer spent time in Nazi-occupied Germany or Austria as well as cosmopolitan Paris. These artists were products of both liberating and oppressive times, positioned to respond to the contentious divide between experimentation and conservatism. The composers each infuse twentieth-century chromaticism onto a canvas that is fundamentally tonal. They employ polytonality and dissonance for a range of effects, at times exploiting the expressive dichotomy between major and minor triads. Aside from their use of progressive techniques, there can be found in these piano pieces a nostalgic longing for simplicity, either clothed in a folk aesthetic or lodged in what might be described as the "sublimation of the historically distant into a modernist musical idiom."[4] Barber and Rodrigo borrow directly from their country's folk traditions, imitating styles and rhythms from popular culture and appealing to a nationalistic sense of collective memory. Goué and Rodrigo draw inspiration from their country's picturesque Renaissance legacy through their use of counterpoint and modal harmony. Barber doesn't reach so far into the past, understandably so considering the brevity of the United States' musical history, but he nonetheless casts his piano miniatures in pre-Romantic forms like theme and variations and rondo.

While Goué's and Barber's works can well be characterized as piano cycles, Rodrigo did not describe his *Cuatro Piezas para Piano* in this way, referring to the work as a collection rather

[4] Annegret Fauser, *Sounds of War: Music in the United States During World War II* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2013): 151.

than a unified cycle. Nevertheless, Rodrigo's four pieces belong together, and there are possibilities of balancing these works through performance which help provide a sense of overall integration. I shall return to this issue in my chapter devoted to Rodrigo's *Cuatro Piezas.*

Music as Nationalism and Propaganda

The notion that music could embody the essence of a national identity rose has been in place since the nineteenth century.[5] In the 1930s, seismic shifts in economics and politics—Hitler's rise to power in Germany, Stalin's dictatorship in the Soviet Union, the Great Depression in the United States, and the political uprisings that initiated the Spanish Civil War—contributed to an intensified focus on musical nationalism, a focus that had somewhat declined during the 1920s.[6] These events had ripple effects that not only challenged the internal affairs of the nations' respective populations but had global ramifications. Rising tensions in European countries drove some musicians to seek refuge elsewhere, simultaneously changing the cultural makeup of the homelands they fled and the new countries they chose—or were forced—to call home.

This was especially true of Nazi Germany, where the designation of *Entartete Musik*, or "degenerate music," was used not only to prohibit jazz and to blacklist a substantial amount of modern music, but also was used to justify drastic and murderous measures to eliminate artists of Jewish descent under the false guise of racial purity. Arnold Schoenberg and Kurt Weill, both branded as "degenerate," fled Nazi rule and then settled in the United States, becoming loyal

[5] See in this regard Barbara Eichner, *History in Mighty Sounds: Musical Constructions of German Identity 1848-1914* (Rochester: Boydell, 2012).
[6] Numerous essays on the topic of musical nationalism in the nineteenth and early twentieth century are found in Harry White and Michael Murphy, eds., *Musical Constructions of Nationalism: Essays on the History and Ideology of European Musical Culture 1800-1945* (Ireland: Cork University Press, 2001).

supporters of the Allied nations' war efforts. On the other hand, Spanish artists and intellectuals including Joaquín Rodrigo dispersed throughout Europe and the United States to escape the Civil War in Spain, leaving behind a profound void in their country's artistic landscape that was not quickly healed after the war ended in 1939. An increased national consciousness resulted from the convergence of these traveling artists' national identities with their identities within newly heterogenized cultures.

Some roots of German nationalism in music can be traced through the pages of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, a long-running journal which was co-founded in 1834 by Robert Schumann. This journal is the only one from its era to survive into the twentieth century. In addition to circulating Richard Wagner's defamatory 1850 article "Judaism in Music" with no more than a brief disclaimer delicately separating the composer's antisemitic views from the publisher's,[7] later writers for the *Zeitschrift für Musik*[8] from the interwar period in the twentieth century published scathing reviews of progressive Jewish music. An artist's Jewish origin alone was justification for language in the press to polarize the works of Jews from the works of non-Jews,[9] with such discourse extending to marginalize Jewishness in the debate over "high art" versus "low art." These articles were both a reflection of and a catalyst for continued antisemitic prejudice, and in years to come, the aggregate of such sentiments would culminate in the unprecedented horrors of the Holocaust. American jazz had become an international commodity since the early 1920s, but its popularity posed a similar threat to debased ideological notions of German purity. When a jazz club opened in Berlin, a city sometimes described in the reactionary

[7] Joel Sachs, "Some Aspects of Musical Politics in Pre-Nazi Germany," *Perspectives of New Music* 9 no. 1 (1970): 74.
[8] In 1920, the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*'s publication moved from *Weimar* and Leipzig, and its name then became *Zeitschrift für Musik.* See Sachs, 74-75.
[9] Esther Schmidt, "Nationalism and the Creation of Jewish Music: The Politicization of Music and Language in the German-Jewish Press Prior to the Second World War," *Musica Judaica* 15 (2001), 13.

press as "un-German, cosmopolitan," and "rootless,"[10] the *Zeitschrift für Musik* had this to say: "Such an undertaking is a slap in the face of every German musician, and in the interests of unemployed native musicians we demand the speediest elimination of the black pestilence."[11] This shocking 1932 plea for ethnic cleansing was framed as concern for the livelihood of native artists, but jazz too would soon be banned as "degenerate" by the Third Reich.

The forceful assertion of nationalistic propaganda in Nazi Germany was a severe and often dangerous threat to artistic freedom. Like other cultural fields, music was impacted in the wake of the perils and death inflicted by the Nazi regime. Twenty-first century interest in reviving *Entartete Musik* has brought limited attention to some composers of Jewish descent, including Viktor Ullman and Erwin Schulhoff, both of whom perished in concentration camps. The works of Mieczysław Weinberg, who fled Poland for the Soviet Union in 1939, resurfaced after the USSR's collapse and have been recorded and performed in recent years.[12] Despite these efforts, the amount of music destroyed, lost, or repressed during these years will never be fully known.

Musicians who complied with the policies of the Third Reich, such as Richard Strauss at the beginning of the war and conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler, were used at the time as propagandistic tools to strengthen the xenophobic musical ideology of the regime. Intent on preserving their career opportunities, others like Jean Sibelius and Schoenberg's protégés Alban Berg and Anton Webern passively compromised their own musical and political leanings.

[10] Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 177.
[11] Sachs, "Some Aspects of Musical Politics," 90.
[12] See Alex Ross, "The Wrenching Rediscovered Compositions of Mieczysław Weinberg," *The New Yorker Recommends* (online), May 8, 2019, https://www.newyorker.com/recommends/listen/the-wrenching-rediscovered-compositions-of-mieczyslaw-weinberg.

Propaganda films in Nazi Germany sought to appropriate the music of Beethoven and Wagner[13] as reminders of an uncorrupted past and celebrated symbols of the Aryan lineage, guided by Adolf Hitler's belief that nothing newly composed could eclipse this repertoire.[14] Beethoven's Ninth Symphony was a particular favorite of Hitler's and appeared frequently as a soundtrack to these films and staged public events.

While the lasting impact of music promoted during the years of Nazi rule varies considerably,[15] the music of Beethoven has transcended its associations with Nazi politics. It functioned simultaneously as wartime inspiration and propaganda in the Allied nations. The opening motive of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, with its rhythmic arrangement of short-short-short-long tones, found a figurative equivalent in Morse code, in which the dot-dot-dot-dash arrangement of sounds express the letter V.[16] The "V for Victory" campaign was launched in 1941 by Allied nations with Beethoven's Fifth Symphony as a central symbol of the resistance to tyranny. The Ninth Symphony assumed paradoxical political implications during World War II. With its use of Friedrich Schiller's idealistic poem "*An die Freude*" ("Ode to Joy"), the final movement of Hitler's favorite Symphony became an unlikely anthem of hope sung by choirs in concentration camps.[17] Despite its troubled history as Nazi propaganda, Beethoven's Ninth has remained to the present day a work especially associated with political resistance and liberation, from Tiananmen Square in Beijing to the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

---

[13] For an in-depth and current study of the diverse political and musical associations of the Wagnerian legacy, see Alex Ross, *Wagnerism* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2020).

[14] Kellie D. Brown, *The Sound of Hope: Music as Solace, Resistance and Salvation During the Holocaust and World War II* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2020), 18.

[15] Leon Botstein, "After Fifty Years: Thoughts on Music and the End of World War II," *The Musical Quaterly* 79 No. 2 (Summer 1995), 228.

[16] William Kinderman, *Beethoven: A Political Artist in Revolutionary Times*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020), 145.

[17] Emma Schubart, "Tainted or Transcendent: The Political Recruitment of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony," *PIT Journal* 9 (2018), http://pitjournal.unc.edu/content/tainted-or-transcendent-political-recruitment-beethoven%E2%80%99s-ninth-symphony.

The universality of Beethoven's appeal aside, acute awareness of the centrality of the Austro-German musical repertoire and its supposed supremacy represented a commanding model against which other nations fervently sought to assert their own musical identities. The Nazi regime's opposition to modern music encouraged in Allied nations a link between musical modernism and progressive politics, which shared a critical edge in striving for reform. Even before Hitler's rise to power in 1933, the collapse of the stock market in the United States accompanied a tangible shift in American culture. Massive government programs extended into the arts world as the United States struggled through the Great Depression,[18] creating a powerful impetus for populist art and music that was strengthened by the nation's formal involvement in the war in 1941. Trends in new American music encouraged composers to integrate popular styles with modern techniques, as is illustrated by aspects of Samuel Barber's *Excursions* to be discussed below in chapter 4. France, already recognized as the cultural antithesis to the German tradition, sought to preserve its diverse and modern musical aesthetic in vibrant cultural centers, especially Paris. The embrace of new music during the war was seen as a sign of cultural vitality in the United States and to some extent in France as well, despite the German occupation.

Musical nationalism was a heightened phenomenon during the war years and the use of music as propaganda by no means limited to Germany. In Spain, Francisco Franco's subsequent rise to power after the devastation of the Spanish Civil War resulted in massive control over music in the press, fueling an impulse to resist foreign influence, honor Spain's *Siglo de Oro*—the years from 1492-1659—and promote a distinctly Spanish musical identity. Music scholar Annegret Fauser describes similar patterns in the Allied countries during World War II that are often overlooked, not because they yielded the same results as Nazi Germany but because they

[18] Government sponsorship of music programs in the U.S. is detailed in Audrey S. Rutt, "The Federal Music Project: An American Voice in Depression-Era Music," *Musical Offerings* 9 (Fall 2018), 43-59.

also tended to subdue artistic freedom: "Allied propagandists…tended to claim the ideological high ground typically by avoiding any engagement whatsoever with ideology. It is easy to accuse Fascist regimes of abusing music as an instrument of nationalist propaganda; it is harder to acknowledge that such forces were at work…on the other side of the wartime fence."[19] Under pressure to embrace exactly what the Third Reich opposed, the pervasive notion of freedom in Allied countries could paradoxically become an overbearing ideology in itself, especially in the United States.

Nostalgia and the Expansion of Artistic Culture

"It is not surprising that national awareness comes from outside the community rather than from within. It is the romantic traveler who sees from a distance the wholeness of the vanishing world. The journey gives him perspective. The vantage point of a stranger informs the native idyll."[20]

The Spanish Civil War and Second World War were the first major global conflicts affected by mass-distributed electronic media. Advances in technology and its availability led to increased access to music, which in turn fostered a heightened awareness of the self, the other, group mentality, and shared memory. The phonograph and the radio became meaningful resources for both entertainment and the dissemination of political ideas. Sound reproduction on these mechanical devices enabled music from the past and present to take on a life beyond the ephemerality of live performance, and radio broadcasts were curated to boost comradery and nationalistic fervor. Likewise, increased transnational mobility allowed artists to participate in

[19] Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 7.
[20] Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia,* 12.

the workings of cultures that were previously inaccessible. This expansion of culture through technology is a corollary to the nostalgic impulses of the music in question.[21]

In her book *The Future of Nostalgia*, Svetlana Boym explores the history of the nostalgic impulse and its many cultural manifestations. She distinguishes between restorative nostalgia and reflective nostalgia, which can coexist in musical responses to political turmoil. The former involves reconstructing the past, restoring what has been lost through time or distance. This kind of nostalgia fed into the Nazi regime's longing to impose traditional order stripped of the baggage of cultural diversity and presumed stigma of modernist, so-called "degenerate" art. Francoist Spain's reaction to modernization, which I shall explore in the next chapter, was to draw upon music, literature, and architecture of the past to promote these earlier traditions. In contemporary terms, this is the same type of populist nostalgia implied by the "Make America Great Again" slogan, which asserts that something that has been lost can and should be restored.

Reflective nostalgia, by contrast, thrives "in the longing itself"[22] and has a more personal, more fluid definition. It is not an active measure taken to bring back what has been lost, but a recognition that it is possible to imagine a different place or rhythm of time, in what Boym equates to a "double exposure"[23] that ceases to exist if the images are reconciled. In other words, it recognizes that the object of the nostalgic yearning is inherently unrecoverable. Reflective nostalgia avoids the overt quality of restorative nostalgia, and is more compatible with the visionary qualities embodied in affirmative artworks, such as Schiller's vision of an all-

[21] See in this regard the recent study of the ways music was changed through recording and audio: Harry Liebersohn, *Music and the New Global Culture from the Great Exhibition to the Jazz Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019).
[22] Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia,* xviii.
[23] Ibid., xiv.

embracing community of all humanity—"alle Menschen"—as set to music in the chorale finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.

The melancholic longing for freedom and normalcy was a type of reflective nostalgia felt by victims of Nazi persecution, and is apparent in the works of Émile Goué that were written during his captivity. Coupled with an expanded awareness of culture, this nostalgia can also adopt a collective form. Aaron Copland's *Appalachian Spring* from 1944 was a nostalgic work, but not because it reminded its audiences of their childhood in a Shaker village of questionable geographic location,[24] because that was not the story of most Americans. Instead, the portrayal of simplicity in *Appalachian Spring* was a welcome and hopeful antidote to the prevailing climate of the time, one that audiences could reflect upon at a distance through Boym's metaphor of the double exposure.

This metaphor was potent in the 1940s and remains so today. Reflective nostalgia is fiercely alive in contemporary culture and something many take for granted. The capacity for technology to expand cultural memory as imagined shared experiences was novel during World War II, but social platforms, television, and the accessibility of music today allow us to know, participate in, and inhabit alternate everyday spaces with little effort. Generation Z does not remember what it was like to grow up listening to the music of Generation X, but through the accumulation of a past now made available online, can participate in that nostalgia by identifying it, detaching from it, longing for it, or recreating it.

While the fluid and participatory aspects of popular culture have reached a peak in the twenty-first century, the situation was foreshadowed by composer Roger Sessions in his 1957

---

[24] Mark Swed, "A Ballet for Us All: How *Appalachian Spring* Carries Promise for a New Beginning," *Los Angeles Times* (online), August 12, 2020, https://www.latimes.com/entertainment-arts/story/2020-08-12/how-to-listen-aaron-copland-appalachian-spring-covid.

essay “Art, Freedom, and the Individual: “As far as the arts are concerned, we must perhaps learn to regard them no longer as satisfactions which we buy, but rather as experiences in which we participate. This means that we will cease to look in the first instance for masterpieces (a habit to which we are all too prone) but look rather for vital experiences which call out our resources of vital curiosity and lively response.”[25]

Stories of War Told Through Music

War stories told through music are a testament to its power as a symbol of resistance that can penetrate our collective psyche. Dmitri Shostakovich’s Seventh Symphony was famously performed sixteen weeks into the grim, three-year-long siege of Leningrad by Nazi forces.[26] The symphony was heroic in scope, lasting well over an hour and employing a massive orchestra.

The context and genesis of this Symphony are emotionally stirring, from Shostakovich’s composing between the sounds of air raids, to musicians dying of cold and starvation during rehearsals and its broadcast over German radio airwaves as a form of psychological warfare. The “Leningrad” Symphony became a story of enormous interest in the Allied nations even before its first performances on March 5, 1942 in Moscow and on August 9, 1942 in Leningrad. With the United States government eager to bring this symbolic work of Soviet resistance to the U.S., the issue of who would conduct its American premiere pitted the most high-profile conductors, Serge Koussevitsky, Arturo Toscanini, Artur Rodzinski, and Leopold Stokowski, against one another.[27] Toscanini—who had himself fled from the fascist European regimes—ultimately led

[25] Roger Sessions, “Art, Freedom, and the Individual,” in *Roger Sessions on Music: Collected Essays*, ed. Edward T. Cone (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 116.
[26] See M. T. Anderson, “The Flight of the Seventh: The Voyage of Dmitri Shostakovich’s ‘Leningrad’ Symphony to the West,” *The Musical Quarterly* 102 no. 2-3 (2019), 200-255.
[27] Ibid., 202.

the first American performance in July 1942. This was in itself an act of public and propagandistic significance, an assertion of a strategic alliance with the Soviet Union that had been important but tenuous and would continue to be problematic in the postwar years. Revivals of the first performance of Shostakovich's Seventh Symphony in 1964 and 1992 featuring the surviving musicians of the original Leningrad orchestra contributed both to the shared memory of those who were there and the constructed cultural memory of those who were not.

Another iconic story of the World War II era is the origin and premiere of Olivier Messiaen's *Quartet for the End of Time.* The *Quartet* was written in 1941 and performed by Messiaen and three other prisoners of war in the Nazi camp Stalag VIIIA. The apocalyptic-titled chamber work has become synonymous with the plight of the war prisoner, and, on a larger scale, all victims of Nazi persecution. Messiaen, however, resisted the notion that his time in captivity had anything to do with the music, instead drawing attention to his innovative rhythmic experimentation as the "end of time:"

> Messiaen...made sure to clarify that the reference to the end of time in the Quartet's title was not to be understood as the passing of time in captivity, but to the abolition of time that the Apocalypse would bring. If there was any play on words, he continued, it was a purely symbolic evocation of musical construction; that is, to his abolition of a regular pulse and experimentation with irregular rhythmic durations in the Quartet.[28]

Messiaen delivered an explanation of his erudite musical language at the work's first performance for his fellow prisoners at Stalag VIIIA, but many of his audience members remained perplexed because the work failed to tell a personal, relatable tale. That the reviews of the *Quartet*'s premiere and its subsequent Paris performances were mixed[29] lend an important

---

[28] Leslie A. Sprout, "Messiaen, Jolivet and the Soldier: Composers of Wartime France," *The Musical Quarterly* 87 no. 2 (2004), 261.
[29] For details on the reviews of the *Quartet*'s performances, see Rebecca Rischin, *For the End of Time: The Sory of the Messiaen Quartet* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2003): 79-83.

point to the meaning we prescribe to music and its circumstances. Messiaen detached himself from the prevailing impression that the *Quartet* was about his captivity and instead assigns the work a philosophical and conceptual explanation. Still, history has tended to view Messiaen's *Quartet* as a work of reflective nostalgia signaling collective resistance and unified struggle.

Such tales of resistance, real or imagined, are less often conveyed through the solo piano repertoire of the era. The solitary nature of the instrument lends itself less to proclaiming the beliefs of a unified group and more toward subtle and personal expression. Perhaps the closest parallel can be found in the premiere of Sergei Prokofiev's Sonata No. 7 by pianist Sviatoslav Richter. According to Richter's own account of the 1943 performance, the work elicited a dramatic response, and the audience demanded a second rendition:

> The sonata immediately throws one into the anxious situation of the world losing its equilibrium. Anxiety and uncertainty reign. Man is witnessing the riot of the violent forces of death and destruction. However what he had lived by before did not cease to exist for him. He feels, loves. Now the full range of his emotions bursts forth. Together with everyone and everything he protests and poignantly shares the common grief. The impetuous, advancing race, full of the will for victory, sweeps away everything in its path. It gains its strength in struggle and develops into a gigantic life-affirming force.[30]

Richter's grandiose language might easily apply to a massive orchestral work or fanfare, but instead speaks to the turbulent, violent, and emotional writing in Prokofiev's Sonata, an appropriate soundtrack to the tumultuous time.

Subtler piano works evoke more nuanced reactions. In a scene from the 2002 film *The Pianist*, the title character Władysław Szpilman performs a Chopin Nocturne on Warsaw public radio as the sound of bombs resonates outside. Portrayed in the movie by Adrien Brody, the Polish-Jewish pianist Szpilman continues playing despite the interference and chaos that follows. Szpilman was transported to a Warsaw ghetto shortly thereafter, where he continued to play and

[30] Sviatoslav Richter, quoted in Vladimir Blok, *Sergei Prokofiev: Materials, Articles, Interviews* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1978), 193.

compose music, and while he survived the Holocaust his entire family was exterminated in the nearby Treblinka concentration camp. This true story depicting the Nazi invasion of Poland in September 1939, underscored by the music of a Polish national treasure, is a poignant reminder of the value of music as an emotional refuge of potential nationalistic symbolism.

The piano cycles explored in the following chapters are highly individual compositions. In these pieces, nationalist pride, folkloric references, and evocations of cultural nostalgia are intertwined with diverse modes of twentieth-century expression, in which we can occasionally glimpse reflections of their turbulent times.

CHAPTER 2: JOAQUÍN RODRIGO'S *CUATRO PIEZAS PARA PIANO*

Rodrigo and Spanish Music before the Spanish Civil War

Paris in the 1920s was a vibrant cultural center, revitalized by the liberal exchange of new ideas after the devastation of World War I. The Parisian atmosphere embraced everything fashionable and modern: the American jazz scene, dance hall culture, leisure, fashion, and technology, as well as the latest trends in visual art and their musical counterparts.[31] The progressive spirit that enticed such composers as Aaron Copland, George Gershwin, Igor Stravinsky, and Bela Bartok proved equally attractive to musicians from Spain; Joaquín Rodrigo moved from Spain to Paris in 1927 to study with the famed composer Paul Dukas for five years, and he later returned with his wife in 1935 on a scholarship from the Spanish government.

The Parisian influence on Spanish composition was no new phenomenon in the 1920s. Aside from offering an ideological antithesis to the "overpowering and potentially suffocating influence of German late-romanticism,"[32] Paris had long been a feasible destination for promising Spanish composers and performers, due to its geographic proximity. Albéniz, Granados, Falla, and Turina each spent considerable time in the French capital, appropriating features of the impressionist style to enrich their own Spanish compositions.

In the interwar years, some Spanish composers and performers chose to further their careers in Germany. However, their success abroad was limited, as reflected by the concert programs of the early 1920s which lacked representation from even the most established names

[31] Alex Ross, *The Rest is Noise: Listening to the Twentieth Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), 100.
[32] Erik Levi, "The Reception of Spanish Music in Germany During the Nazi Era," in *Music and Francoism*, ed. Gemma Pérez Zalduondo and Germán Gan Quesada (Italy: Brepols, 2013), 3.

of the Spanish musical lineage.[33] Few organizations and publications in Germany promoted new Spanish works; a sometimes xenophobic policy toward foreign art was already palpable. Even though Spain was an alluring potential ally for Germany given its neutrality in the First World War, early attempts to welcome Spanish musicians and host artistic exchanges in Spain were often triggered for political reasons. This trend shifted, albeit briefly, with the establishment of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM). Highly publicized ISCM festivals, hosted in various countries, furthered the reception of foreign music in Germany, no longer regarded as a vehicle by which to disseminate German culture abroad, but also as a symbol of positive progress and international exchange.[34] With Germany's immediate withdrawal from the ISCM in 1933—coinciding with Hitler's rise to power—anti-internationalist policies once again took hold and remained severe until the collapse of the Third Reich in 1945.

The relationship of Spain to the musical landscapes of both France and Germany was instrumental to the country's own construction of a national musical identity. Joaquín Rodrigo lived and worked in both countries, and ultimately maintained a reputation as a figure of Spanish nationalism. Rodrigo was born in 1901 in Sagunto, a city on the Mediterranean coast of Spain in the province of Valencia. A diphtheria epidemic caused him to lose his eyesight at the age of three, a tragedy which he later credited for leading him to a music career.[35] Rodrigo began composing at a young age by writing scores in Braille to be transcribed by a copyist, but he did not self-consciously adopt a well-defined Spanish style until the 1930s. His early works exhibit the unquestionable influence of French impressionism, neoclassicism, and modernism. The use

[33] Levi, *Spanish Music in Germany*, 6.
[34] Ibid., 7.
[35] Raymond Calcraft, "Joaquín Rodrigo Vidre (1901-1999): Marqués de los Jardines de Aranjuez, Life and Works," *Joaquín Rodrigo*, accessed June 2, 2021, https://www.joaquin-rodrigo.com/index.php/en/biografia/10-autor/biografia/15-biografia-larga.

of whole-tone scales, octatonic scales, and polytonality, as well as his signature half-step dissonances, place these works firmly in the realm of modernist harmony, often developed within small Classical and pre-Classical forms. The *Suite para Piano* from 1923, for example, contains nothing ostensibly "Spanish:" a Baroque-style suite in five movements (Prélude, Sicilienne, Bourrée, Menuet, and Rigaudon), its dances are colored by impressionistic passages tinged with modern dissonances. In both form and musical language it recalls Ravel's hallmark neoclassical suite *Le Tombeau de Couperin*,[36] published just six years prior. The following phrase from the Menuet of Rodrigo's *Suite* bears a striking resemblance to Ravel's Menuet from *Le Tombeau de Couperin*. The two excerpts have commonalities in key, rhythmic construction, melodic contour, and cadential resolution on B Major, and are notated below for comparison.

FIGURE 2.1. Rodrigo, *Suite para Piano*, "Menuet," mm. 1-4.

FIGURE 2.2. Ravel, *Le Tombeau de Couperin*, "Menuet," mm. 5-8.

[36] Ravel's *Le Tombeau de Couperin* from 1917 contains the following six movements: Prélude, Fugue, Forlane, Rigaudon, Menuet, and Toccata. Despite their similarities in structure, the Ravel suite is larger in scope, lasting around 25 minutes whereas Rodrigo's work is around ten minutes.

The aforementioned half-step relationship is explored in the Prélude of the same suite, in which Rodrigo writes in two diatonic keys a semitone apart, E minor in the right hand and E-flat minor in the left. The hands are displaced by a sixteenth note and overlap in the piano's upper register. Played at the recommended *vivace* tempo, the notes of the right hand cast an ethereal sonic shadow on the principal melodic pitches of the left hand:

FIGURE 2.3. Rodrigo, *Suite para Piano*, "Prélude," mm. 1-2.

This modern textural technique is imposed on a traditional bipartite form adopted from the eighteenth century, A-B-A-B-Coda.

Rodrigo further exploits the half-step sonority in his most avant-garde solo piano work of the decade, *Preludio al Gallo Mañanero* (Prelude to the Morning Rooster) from 1926. This piece is through-composed with no allusion to early Baroque forms. Rodrigo notates the right hand in G Major and the left hand in F# throughout, creating a dense and dissonant display of bitonal virtuosity. The opening bars (Figure 2.4) are reminiscent of the Prélude from the *Suite* (Figure 2.3) in their rapid alternation of notes in keys that are a semitone apart, but the notes in the final five measures (Figure 2.5) descend in an explosive cascade down the keyboard in which each of the left hand pitches on the black keys is surrounded by its two white-key neighbor tones.

FIGURE 2.4. Rodrigo, *Preludio al Gallo Mañanero*, mm.1-4.

FIGURE 2.5. Rodrigo, *Preludio al Gallo Mañanero*, mm.168-172.

Though harsh semitone intervals and bitonality figure prominently in Rodrigo's musical language throughout his life, he never returned to the saturated dissonant vernacular of the 1926 *Preludio al Gallo Mañanero.*

Rodrigo's time as a young composer in the Paris musical scene was fruitful in bolstering his reputation. His teacher, the renowned composer and pedagogue Paul Dukas, affirmed in a personal letter that "among Albéniz, Falla and Rodrigo, [Rodrigo] is probably the most gifted of the three."[37] Manuel de Falla, having already achieved international recognition in seemingly impenetrable Germany, was awarded the National Legion of Honour by the French President and at his honoring ceremony invited the young Rodrigo to perform his own original piano works.[38]

---

[37] Paul Dukas, quoted in Carlos Laredo Verdejo, *Joaquín Rodrigo: Biografía* (Valencia: Institución Alfonso El Magnanimo, 2012), 65.

[38] Graham Wade, liner notes for *Piano Music, Volume 1*, by Joaquín Rodrigo, Artur Pizarro, Naxos Spanish Classics 8.557272, 2005, compact disc.

Surrounded by the cosmopolitan and forward-thinking cultural climate of Paris, Rodrigo then began to turn away from modernism, and it was here that he composed his first piano work incorporating noticeable Spanish folk elements, the *Serenata Española* of 1931. Rodrigo's growing interest in "authentic" music of the Spanish Golden Age, or *Siglo de Oro*, was fueled by recent source discoveries in early music, particularly the new compilations of works that had been written for the *vihuela*, a sixteenth-century predecessor to the guitar. Rodrigo presented a series of successful lectures on the *vihuela* in France and Switzerland as his new wife, Turkish pianist Victoria Kamhi, illustrated the musical examples at the piano.[39]

Back at home in Spain, Rodrigo received the prestigious Conde de Cartagena scholarship, for which Manuel de Falla wrote him a glowing recommendation.[40] The modest grant allowed Rodrigo and his wife to live and study abroad once more starting in 1935, and the fact that Victoria's family lived in Paris made it feasible for them to settle there, even though the city had become prohibitively expensive for most musicians.[41] Renewal of the scholarship in 1936 seemed to alleviate some of the couple's financial stresses, but the ensuing years would bring unforeseen hardships and uncertainty.

The War Years, 1936-1939

On July 18, 1936, all of Europe was startled by the news of an uprising in Spain. Generals Emilio Mola and Francisco Franco had launched a violent campaign to overthrow the

---

[39] For a thorough English translation of Rodrigo's lecture, titled "La Vihuela y Los Vihuelistas en el Siglo XVI," see José Donis, "The Musicologist Behind the Composer: The Impact of Historical Studies Upon the Creative Life in Joaquín Rodrigo's Guitar Compositions," (Master's Thesis, Florida State University, 2005), 49-57.
[40] Manuel de Falla's recommendation in support of Rodrigo's scholarship is printed in Carlos Laredo Verdejo, *Joaquín Rodrigo,* 235.
[41] Laredo Verdejo, 238.

democratically elected Second Republic and restore the conservative values they felt were compromised by the new government. Rodrigo and his wife were in Germany at the time. As the dire situation in Spain worsened, so did their prospects wither for a successful return to Madrid or Paris. Rodrigo's Conde de Cartagena scholarship was immediately canceled at the outset of the Spanish Civil War. Now, stranded in a nation where political tensions were also brewing three years after Hitler's seizure of power, they were unable to return to their war-ravaged homeland.[42]

The unlikely decision to travel to Germany in the summer of 1936 was in fact financially motivated; Rodrigo's in-laws had modest income from a property in Berlin, money which could not be used outside of Germany due to the Third Reich's strict financial regulations,[43] but this situation was risky in many respects. Victoria was Jewish, and the 1935 Nuremberg Laws caused the couple to face interrogation even within the artistic community. With regulations defining degrees of Jewishness and new prohibitions on marriage, the Nuremberg Laws were an early instance of Hitler translating his racial ideology into enforceable laws. The Third Reich issued a time-sensitive order of expulsion against the couple, after which they took a cautious trip to Berlin to appeal the order and exchange their passports. Victoria Kamhi describes the circumstances in her memoir: "For people as far removed from the political world as we were, it was a most difficult decision...If we made a false step, we could compromise our entire future: poverty, exile, and perhaps permanent separation, the end of our marriage, already so often threatened. I remember that all during the night the sound of the bell in the nearby cathedral seemed lugubrious and threatening."[44] With their funding canceled and fearing deportation,

[42] Victoria Kamhi de Rodrigo, *Hand in Hand with Joaquín Rodrigo: My Life at the Maestro's Side*, trans. Ellen Wilkersen (Pittsburgh: Latin American Literary Review Press, 1992), 96.
[43] Laredo Verdejo, *Joaquín Rodrigo,* 25.
[44] Kamhi de Rodrigo, *Hand in Hand*, 97.

Rodrigo and his wife managed to stay in Germany, finding refuge at the Institute for the Blind in Freiburg where they would live during the next year and a half as exiles. There, Rodrigo took some private lessons and presented occasional concerts, but was unable to participate in any musical activities at the nearby University, then controlled by Nazi supporters who did not sympathize with Spanish refugees.[45]

Rodrigo began work on his *Cuatro Piezas para Piano* during the summer of 1936, as will be discussed below. This became his most overtly nationalistic set of character pieces to date, drawing upon a wide range of Spanish folk material. A second set of regional folk-influenced piano pieces was 1941's *Tres Danzas de España.* Other notable wartime compositions for the instrument include *Cinco Piezas del Siglo XVI* from 1938, a set of five transcriptions of *vihuela* works by Spanish Renaissance composers. The *Concierto de Aranjuez* for guitar and orchestra was completed immediately after the Civil War and would propel Rodrigo to international fame.

In his comprehensive study of Spanish music in the twentieth century, Tomás Marco suggests that the Spanish Civil War had more impact on individual musicians than on the actual musical styles of Spain.[46] Marco's text, however, along with writings of Rodrigo and his contemporaries, also reveals that the reality of Francoist Spain during and after the war was much more complex. Even if the war did not directly impact the trajectory of Spanish composition, the kinds of music that were publicized, reviewed in the press, and performed were strictly regulated by the new conservative government, leaving scant room for the formerly active avant-garde circles to thrive within the nation's boundaries. Furthermore, the number of prominent Spanish musicians and composers living abroad, in either forced or voluntary exile as a result of the Spanish Civil War, posed a tangible threat to Spain's international cultural

[45] Laredo Verdejo, 258

[46] Tomás Marco, *Spanish Music in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 9.

presence. Like Rodrigo, composers Julián Bautista, Rodolfo Halffter, Roberto Gerhard, and Óscar Esplá all left Spain to live abroad, as well as performers Pau (Pablo) Casals and Andrés Segovia and musicologist Adolfo Salazar.[47] Manuel de Falla, commissioned for several performances in Argentina in 1939, never returned to his home country, though likely more for practical reasons than political ones, as the Civil War prevented him from receiving pay and World War II only prolonged the situation.[48] The collective absence of these artists and other intellectuals was palpable in the form of dwindling artistic circles and university positions left vacant. Before the war, composers joined together in ideological circles to negotiate and transform the musical landscape, but the Spanish Civil War brought such unification to an abrupt halt.[49]

Constructing a Spanish Musical Identity: *Andalucismo, Castellanismo*, and *Neocasticismo*

Rodrigo himself reflected on the impact of the Civil War on progressive movements now dimmed by the scattering of Spain's brightest young artistic talents: "Composers are now faced with a moral crisis. During the years before, our attitude was clear. We had our philosophies and phobias, our idols and our demons. We grew. But really, we weren't sure of anything, and we dispersed—being dragged down or slowed by following more diverse trends."[50] In 1956, he

---

[47] Eva Moreda Rodríguez, *Music Criticism and Music Critics in Early Francoist Spain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 15.
[48] Marco, *Spanish Music*, 27.
[49] The *Generación del 27*, to which Rodrigo was loosely connected, was the progressive ideological collective most impacted by the war. The designation most often describes a literary circle (Federico García Lorca, Jorge Guillén); for an in-depth discussion of its musical corollary and the composers within it who were dispersed by the War, see Tomás Marco, *Spanish Music in the Twentieth Century,* 110.
[50] Joaquín Rodrigo, quoted in Dena Kay Jones, "The Piano Works of Joaquín Rodrigo: An Evaluation of Social Influences and Compositional Style," (DMA diss., University of Arizona, 2001), 137.

echoed this sentiment once again, alluding directly to the conflict between internationalism and nationalism: "My generation was European, we were…against nationalism…but we lovingly had to go back to it."[51]

The pressure to compose in a widely-recognized nationalistic style was compounded by the reputations of those few Spanish composers who had managed to gain international recognition, namely Albéniz, Granados, and Falla. The music of southern Spain, specifically Andalusia, had figured prominently in the works of these composers, but was hardly representative of the many diverse regions of the country. Similarly, foreign adaptations of Spanish music seemed to gravitate heavily toward this Andalusian sonic landscape, termed *andalucismo* and exemplified by the "Spanish" Phrygian mode (a variation of the typical Phrygian mode in which the third scale degree is raised by a half step), the imitation of *flamenco* guitar techniques and rhythms, and florid improvisatory ornamentation.[52] Andalusia has long been a region of intriguing exoticism, given its geographic isolation at the tip of Europe and centuries of Moorish occupation. By the nineteenth century, it held an alluring place in the Romantic imagination of Western music, epitomized by works such as Bizet's *Carmen* (1875) and Rimsky-Korsakov's *Capriccio Espagnol* (1887). Liszt, Ravel, and Gottschalk also appropriated the notion of the Spanish exotic relying on elements that were decidedly Andalusian.

The foreign perception and otherness of Spanish music by the above composers manifests an important distinction between the central and the peripheral in European art music, one which highlights the hierarchal tensions in times of both war and peace. Spain's relative weakness as a

[51] Joaquín Rodrigo, referenced in Rodriguez, *Music Criticism and Music Critics*, 123.
[52] The Andalusian style of music as a mark of regional Spanish heritage is explored in Matthew Machin-Autenrieth, *Flamenco, Regionalism and Musical Heritage in Southern Spain*, (New York: Routledge, 2016).

nineteenth-century power in politics and music only intensified its allure, and it was easy for Spanish composers to perpetuate those romanticized stereotypes that proved to be so appealing abroad. Writing specifically about the many Parisian adaptations of Spanish music, the following comment by cultural historian Samuel Llano can also apply to other nations' construction of the Spanish exotic: "Spanish musicians both informed these musics and were inspired by them; thus the perpetrators and subjects of these musical manifestations were engaged in constant, if at times uneven, dialogue."[53] Often, the drive to construct a sense of place and collective identity in the face of more established national powers was at odds with authenticity.

The problem with *andalucismo* was not that it was inauthentic, but rather that it had been appropriated so heavily by nineteenth- and early twentieth-century composers at the expense of other regional styles, and was thus become victim to sentimentalism and clichés.[54] Rodrigo termed the Andalusian portrait of Spain the "least interesting,"[55] although he continued to utilize the region for inspiration throughout his career.[56] In the following statement to a Barcelona newspaper in 1953, he summarizes his feelings about nationalism, lamenting the pressure to perpetuate the Andalusian stereotype:

> Men who were torches against the Spanish "standard" were, in conclusion, those who have contributed to the easy exportation of music. The fact is inevitable: the only pleasing image is the Andalucian portrait, the least interesting, and this error contributes in large part to the foreign criticism with its short sightedness. From outside, those exist who see us as above all, closed nationalists, taking as a model, the position of the first Spanish composers. What they don't realize is that Albeniz and Granados both died at a relatively young age and that Falla wrote music for really only forty years. None of the three reached the point that they superseded everything of the folklore. If Stravinsky had died after *Petrouchka* he wouldn't be considered anything but an integral nationalist.

---

[53] Samuel Llano, *Whose Spain?: Negotiating "Spanish" Music in Paris, 1908-1929*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), xii.
[54] Rodriguez, *Music Criticism and Music Critics,* 121.
[55] Ibid., 123.
[56] Other works explicitly cast in the Andalusian style include *Cuatro Estampas Andaluzas* (1946-1952) for piano, and *Concierto Andaluz* (1967) for guitar quartet and orchestra.

> However, why was Stravinsky able to write in the Italian style or even in Ragtime style, and they won't allow that I move myself beyond the Spanish style?[57]

It should be clarified that the preference for music in the *andalucismo* style had more to do with the desire of composers to reconcile with the foreign perception of Spanish music—its "easy exportation"—than any degree of political control.

In some respects Rodrigo's views align with those of philosopher José Ortega y Gasset in his polarizing essay, 1925's "The Dehumanization of Art." In this essay, Ortega y Gasset praises music that puts emotional distance between the composer and the listener. The term "dehumanization" is not used pejoratively, but to portray a reaction against the romanticism and idealism of the nineteenth century. In a plea against the emotional subjectivity of Wagner, Ortega y Gasset writes, "Music had to be relieved of private sentiments and purified in an exemplary objectification. This was the deed of Debussy. Owing to him, it has become possible to listen to music serenely, without swoons and tears."[58] This reaction is found in the neoclassical tendencies of French composers[59] and in the United States as well. Aaron Copland, for instance, in his 1941 book *Our New Music,* also embraces Debussy as the composer who can overcome the overt and vulgar sentimentality of nineteenth-century German music, especially the music of Wagner.[60]

A viable alternative to *andalucismo* arose in *castellanismo*, or music from the region of Castile. The *castellano* values of purity, simplicity, and spirituality seemed to embody the

---

[57] Joaquín Rodrigo, quoted in Dena Kay Jones, "The Piano Works of Joaquín Rodrigo: An Evaluation of Social Influences and Compositional Style," trans. Dena Kay Jones, DMA diss. (University of Arizona, 2001), 137.
[58] José Ortega y Gasset, "The Dehumanization of Art" in *The Dehumanization of Art and Other Essays on Art, Culture, and Literature* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968), 29-30.
[59] Marianne Wheeldon discusses the sentiment of artistic rejection in French music after World War I in "Anti-Debussyism and the Formation of French Neoclassicism," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 70 no. 2 (2017), 433-474.
[60] Aaron Copland, *Our New Music: Leading Composers in Europe and America* (United Kingdom: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1941), 25.

neoclassicist spirit more authentically than the decadence of *andalucismo*—yet the *castellano* spirit was regressively aligned with the reactionary Franco regime that took power after the Spanish Civil War. Under Francoism, all artistic disciplines, now at the service of the state, were to be clear, simple, and not too subjective in order to avoid succumbing to the sentimentality of the past:[61] "The process of 'Castilianizing' Spain was tinged with nostalgia and had been achieved in large part through the invention of an idealized Castile…This nostalgia…helped assure Castilianism's place in the political milieu: during the Civil War and its aftermath, the concept appealed to the extreme right as Franco sought to 'hold the center' by repressing [other] regional languages and cultures."[62] Regino Sáinz de la Maza, Spanish guitarist and the dedicatee of Rodrigo's *Concierto de Aranjuez*, advised composers to use Castilian folklore because it "keeps and preserves the feelings of the race"[63] in a 1943 statement disturbingly suggestive of Nazi racial politics. In spite of the repression that *castellanismo* came to represent after the Civil War, the gradual preference for music that evoked Castile, rather than other regions of Spain, had begun as a genuine step forward in constructing Spain's musical identity.

Manuel de Falla was perhaps the first major figure to make this transition, and his new works in the *castellano* style as early as the 1920s were well received as celebrations of the essence of Spain; Rodrigo followed suit, valuing "above all the skill of the composer in reflecting the 'fragrance,' all the while adapting it to his own particular style, without using clichés."[64] The resulting aesthetic, that of taking traditional elements, particularly those of the

---

[61] María Isabel Cabrera Garcia and Gemma Pérez Zalduondo, "Voices, Strategies, and Practices of Propaganda: Music and Artistic Culture at the Service of the State During Francoism," in *Music and Propaganda in the Short Twentieth Century*, ed. by Massimiliano Sala (Italy: Brepols, 2014), 211.
[62] Carol A. Hess, "Manuel de Falla and Modernism in Spain, 1898-1936," (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 210.
[63] Regino Sáinz de la Maza, quoted in Rodriguez, *Music Criticism and Music Critics*, 120.
[64] Joaquín Rodrigo made these comments in a 1943 concert review from the periodical *Pueblo,* quoted in Rodriguez, *Music Criticism and Music Critics,* 123.

pre-Classical era, and reframing them in a modern musical language, came to be known as *neocasticismo*. Rodrigo himself coined this term to differentiate the style from its counterparts in French and German composition. Acknowledging that Spain never experienced a true Classical or Romantic period as had France and Germany, the neo-classical and neo-romantic trends of the early twentieth century proved incompatible with Spain's musical heritage. *Neocasticismo* was far from a universal solution to Spain's evolving musical identity. Tomás Marco, in his text on twentieth-century Spanish music, called it a "backward look to good taste and moderation,[65] accusing it of perpetuating the stagnant artistic culture of the Spanish Civil War brought upon by the exile of the nation's most respected intellectuals.[66] Still, the *neocasticismo* movement of the 1930s and 1940s represented a means by which Spanish composers like Rodrigo could assert their inimitable presence in the international music scene.

***Cuatro Piezas para Piano* (1936-1938)**

In May of 1964, Rodrigo delivered an insightful pre-concert lecture on his piano music, in which he drew historical analogies to contextualize Spanish piano music in Western music history. In keeping with his concept of the *neocasticismo* aesthetic, Rodrigo recognizes that Spain had little connection with the poetic, romantic image of the solo piano characteristic of the nineteenth century. However, Spanish post-Romantic piano music reached a pinnacle in Isaace Albéniz's 1909 suite *Iberia,* which Rodrigo calls "the richest of canvases written for the Spanish piano."[67] Rather than imitating the work's "colossal greatness," which he believed could not be done,

---

[65] Tomás Marco, *Spanish Music,* 130.
[66] Tomás Marco, "Traditionalism in Contemporary Spanish Music," in *The World of Music* 16 no. 3 (1974), 37.
[67] Joaquín Rodrigo, *Voice & Vision: Selected Writings on Music*, trans. Raymond Calcraft and Elizabeth Matthews (Bath: Brown Dog Books, 2016), 221.

Rodrigo assumes a different approach in writing for the piano: "I have done what I can to try to avoid that magnificent 'Albéniz piano,' and to present piano music opposed to it, so to speak, to set against that music—made enormous by accumulation—a music made from *elimination*, that it to say, much smaller, much clearer, and to some extent inspired by an illustrious keyboard composer—not a Spaniard either but very 'Spanish,' since he lived for so very many years in Spain—Domenico Scarlatti."[68] This statement acknowledges Rodrigo's affinity for simplicity and music of the past.

Cuatro Piezas para Piano represents an attractive intersection of the *andalucismo* and *castellanismo* styles, with the first piece, *Caleseras*,[69] exhibiting the most recognizable elements of the Andalusian style, and the rest drawing upon a wide range of Spanish folk source material. Other notable features of these programmatic pieces are Rodrigo's use of dissonance, contrapuntal textures, and popular culture references to juxtapose relevant currents in contemporary music with a sense of historic nostalgia. While Rodrigo describes these four dances as "distinct as can be…in form, substance and intention," and notes that they can each be considered individually, he also acknowledges that they are "all of a certain kind," and therefore can achieve unity as a piano cycle in this regard.[70] Rodrigo premiered the suite in Paris on September 3, 1939, as the city was mobilizing for war against Nazi Germany.[71]

---

[68] Rodrigo, *Voice & Vision*, 222.
[69] Rodrigo's original order of *Cuatro Piezas* differs from the first publication, beginning the set with *Danza Valenciana* and ending with *Caleseras*. He also titled the cycle *Cuatro Danzas de España* before settling on the more generic, less referential title *Cuatro Piezas para Piano.* This text will use the published ordering: *Caleseras, Fandango del ventorrillo, Plegaria de la Infanta de Castilla, Danza Valenciana.*
[70] Rodrigo, 223.
[71] Schott Music Corp. *Joaquín Rodrigo: List of Published Works* (New York: Schott Music Corp, 2001), 43.

I. *Caleseras (Homenaje a Chueca)*

The inscription "Homage to Chueca" dedicates this short piece to Federico Chueca, a composer of Spanish *zarzuelas*[72] during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These light lyric operas were a vital part of popular culture in Spain, though they were rarely integrated with art music. The music of the *zarzuelas* was simple and straightforward, uncomplicated both for the performers and the public. Specifically, the *calesera* is a Spanish popular song from Andalusia, consisting of a sequence without a chorus and derived from the songs sung to travelers by carriage drivers.[73] The horse-drawn carriages of southern Spain evoke a distinctive aspect of daily folk life in the early twentieth century,[74] one which is reproduced sonically in the trotting, off-beat figurations of the opening accompaniment:

FIGURE 2.6. Rodrigo, *Cuatro Piezas para Piano*, "Caleseras," mm. 1-4.

The rhythmic alternations of the melodic bass line with E4 in the above figure, along with the i-V harmonic structure, are reminiscent of the popular Malagueña, also from Andalusia:[75]

---

[72] For a comprehensive history of the *zarzuela* in Spanish popular culture, see Clinton D. Young, *Music Theater and Popular Nationalism in Spain, 1880-1930,* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2016).
[73] *Lexico*, "Calesera," accessed April 21 2021, https://www.lexico.com/es/definicion/calesera.
[74] María Consuelo Martín Colinet, "Tradición Histórica y Música Popular en la Producción Pianística de Joaquín Rodrigo," *Revista de Musicología* 33 No. 1/2 (2010), 349.
[75] The exact origins of the "Malagueña" melodic bass line are unknown; it may have first been notated by American composer Louis Moreau Gottschalk in his piano piece "Souvenirs d'Andalousie, Op. 22" from 1851. The most

FIGURE 2.7. Malagueña, traditional. mm. 1-4.

The characteristically Spanish sound derives from use of the Phrygian mode and the relative interchangeability of the G natural and G#, a common feature of flamenco guitar playing.[76] In "Caleseras," as the accompaniment continues, Rodrigo layers a contrapuntal melody in the right hand, a nod to his affinity for polyphonic writing. The lower voice descends to reach a triplet inflection using F natural and G natural, ultimately landing on E in measure 11 and reinforcing the Spanish Phrygian mode.

FIGURE 2.8. Rodrigo, *Cuatro Piezas para Piano*, "Caleseras," mm. 5-11.

Several instances throughout "Caleseras" demonstrate Rodrigo's use of dissonance to counter and enrich the tonal simplicity of the *zarzuela* and *malagueña.* A mostly diatonic melody

famous adaptation is Ernesto Lecuona's "Malagueña," a popular song from 1960 based on a movement from his *Suite Andalucía*, also for piano.

[76] Sidney Dustin Woodruff offers a guitarist's perspective on this and other references to the classical guitar tradition in *Cuatro Piezas para Piano.* See the dissertation "Joaquín Rodrigo's *Cuatro Piezas para Piano Transcribed for Guitar Trio,*" (DMA diss., University of Georgia, 2011).

and accompaniment, notated here in E Major, is interrupted by a short and sudden outburst of accents on non-functional harmonies, before the return to the tonic:

FIGURE 2.9. Rodrigo, *Cuatro Piezas para Piano*, "Caleseras," mm. 73-82.

Although written shortly after the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, Rodrigo's homage to Federico Chueca carries more folk implications than political ones; however, as the decade progressed, *zarzuela* came to be seen as a symbol of Francoist musical life. Its decline as a theatrical art form during and after the Spanish Civil War coincided with increased distribution of audio recordings as well as purely musical renditions in the concert hall.[77] The scarcity of new productions meant that the *zarzuela* genre no longer represented a dynamic popular aesthetic as it had during the previous century: it merely reworked scenes from the distant past, thus aligning itself with the conservative values of the new regime.

[77] Eva Moreda Rodriguez, "What Did Franco's Spain Do to Spanish Music," *JSTOR Online,* January 15, 2020, https://daily.jstor.org/what-did-francos-spain-do-to-spanish-music/.

II. *Fandango del ventorrillo*

The second piece of the set, "Fandango of the Little Inn," is a capricious, fast-paced study in imitative polyphony lasting just over ninety seconds. *Fandango* is a lively triple meter Spanish dance form, and possibly the most widely appropriated folk dance by both Spanish and foreign composers.[78] As with *Caleseras*, elements of *andalucismo* are present here in the rhythmic syncopations and guitar-like flourishes, though to a lesser degree. In his study of Rodrigo's piano music, Antonio Iglesias suggests that this piece contains dance elements from the flamenco tradition of Andalusia as well as the contour of popular songs from Rodrigo's native region of Valencia on the East Coast.[79] Graham Wade's biography attributes the lightness, dexterity, and contrapuntal textures to the *toccata* style of Baroque composers Soler and Scarlatti,[80] an interpretation that aligns with Rodrigo's comments from his 1964 lecture on piano music.

The piece is built on a single theme largely conceived in two-voice counterpoint, in what the composer calls "a plain and unadorned texture, just a two-voice sketch, very brief, very pared-down, and very difficult."[81] The *Fandango*'s many melodic entrances are announced as whimsical repeated note gestures:

[78] Colinet, "Tradición Histórica y Música Popular," 348.
[79] Antonio Iglesias, *Joaquín Rodrigo: Su obra para piano*, 2nd edition (Madrid: Editorial Alpuerto, S. A., 1996), 133.
[80] Graham Wade, *Joaquín Rodrigo – A Life in Music: Traveling to Aranjuez (1901-1939)* (USA: GRM Publications, 2006), 300.
[81] Rodrigo, *Voice & Vision*, 224.

FIGURE 2.10 Rodrigo, *Cuatro Piezas para Piano*, “Fandango del Ventorrillo,” mm. 6-17.

Diverse source material from popular and early music once again is combined with Rodrigo’s incisive half-step dissonances, punctuated by abrupt accents in the left hand of measure 32:

FIGURE 2.11. Rodrigo, *Cuatro Piezas para Piano*, “Fandango del Ventorrillo,” mm. 30-34.

III. *Plegaria de la Infanta de Castilla*

Rodrigo’s most evocative tribute to the Spanish *Siglo de Oro* is found in *Plegaria de la Infanta de Castilla,* or “Prayer of the Princess of Castile.” It is also his most deliberate response to the severe turmoil taking place in Spain; Rodrigo’s letters from 1937[82] suggest that this piano

[82] Wade, *Joaquín Rodrigo*, 307.

work may have been a prayer for peace, with the “Princess” symbolizing a nation torn apart by the atrocities of war. This solemn *sarabande*, called by Rodrigo a “medieval evocation of a possibly religious dance,”[83] harkens back to the sixteenth century with its parallel intervals and intricate polyphonic layers, while exploring the colorful dissonances popular in the new century. Furthermore, the titular reference to the region of Castile in the *Plegaria* solidified its *castellanismo*, with a poignant, spiritual austerity that was now celebrated and actively promoted by Francoism. However, it is scarcely possible to draw conclusions about Rodrigo’s political attitudes from the evocative stylistic tension lodged in his music.

A succession of hollow left-hand fifths lends to the opening theme a modal ambiguity, with the G natural ultimately grounding the passage in an F# Phrygian mode.

FIGURE 2.12. Rodrigo, *Cuatro Piezas para Piano*, “Plegaria de la Infanta de Castilla,” mm. 1-6.

Each voice from the above passage is reimagined as the prayer progresses, with staggered polyphonic entrances, bitonal verticalities, and sudden changes in harmonic color, though the rhythm of the stately *sarabande* remains an underlying feature throughout. Allusions to Renaissance or medieval harmony break down as the hollow intervals give way to increasing chromaticism. After a first climax, the F# Phrygian theme presents itself once again above the

[83] Antonio Gallego, *El Arte de Joaquín Rodrigo* (Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, 2003), 1.

original accompaniment in parallel fifths, this time with an additional upper voice hinting at the key of B-flat minor. This episode creates a quietly eerie clash of distantly related keys:

FIGURE 2.13. Rodrigo, *Cuatro Piezas para Piano*, "Plegaria," mm. 92-95.

Spanish music scholar Antonio Iglesias suggests that the composer also uses polytonality to reflect the sonic imagery of a cathedral in the Middle Ages. For instance, in the following passage, major seventh intervals on G and F# in the lower register resonate underneath the moving voices. While the upper voices are triadic, the three layers are imposed upon each other in a nonfunctional way. The reverberations of an organ in a large cathedral could produce such similar effect, as acoustic resonance causes an accumulation of harmonies:

FIGURE 2.14. Rodrigo, *Cuatro Piezas para Piano*, "Plegaria," mm. 74-81.

In writing about the *Plegaria*, Rodrigo does not make explicit reference to the cathedral image but does place the work in the Middle Ages: "At times there is a certain dramatic colouring, an

obvious sense of anxiety in the dance, which develops at first very slowly, quietly and calmly, and always within a mediaeval character, with unusual harmonies."[84]

IV. *Danza Valenciana*

The final piece of *Cuatro Piezas para Piano* is one of Rodrigo's rare tributes to his native region of Valencia in eastern Spain. Since he wrote these works while living abroad in Germany, it is very possible that this dance developed out of a nostalgic yearning for Valencia, intensified by the social unrest gripping both nations at the time. *Danza Valenciana* is based on another triple meter dance, the *jota.* Like *Fandango del Ventorrillo*, this character piece is monothematic; the theme, which generates all of the forthcoming material, is colored by diatonic quartal harmonies but rooted in alternating tonic and dominant progression between E and B.

FIGURE 2.15. Rodrigo, *Cuatro Piezas para Piano*, "Danza Valenciana," mm. 1-7.

The middle *Andante molto moderato* section echoes the melodic contour of the opening theme, beginning with the pickup notes that prepare it in measure 4 from the example above. It is

[84] Rodrigo, *Voice & Vision*, 223.

also reminiscent of *Plegaria de la Infanta de Castilla* in its tempo, somber atmosphere, and use of parallel quintal harmonies:

FIGURE 2.16. Rodrigo, *Cuatro Piezas para Piano*, "Danza Valenciana," mm. 43-48.

Of these four pieces, the finale makes the most extensive use of purely diatonic harmony, forgoing polytonality and dissonance in favor of simple harmonic progressions. Rodrigo achieves harmonic color linearly by moving through a rapid succession of key areas. The piece begins in E Major and passes through G Dorian, G# Major, F# Major, F# minor, A minor, C# minor, and C Dorian, before concluding with a robust V-I cadence in E Major. The *jota* and *fandango* dances from Valencia end in the same manner.

Rodrigo describes this dance as "very colourful, popular and picturesque," owing to the diverse instrumentation of the popular style he imitates that features trombones, guitars, and castanets. The piano, he writes, takes away this colour and makes it less picturesque. On the other hand, using the piano for this purpose also gives it an artistic dimension, "a formal and rather more elevated aesthetic status, rather like a concerto."[85] Rodrigo's appropriation of a regional dance using a classical instrument is paralleled in American adaptations of folk music, and will be studied in further depth through Samuel Barber in chapter 4.

[85] Rodrigo, *Voice & Vision*, 223.

Rodrigo and Francoism

The reception of Joaquín Rodrigo in Spain and abroad following the completion of *Cuatro Piezas para Piano* in 1938 is just as central to this text as the events unfolding prior to its composition. With Franco's victory in 1939 came new regulations on music, art, architecture, and culture. All artistic disciplines were given the task of reflecting "on the occurrences of national life and its great destiny," and specifically to create "art which was clear, simple, direct, and 'human' and therefore not excessively intellectual or subjective, nor obscure or incapable of being understood by simple people of good faith."[86] Franco ruled over Spain almost without limitations, with the aspiration of reconstructing the country, both materially and spiritually, after many years of political unrest and three years of vicious warfare.

Under the Franco regime, regionalism was viewed as a threat to social cohesion. The province of Castile became the new representation of old Spain[87] and as a result, the disciplines of the arts became folklorized with *castellanismo* at their core. This centralization of culture and its implications for artistic homogeneity invite comparison to Nazism. In her detailed study of music criticism during the Franco years, Eva Moreda-Rodriguez observes this parallel among fascist governments: "Most fascisms ultimately sought to articulate a solution to a perceived crisis of modern times, and as such the past was not simply regarded with nostalgia, but also seen as a tool to shape times to come."[88]

---

[86] María Isabel Cabrera Garcia and Gemma Pérez Zalduondo, "Voices, Strategies, and Practices of Propaganda: Music and Artistic Culture at the Service of the State During Francoism," in *Music and Propaganda in the Short Twentieth Century*, ed. by Massimiliano Sala (Italy: Brepols, 2014), 211-212.
[87] Carmen Ortiz, "The Uses of Folklore by the Franco Regime," *The Journal of American Folklore* 112 No. 44 (Autumn 1999), 488.
[88] Rodriguez, *Music Criticism and Music Critics*, 8.

This is a form of restorative nostalgia and also introduces another distinction from Svetlana Boym's writings, that which separates modernity from modernization. Modernity, according to Boym, is not an antidote to nostalgia but rather a corollary to it that can imply a critique of modernization.[89] The "crisis of modern times" in Spain and Germany, then, refers not only to modernization—which encompasses industrialization, internationalism, and, in music-making, the avant-garde—but also to the consequent longing to restore a former sense of order "to shape times to come." Germany is well-known for using early and traditional music for nation-building purposes. While this idea is not fascist in itself, the manner of implementing these policies had dangerous and horrific consequences under the Third Reich. Franco's totalitarian rule was more oppressive than murderous, but still represented an extreme enactment of xenophobic policies.

The concepts of musical conservatism and nationalism took diverse forms in Spain and Joaquín Rodrigo's position within these movements is difficult to define. Conductor Raymond Calcraft claims that Rodrigo was "resolutely apolitical;" however, his decision to return to Spain after Franco's victory in the Civil War while many other Spanish artists chose to remain abroad elicits questioning. Perhaps his own country was "the only safe place for a blind man with a Jewish wife."[90] Spain also offered financial security to Rodrigo, a prospect that dwindled in other nations after the outbreak of World War II. He secured prestigious positions as a music critic and a university professor, both of which were welcome after the Spanish Civil War when the disruption of concert life and focus on wartime propaganda caused a sharp decline in opportunities to listen and review music.[91] Ultraconservative factions under Francoism

---

[89] Svetlana Boym, "Slow Thinking," Thinking Aloud, March 8, 2016, YouTube interview, 3:40, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N1Jf5Li43n8
[90] Raymond Calcraft, "Joaquín Rodrigo, the Writer," in Rodrigo, *Voice & Vision*, 17.
[91] Rodriguez, *Music Criticism and Music Critics*, 6.

maintained strict ownership of much of the press,[92] and Rodrigo wrote for two fascist-controlled publications: *Pueblo* and *Radio Nacional*. Music criticism, like any other discipline in Spanish journalism, was subject to a considerable degree of control and direction. The goal of the press under Franco rule was one of patriotic duty to reconstruct Spanish identity, persuading the public to cultivate deeply Spanish inclinations after being corrupted by the liberal years of the Second Republic. Rodrigo's writings were scrutinized in this regard; in 1940 he received complaints that his reviews of official government-sponsored events were too harsh, and he was warned to keep his objective views on foreign music more in line with those of the State.[93]

Francoist music criticism advocated a delicate aesthetic balance between the austerity of *castellanismo* and the expression of emotion in music, and Rodrigo's music was an ideal representation of both. Federico Sopeña, the foremost critic of the early Franco years and an active fascist party member, placed Rodrigo as the new leading figure in the celebrated lineage of Joaquín Turina and Manuel de Falla, but virtually ignored the avant-garde movements with which Rodrigo had aligned himself in the 1920s. Eventually, avant-garde circles arose in some universities as reactionary movements against Francoism. In the 1960s, *Conservatorio Superior de Música de Madrid* professor Luis Robledo commented on a live premiere of new Spanish music, noting that "[the performers] directly excluded Joaquín Rodrigo. We had the feeling that his music was aesthetically obsolete and linked to the Franco regime."[94]

In spite of Rodrigo's complex and varied associations with politics and propaganda, there exists ample evidence that he was not a supporter of the Franco regime. He was not indifferent to

---

[92] These factions, called *familias*, were committed to implementing harsh government policies. The Falange was the most active of these factions in the Civil War years and the years that followed.
[93] Rodriguez, 24-25.
[94] Luis Robledo, quoted in B. Pérez Castillo, "Problematized Music: Notes on the Reception of 'Avant-garde' Symphonic Music During the Franco Years (1952-1969)," in *Music and Propaganda in the Short Twentieth Century*, ed. Massimiliano Sala (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 313.

politics; records show that he voted for Republican candidates in the elections of the 1930s[95] and thus was forced to adapt to a new reality after the Franco government overthrew the Republic. Rodrigo's daughter Cecilia made the following statement about her father in an interview many years later: "He has always said that an artist should not be involved in politics, though many are: and that artistic work should always be independent of whatever political ideas the artist might have."[96] Raymond Calcraft and scholar Eva Moreda Rodriguez both maintain that he remained apolitical through all of his published commentary on new music, composers, and performances, though he certainly benefited from his favor with the fascist Franco government.

Rodrigo could not remain entirely insulated from the Nazi regime. In July of 1941, he participated in a festival sponsored by Nazi Germany and the Spanish fascist party, an event held just as the *Wehrmacht* launched its offensive against the Soviet Union.[97] This cultural exchange, along with two more festivals in the early years of World War II, was a political strategy by both nations. Germany hoped to secure an alliance with Spain, which had remained neutral thus far, and Spain was determined to present a positive image of its culture to "the most musical of nations, Germany."[98] Rodrigo was one of the composer-critics chosen to represent his country in these politically charged musical exchanges.[99]

---

[95] Walter Aaron Clark, *Joaquín Rodrigo: A Research and Information Guide* (New York: Routledge, 2021), retrieved from http://books.google.com.

[96] Cecilia Rodrigo, "My Father," *Classical Guitar* 15 No. 9 (May 1997): 19.

[97] Eva Moreda Rodriguez, "Fostering Friendly Relations Between Hitler's Germany and Franco's Spain Through Music," Oxford University Press Blog, November 22, 2016, https://blog.oup.com/2016/11/germany-spain-music-world-war-2/.

[98] Federico Sopeña, quoted in Rodriguez, "Fostering Friendly Relations."

[99] Rodrigo's participation in the Hispanic-German music festivals of 1941 and 1942 is detailed in Eva Moreda-Rodriguez, "Hispanic-German Music Festivals during the Second World War," in *The Impact of Nazism on Twentieth-Century Music,* ed. Erik Levi (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014), 309-322. Rodrigo's reviews of works in the established German repertoire were positive, while he was harsher toward newer German composers, which, in his words, were characterized by "an absence of philosophical worries, tendency to a self-contained music, without indulging in an exaggerated objectivism or a pretended dehumanization."

The reception of Rodrigo's works in these critical years after the Civil War may best illustrate these contradictions. Though his piano miniatures were never as successful as Manuel de Falla's or Isaac Albéniz's, another one of his wartime compositions, *Concierto de Aranjuez* for guitar and orchestra, remains a staple in the classical guitar repertoire and was touted by Sopeña as a landmark achievement in Spanish music.[100] A much-anticipated follow-up to *Aranjuez*, *Concierto Heróico* for piano and orchestra, was completed in 1942 and enjoyed a successful tour both in Spain and abroad due to its unintentional reputation as a celebration of Franco's victory in the Civil War. Rodrigo himself denied that the military rhythms and bravura of the work had anything to do with war or political alliances,[101] instead attributing the perceived programmatic elements, including its title, to purely musical ones. Of the 1942 premiere of the *Concerto Heróico*, Rodrigo writes, "I have tried to write a 'concerto'…of heroic ambitions, wishing to awake in the listener a series of poetic images, with the titles of the different movements not even hinting at any allusions, since that would have been a flagrant betrayal of the 'concerto,' one of the purest, most abstract, and decorative musical forms. I also wanted the piano to be the 'hero' and the orchestra not to serve as an accompaniment, nor background, but rather as a stimulus, a spur, to make possible its musical endeavors."[102] Still, the government and press saw this piece as a celebratory export product representative of the image it wished to present abroad and promoted the work heavily in response. In a 1995 edition of the work and a

---

[100] Federico Sopeña's biography of Rodrigo is unusual in that both the author and subject were young men at the time of its 1946 publication. The political undertones of the Franco regime are certainly present in this Spanish-language text, but nonetheless provide a unique perspective. See Federico Sopeña, *Joaquín Rodrigo* (Madrid: Ediciones y Publicaciones Españolas, 1946).
[101] Eva Moreda Rodríguez, "Musical Commemorations in Post-Civil War Spain: Joaquín Rodrigo's Concierto Heróico," in *Twentieth-Century Music and Politics: Essays in Memory of Neil Edmunds,* edited by Pauline Fairclough (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2013), 183.
[102] Rodrigo, *Vision & Voice*, 189.

subsequent recording, the title *Concierto Heróico* was changed to the more neutral *Concierto para Piano*, with the composer's approval.

CHAPTER 3: ÉMILE GOUÉ'S *PRÉHISTOIRES*, OP. 40

French Musical Politics Before and During World War II

As in Spain, and in Hungary and other regions, an ideological debate surfaced in 1930s France over how best to appropriate urban and peasant folklore into modern music. An urge to codify the definition of authentic "Frenchness" had persisted since the turn of the century,[103] and in some respects since the French Revolution; this tendency was politicized by the victory of the Popular Front in 1936. This administrative takeover by left-wing politics came just three months after the Popular Front's victory in nearby Spain, a change which triggered the first reactionary uprisings of the Spanish Civil War. From 1936 until 1938, musical genres, compositional techniques, and even composers of the distant past like Beethoven, Berlioz, and Franck assumed political significance as symbols of rivaling left- and right-wing ideological factions.

French music scholar Jane Fulcher attributes these tensions to the rise of a French Fascist aesthetic, against which the French Communists, Socialists, and Radicals would fuse together and establish their own quasi-unified counter-cultural agenda, the Popular Front. Aware of the Fascist control of leisure, art, and music in Nazi Germany, it was imperative for this alliance to prevent similar circumstances from taking hold in France.[104]

Scholarly research and the arts flourished under the Popular Front, with government funding for cultural programs and organizations increasing exponentially.[105] Established in 1935, the *Fédération Musical Populaire* (FMP) became the most successful arbiter of Popular Front

---

[103] See Catrina Flint de Médicis, "Nationalism and Early Music at the French *Fin de Siècle*: Three Case Studies" *Nineteenth Century Music Review* 1 no. 2 (2004), 43-66.
[104] Jane F. Fulcher, "Musical Style, Meaning, and Politics in France on the Eve of the Second World War," *The Journal of Musicology* 13 No. 4 (Autumn 1995), 428.
[105] Ibid., 427.

musical ideologies. Its specific objectives were twofold, with the underlying objective of combating fascism.[106] First, the FMP aimed to centralize the activities of musical organizations, concerts, and education, ultimately encouraging experimentation among composers and a wider appreciation among the public. Its second objective was to replace some the frivolous and unsophisticated popular music that dominated radio broadcasts with classical music, helping to bridge the longstanding gap between music of the elite and music for the masses.

The first honorary presidents of the *Fédération Musical Populaire* were composers Albert Roussel and Charles Koechlin, both of whom were influential teachers of Émile Goué, connecting Goué to the populist movements of the mid to late 1930s. Charles Koechlin believed that uniting popular and high art was possible if music became a collectively shared "true expression of life."[107] This "does not exclude recent developments in harmony, counterpoint, or orchestration: what it does demand is avoidance of pretention even if this leads to naïveté, a quality [Koechlin] perceives in all the great works of the past born of sincerity."[108] As an example of this nostalgic naïveté, the FMP handled commissions that actively revived popular French folk traditions of the past, including a large-scale project in 1939 to re-harmonize French folksongs that had been confined for years to elite library collections. It was important for the Popular Front to differentiate itself from the burgeoning influence of fascist groups who looked to the past as a means of restoration rather than progress. The FMP, therefore, advocated for an "urban" definition of French folk material, drawing inspiration from workers rather than rustic peasant songs.[109]

---

[106] Christopher Lee Moore, "Music in France and Popular Front (1934-1938): Politics, Aesthetics and Reception," PhD diss., (McGill University, 2006), 90-91.
[107] Charles Koechlin, in a 1936 pamphlet titled *La Musique et le Peuple*, cited in Fulcher, "Musical Style, Meaning and Politics," 429.
[108] Fulcher, 429.
[109] Moore, 159.

Most composers of the earlier French schools "Les Six" and the "Ecole d'Arceuil," including Georges Auric, André Jolivet, and Darius Milhaud, were eager to join or collaborate with the FMP for both ideological as well as practical reasons, since the Fédération had the means to sponsor new works during a time of economic depression. Others, notably Francis Poulenc, maintained their musical conservatism and responded to the Popular Front in opposition. Poulenc turned enthusiastically toward religious themes and traditional French and Flemish folk material, nationalist values that were increasingly promoted by right-wing musical politics. For example, his choral work *Litanies à la vièrge noir* conveys a devotional and archaic tone with parallel fifths and evocations of chant, a form of pre-tonal Medievalist nostalgia with political undertones that Jane Fulcher believes would not have escaped public awareness in 1936.[110] Like Joaquín Rodrigo, however, Poulenc denounced any ties to conservative movements, remaining detached from politics until his death in 1963. His only direct musical commentary on social issues came in the form of the cantata *Figure humaine* (1943) and *Deux poèmes de Louis Aragon* (1943), both based on texts reflecting despair over the German occupation of Paris. Poulenc's contemplative piano piece *Mélancolie* from 1940, while not an overt political statement, laments the rapidly changing lifestyle around him and his own imminent and inescapable military duties.

Opposition to left-wing ideology continued in and around artistic circles.[111] As political tensions mounted in France and Germany, the power of the Popular Front weakened. Fulcher notes a shift in the vocabulary of music journalism in the years immediately preceding World War II that reflects the rise of a more restorative, less populist aesthetic. Whereas in 1936 and

---

[110] Fulcher, "Musical Style, Meaning, and Politics," 435.

[111] Jane F. Fulcher examines fascist currents rising up against the liberal Popular Front in the interwar years, and thir goals of restoring romanticism. See Jane F Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France 1914–1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

1937 terms like "individual, free, audacious, accessible, lifelike, and heroic" dominated the press, these words were replaced in 1938 by "elevated, inspired, idealistic, noble, intuitive, lyrical, and spiritual."[112] The newer set of terms, influenced by the rise of French fascist currents in the press, elicits a restorative, nostalgic connotation that stands in contrast to the values of progressivism and individuality promoted by the Popular Front.

The musical landscape of France was transformed after the Nazi invasion in 1940 and the nation's quick military defeat in the war. The hasty signing of an armistice with Germany not only weakened the country's national pride but halted its progress. Nazi occupation in the northern three-fifths of the country, with all costs paid by France,[113] along with decreased funding for the arts, had enormous ramifications for the diverse population. Jewish citizens were oppressed or imprisoned, and the French military was demobilized, sending hundreds of thousands of soldiers to prisons in Germany until a peaceful compromise could be reached. Even in the unoccupied southern territories, the collaborative Vichy government functioned as an authoritarian and antisemitic state in opposition to the diversity and experimentation that had embodied much of France in the interwar years. Throughout the country, composers struggled both to survive and navigate unprecedented hardships imposed by these huge political forces.

Despite these compromised circumstances and new bureaucratic obstacles, musical life in Paris persisted throughout the German occupation. The majority of Parisians complied passively with Nazi policies, aware that while resistance was dangerous, those in power maintained a relaxed general attitude toward the arts in particular.[114] German occupying authorities actually encouraged French cultural activities to resume, and as fear subsided, many artists and

---

[112] Fulcher, "Musical Style, Meaning, and Politics," 435.
[113] Leslie A. Sprout, *The Musical legacy of Wartime France* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 2013), 4-5.
[114] Nigel Simeone, "Making Music in Occupied Paris," *The Musical Times* 87 No. 1894 (Spring 2006), 24.

intellectuals returned to their old positions.[115] Despite intermittent bans on music publishing and certain musical genres being labeled as “degenerate” by the Nazi government, Paris opera houses and concert halls remained active not only in promoting music of the celebrated German tradition but also new works by French composers.[116] These allowances reflected a propagandistic strategy by the Nazi regime intended to show the world how musical life could flourish under the Third Reich.

In the unoccupied zones, the Vichy government also felt the absence of musicians who had been exiled or imprisoned, and thus negotiated the return of respected artists like Messiaen to act as symbols of tangible progress against Nazi rule. Messiaen’s modernist tendencies were at odds with the conservatism promoted by the Vichy regime, yet his deep spirituality and pre-war accomplishments marked him as a legitimate French icon at the time of his release in 1941. The Vichy government withheld financial support for Messiaen’s contemporary music but did not prevent the composer from enjoying modest success in Nazi-occupied Paris.[117]

The urge to support repatriated composers and performers was an important step toward resuming normalcy in all regions of France. In June of 1941, on the one-year anniversary of the armistice with Germany, a nationally broadcast radio program honored Messiaen’s return after captivity, airing performances of his works alongside those of other composers who had been killed or captured, including fellow repatriated prisoner Maurice Thiriet and Maurice Jaubert, who had been killed in combat the previous year.[118] Additional radio broadcasts followed suit,

---

[115] Sprout, 85.
[116] For detailed accounts of the concerts that took place in Paris under Nazi control, see Simeone, “Music in Occupied Paris,” 24-25.
[117] See Sprout, *The Musical Legacy of Wartime France,* 92-94. These pages feature a complete listing of Messiaen’s Paris performances.
[118] Ibid., 95

and soon the music of prisoners assumed a romanticized allure among the curiosities of the French people.

The Life of Émile Goué

One such concert took place on December 17, 1942 and programmed *Le Livre pour Jean* by Thiriet; *Symphonie en sol majeur* by Henri Challan, *O Nuit,* for tenor and orchestra, by Émile Damais, and *Psaume CXXIII* for tenor and orchestra, by Émile Goué. Of the four composers represented, Émile Goué was the only one remaining in captivity.[119] The Vichy government obtained permission from the Nazi occupying forces to broadcast the live concert via radio to the prison camps. In fact, Goué would remain a prisoner at Oflag XB in Nienburg, Germany until the end of the war in 1945.

While Olivier Messiaen enjoyed an early release and a long postwar career following his year as a prisoner of war, Émile Goué's five years at Oflag XB had a profound effect on his short life. Goué was born in 1904 in Châteauroux, the capital city of the Indre province in central France. Born into a family of teachers, a career in academia seemed inevitable for Goué, and after completing degrees in math, science, and philosophy he received impressive accolades in his fields.

He also reached the rank of lieutenant in his military training and attended the *Conservatoire de Toulouse* for formal music lessons. Goué began composing in the early 1920s, however his earliest works have either been lost, remain unpublished, or were destroyed due to

[119] Leslie A. Sprout, "Messiaen, Jolivet and the Soldier: Composers of Wartime France" *The Musical Quarterly* 87 no. 2 (2004): 271.

his own personal dissatisfaction.[120] Goué spent the 1930s employed as a professor, teaching courses in math and physics at *Lycée Montaigne de Bordeaux* from 1930 until 1935 and *Buffon de Paris* from 1935 until 1939. Having relocated to Paris for the latter position, Goué seized the opportunity to immerse himself in the vibrant musical discourse of the city. There he received guidance and private instruction from the most influential proponents of French contemporary music, Albert Roussel and Charles Koechlin, allowing him to compose in conjunction with his academic career. His 1939 appointment at *Lycée Louis-le-Grand*, one of the most prestigious high schools in Paris, was cut short by the outbreak of World War II and the urgent demands of military duty. An artillery lieutenant, Goué was captured in June of 1940 and transported immediately to the officer's camp Oflag XB in Nienburg, Germany. He left behind his wife Yvonne and three young children.

Goué's life in captivity was mentally and physically grueling. An unnamed prisoner described the monotony and hopelessness of life at Oflag XB as follows: "We have entered these interminable years, this grayness where nothing more hangs in our memory. We entered it of course, by a tour of the camp ... So many kilometers traveled along the barbed wire, always in the same direction, in all weathers, bare feet and short breeches, or else a raised collar and dragging hooves; all alone with our thoughts or accompanied by a friend, only to talk to him always about the same things."[121] Goué also wrote about the hardships of prison life: "The hardest part is not being hungry; it is to feel your spiritual level sinking."[122] Prisoners were under constant surveillance by their German guards, prohibited from reading the news except for

[120] "Émile Goué," Musica et Memoria, accessed May 9, 2021, http://www.musimem.com/goue.htm
[121] "Memorial of Oflag XB, 1940-1945," Edited by L'Amicale de l'Oflag XB, N.d., Used with the authorization of Bernard Goué, 3.
[122] Émile Goué, quoted in "Émile Goué," Music et Memoria, trans. Valerie Stern, http://www.musimem.com/goue.htm.

occasional propaganda, and offered curtailed rations of food. This lifestyle forced them to, in Goué's words, "learn to vegetate, to live in slow motion."[123]

Regardless of an atmosphere seemingly unconducive to artistic exploration, Émile Goué refined his musical language at the camp, with 1943 and 1944 proving to be especially fruitful years. The Nazi guards actually encouraged cultural distractions among the captives in order to prevent violent uprisings or attempts to escape. Goué began teaching again and designed detailed courses in philosophy and music which he offered to other imprisoned officers. His music courses at Oflag XB were later published under the titles *Cours d'esthétique Musicale*, *Eléments fondamentaux d'écriture musicale*, and *Cours de Fugue*.[124] Recruiting amateur musicians among the prisoners, Goué assembled an orchestra and a choir to perform traditional repertoire by Beethoven, Mozart, and Franck, as well as new music by his contemporaries in France, although performances of Jewish music were strictly banned in the camp.[125] His *Petite Suite Facile*, Op. 28 (1941) for string quartet was likely written with these amateur musicians in mind, as is reflected in its tonal accessibility and avoidance of virtuosity.

Music provided welcome solace for Goué, distracting him from his destitute life in captivity. The anonymous prisoner, quoted above, found a similar reprieve through skilled manual labor, which he described in his memoir from Oflag XB. In this respect, the prisoners' creations, whether material or musical, can also be regarded as acts of resistance against the oppressive forces of Nazi Germany:

---

[123] Émile Goué, quoted in Thomas Saintourens, *Le Maestro: Á la Recherche de la Musique des Camps*, trans. Valerie Stern (France: Éditions Stock, 2012), 124.

[124] These three courses are available in French on the Amis d'Émile Goué website: *Cours d'esthétique Musicale* (Course on Musical Aesthetics, 1943): https://www.amis-emile-goue.fr/Lire%20Esthetique; *Eléments fondamentaux d'écriture musicale* (Fundamental Elements of Musical Writing, n.d.): https://www.amis-emile-goue.fr/Lire%20Ecriture; and *Cours de Fugue* (Course on Fugue, 1943): https://www.amis-emile-goue.fr/Lire%20Fugue.htm.

[125] Saintourens, *Le Maestro*, 128

> The wise men,…understanding that it would still be a long time, refusing to let themselves be absorbed by the coming and going of pessimism and optimism, undertook meticulous works made from patience, manual skill, taste, a few cans, pieces of wood and a little string. Keeping his fingers busy was perhaps the best way to occupy his mind. It was a way for many to familiarize themselves with unknown techniques. It was also our way of defending on foreign soil, behind the barbed wire, the reputation of ingenious and skillful France, because nothing was more pleasing than to see the astonished, amazed expression of the German officers when they came to contemplate this that was coming out of our hands.[126]

Following the liberation of the Nazi prison camps in May 1945, Goué briefly resumed his pre-war position as a math professor at *Lycée Louis-le-Grand* and rejoined the musical circles with which he had so enthusiastically made connections during the previous decade.[127] His health, however, never recovered from the physical trauma of life in the camp. He contracted tuberculosis and died of a heart attack the next year at the age of 42.

With the exception of a few posthumous premieres,[128] Goué and his music faded into obscurity after the war. Publications and recordings were rare and many of his works remained in manuscript form until the twenty-first century.[129] Nevertheless, Émile Goué's music garnered for him a positive reputation among his contemporaries. The abovementioned December 1942 concert of music by French prisoners of war, for example, which programmed *Psalm CXXIII* by Goué alongside other little-known works, was a considerable success. The performance of music from this demographic by the esteemed *Orchestre de Société des Concerts du Conservatoire* resonated deeply with audiences at a time when 15 percent of young men in France were held captive in Germany.[130] *Psalm CXXIII* is scored for tenor, men's choir, and orchestra, and uses a

[126] "Memorial of Oflag XB," 8.
[127] Obituary of Émile Goué, *Revue de Musicologie* 25 no. 79/80, trans. Valerie Stern (1946), 103.
[128] Goué's *Ballade sur un poème d'Émily Brontë* (op. 25) for soprano, vocal quartet, instrumental quartet, and piano was premiered on *Radio Nationale* in 1949. His opera, *Wanda*, was performed in 1950.
[129] http://www.musimem.com/goue.htm lists the works that have been released by publisher Jonaphil and those that remain in manuscript form. Since the publication of the website, the *Nocturnes, Op. 13* have also been published.
[130] Sprout, *Musical Legacy*, 98.

Biblical text depicting nostalgic longing. As French music scholar Leslie Sprout suggests, the work was received as an emotional portrait of imprisonment made more riveting by the circumstance of its first performance: "The programming of music by someone like Goué was pertinent to circumstances on a deeper level as well. His was the emotional tale of a simple soldier driven to express his grief, and who shared his emotions musically via radio broadcast with his fellow soldiers."[131] Charles Koechlin, Goué's former teacher, also expressed his admiration for the piece in a letter to Goué's wife: "I went to hear Monsieur Goué's *Psalm*, and I found this work to be very moving, very significant; it is along with the 2nd of the Program (Émile Damais, *Poème symphonique on a text of Péguy*) what I preferred out of the many pieces from this concert. I really hope that M. Goué finally can be liberated! When you write to him, tell him that I do not forget him and that I very much appreciated his *Psalm*."[132]

Koechlin echoed this praise for Goué in a 1946 letter to the Belgian musicologist Paul Collaer after the composer's release but shortly before his death. Trying to revitalize musical life and reestablish international contacts that had dissolved due to the war, Collaer requested Koechlin's recommendations for the most promising young avant-garde composers. In his response Koechlin described Goué as a composer with "something to say, something human," while also endorsing him as a judge for an international festival jury alongside the much better-known Messiaen.[133]

In a 1947 article from *Esprit*, a periodical for French literature and popular culture, historian Henri Davenson also complimented the skill and inspiration he saw in Émile Goué, the year after the composer's untimely death: "For him, as for us, Music was not the formal idol of

[131] Sprout, *Musical Legacy,* 97.
[132] Charles Koechlin, quoted in Philippe Malhaire, "Composer À l'Oflag: L'Influence de la Captivité sur la Spiritualité d'Émile Goué, *Prisons, Prisonniers, et Spiritualité*, trans. Luanne Homzy (Paris: Hémispheres Éditions, 2020), 77.
[133] Charles Koechlin, *Correspondence* (Paris: Éditions Richard-Masse, 1982), 147.

the technician, unconscious and irresponsible, but the emanation, necessary, dictated by a kind of 'inner necessity,' of a serious and serene soul, nourished by the highest spirituality. And what modesty in this pious transcription of the most secret sources of inspiration! What profound respect for the specific requirements of music and art![134] Without active promotion, such mentions in the French press tapered off considerably. His music, like that of many other victims, also became a casualty of the war.

Goué's Compositional Aesthetics and Spirituality

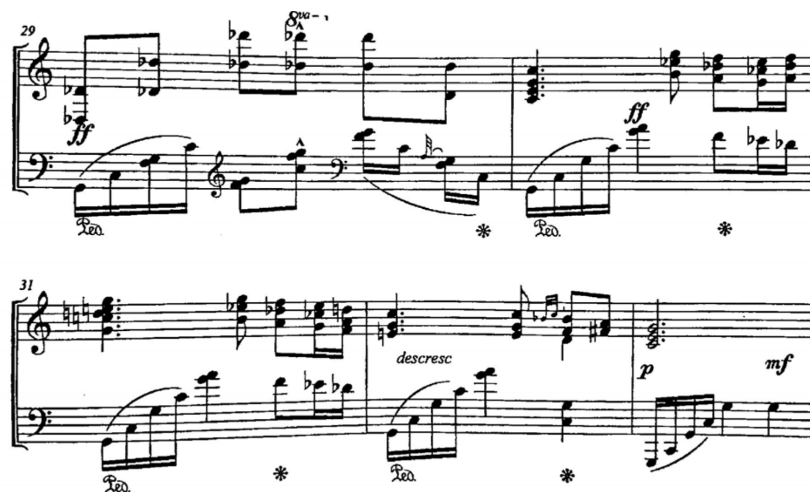
Consisting of piano pieces, art songs, symphonic works, chamber music, and an opera, the music Goué completed in captivity reveals a mature musical idiom and a prolific output. His spiritual journey is interwoven with his development as an artist before and during the war. This section will summarize his evolving compositional ideas and contextualize them with examples from his music and writings, both of which have been explored little by contemporary scholarship.

Piano character pieces occupy a substantial corner of Goué's *oeuvre.* He displays a particular affinity for sets of three. Of his piano pieces alone, eight cycles have three movements, most bearing programmatic titles: *Pénombres* (1930-1931); *Vu Sur la Mer* (1935); *Ambiances, 1ère suite* (1935-1936); *Première* and *Deuxième suite facile* (1937 and 1938); *Horizons* (1939); *Ambiances, 2ème suite* (1940); and *Préhistoires* (1943). Two of his large works for piano recall César Franck's works with the same titles, and these pieces are also conceived as musical triptychs: 1943's *Prélude Chorale et Fugue* and *Prélude Aria et Finale* from 1944.

[134] Henri Davenson, "Chronique Musicale," *Esprit* 140 no. 12 (December 1947), 971.

The impressionistic spirit of his early pieces suggests the influence of Debussy. In the *Deux Nocturnes, Op 13* from 1936, the writing is tonal with extended harmony in the form of added sixths and fragments of the whole-tone scale. Unlike nineteenth-century Nocturnes which tend toward sectional or ternary structures, Goué's contributions to the genre are essentially through-composed, allowing imagery and motivic continuity to dominate the form. The following measures from the first Nocturne, "Rives Changeantes" ("Shifting Seas") demonstrate added sixths, in the whole steps of the left hand arpeggiations in measures 30-32, as well as whole-tone writing in the augmented triads of measures 30 and 31. The rhythmic pattern in the sixteenth notes of the left hand suggest gentle waves crashing, and this motive occurs in every measure of the piece.

FIGURE 3.1. Goué, *Deux Nocturnes, Op. 13,* "Rives Changeantes," mm. 29-33.



The second Nocturne, titled "Le Phare" ("The Lighthouse"), harbors another symbolic reference to the sea. The image of the lighthouse occurs three times in Goué's titles: here in the *Deux Nocturnes*, as the second piece in *Vu Ser la Mer* (1935), and as the first piece "Phare Tournant" in *Horizons* (1939). "Phare Tournant" from the *Horizons* cycle is essentially a reworking of the

second Nocturne with added dissonances and sections re-ordered. In the following excerpts, the right-hand figurations from the 1936 piece are replicated in the 1939 piece, but Goué adds harmonic whole- and half-step intervals and additional chromatic notes to the left hand in the latter. Measure 47 in the first excerpt corresponds to measure 62 in the second:

FIGURE 3.2. Goué, *Deux Nocturnes, Op. 13,* “Le Phare,” mm. 45-56.

FIGURE 3.3. Goué, *Horizons,* “Phare Tournant,” mm. 62-70.

These added dissonances tangibly illustrate Goué’s expanding notions of tonality as the decade progressed.

Beginning in 1937, Goué, who had been raised Catholic, began to incorporate religious elements into several of his works. Anxiety over the imminence of World War II apparently drove Goué, like numerous other artists, to search in his music for a kind of spiritual comfort based on religious subjects.[135] At the time of his imprisonment in 1940, Goué at first continued this process but soon abandoned it: religion in the traditional sense appeared to be insufficient to support the artistic questions surrounding his life in captivity. His spirituality then underwent a metaphysical turn: he did not doubt God’s existence but envisioned him more as a universal force. Goué’s works during captivity reflect this inward struggle toward a more personal definition of spirituality, which he addresses in a 1944 article:

> The crucial problem for the artist seems to me to be that of his inner life…, the passionate acceptance to fully participate in the joys and sorrows of life, to live with intensity and

[135] Malhaire, “Composer À l’Oflag,” 82. *Psalm XIII* and *Psalm CXXIII* are examples of these religious works.

> humility, while resolving or not… the fundamental problems that present themselves to man in his relations to himself, with his fellow men, with nature, with the universe, with God, and to extract an elevated concept of these relations. We could say that having an inner life is the opposite of a skeptic. It's to have a religious spirit in the grand sense of the word; it's to have the notion of perfection and to possess the humility, the modesty that comes from it.[136]

Aside from his diversions in religious themes and "accessible" music written to accommodate the skill level of his comrades, Goué solidified a distinctive musical language while in captivity. Hallmarks of his mature compositional style are summarized in the following list, which is reproduced in most writings about him. This English translation appears in each printed score published by Editions Niedernhausen:

1. An affirmation of tonality, albeit an enlarged tonality occasionally reaching polymodality, atonal in appearance, with a lingering latent sentiment of a tonic as a marker of sensitivity.

2. A predilection for counterpoint.

3. Classical frameworks, bithematic at first, then—through a need for unity, and following J. S. Bach—monothematic, with a single theme generating the whole work. These architectural preoccupations became ever more serious in his later work.[137]

Goué's academic writings on music from these years manifest a comprehensive awareness of modern compositional trends in France and abroad. Although he fully embraces polytonality and dissonance, he maintains a "steadfast fidelity to scholarly ideals."[138] A highly educated product of the artistically liberating decades of the 1920s and 1930s, Goué designed his *Cours d'Esthétique Musicale* in 1943 as a lengthy compendium of musical discussions with examples from five centuries of music history.

---

136 Émile Goué, quoted in Malhaire, "Composer À l'Oflag," trans. Luanne Homzy, 78.
137 Émile Goué, *Nocturnes, Op. 13* (score), 13.
138 Association Française pour le Patrimoine Musical, *Le Quatuor à cordes en France de 1750 à nos jours*. (Paris: Association Française pour le Patrimoine Musical, 1995), 165.

He occasionally infuses the text with his background in physics and math, as reflected in the following passage about a listener's perception of musical form: "The architectural point of view is a matter of sensitivity. If an Adagio seems long or unwelcome, it is because we obscurely desire such a return of the theme that does not come, or a way of ending. Liszt has shown that a musical passage seems in retrospect all the shorter the farther its hearing is from the present moment. It is the Lisztian law or law of sound perspective. If a piece like [Wagner's] *Tristan*'s Prelude is formed by a crescendo, followed by a decrescendo, the climax should not be in the middle, but around two-thirds or three-quarters."[139]

Goué does not shy away from confronting the polar dichotomy of the French and German schools which was so ubiquitous in current musical and political discourse. Goué praises the charm and sophistication of French music, particularly that of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[140] This fervent interest in early music is similar to Rodrigo's, and both composers wrote music that is reflective of this aesthetic. Goué contrasts the subtleties of French artists with the emotional intensity of their German counterparts in the following passage: "A sunset, an autumn landscape, the rise of spring, only interest [French musicians] as a setting, a fascinating framework for our aesthetic concerns," while "the German soul seems to be satisfied with a primitive philosophy…The German does not enjoy like us as a spectator, as an avid esthete from refined impressions to the spectacle of a natural phenomenon, but as an actor directly dependent on this phenomenon."[141] Goué's image of a spectator interpreting a setting as a framework is reminiscent of Ortega y Gasset's dehumanization of art, which similarly focuses on an emotional distance between the artist and audience instead of full emotional immersion.

---

[139] Émile Goué, *Cours d'esthétique Musicale*, trans. Valerie Stern, 23.
[140] Ibid., 60
[141] Ibid., 64

Examples from the German repertoire are not lacking in Goué's treatise. In addition to citing Wagner's *Tristan* Prelude in the reference above, he includes multiple excerpts from works by Mozart and Beethoven, and in particular praises Bach for his mastery of counterpoint: "Bach was the first to give unity to a contrapuntal work, unity resulting from the concentration of interest on a single idea providing everything through its rhythmic and melodic elements. It is the fugue. Not that the fugue was invented by Bach. But he proposed imperishable models.[142] Still, Goué reminds his readers that Bach was profoundly influenced by French composition, including the early polyphonic models of the Franco-Flemings and the work of François Couperin.[143]

The influence of J.S. Bach and music of the pre-Baroque era can be seen in both the contrapuntal writing and monothematic architecture of Goué's compositions. The following analysis of *Préhistoires, Op. 40*, completed in 1943, shall examine these compositional devices in more detail.

Préhistoires, Op. 40

By 1943, Goué's style evolved to embrace a combination of modern harmony and traditional structural devices. A review of Francesco Lotoro's album collection *Composed in Concentration Camps*, which features several of his piano works, describes Goué as a "compelling compositional voice: distinctly French, lucid and incisive, but with a touch of gnomic mysticism."[144] Goué infuses the three-movement suite *Préhistoires* with polytonality, chromatic simultaneity, monothematic construction, and counterpoint, but also pits these musical elements

---

[142] Goué, *Cours d'esthétique Musicale*, 60
[143] Ibid., 59
[144] Mark L. Lehman, "Composed in Concentration Camps," review of "Encyclopedia of Music Composed in Concentration Camps," KZ Musik, 2009, in *American Record Guide* (December 2009), 196.

against a very personal subject matter. The titles of the pieces, “Incantation,” “Imploration,” and “Invocation,” suggest the act of summoning or pleading in a conceivably spiritual manner, and while Goué never offers an explicit description of a musical program, they are likely a metaphysical reflection on the harshness of his long captivity.

Where clarity allows, I have used excerpts from the composer’s original manuscript of *Préhistoires.*[145]

I. Incantation

The introductory measures of “Incantation” evoke an archaic atmosphere with open fifths and parallel movement in both hands. Goué does not propose a key signature, however the mostly diatonic collection of pitches implies an alternation of B-flat minor, with the occasional C-flat offering traces of the B-flat Phrygian mode:

FIGURE 3.4. Goué, *Préhistoires,* “Incantation,” mm. 1-10.

[145] The documents used and consulted for this study, including the manuscripts of the scores deposited at the Mahler Music Library in Paris, were with the authorization of Bernard Goué, son of the composer.

In Goué's written course "*Éléments fondamentaux d'écriture musicale*," he recognizes that there exists a hierarchy in the semitones of the diatonic scale, and that the pole of attraction between the first and fifth scale degree constitutes the essence of tonality even in modern music.[146] Therefore, while there is some degree of modal ambiguity in Goué's opening, the perfect fifth interval between B-flat and F occurs throughout, unifying the piece and firmly establishing B-flat as a tonal center. An earlier chapter of his course illustrates in detail the rules of counterpoint, specifically the handling of parallel fifths and octaves, but also states that the hollow fifth can be used "to excellent effect" and that it was done so in the sixteenth century.[147] Goué's use of parallel quartal and quintal harmonies here in *Préhistoires* is a deliberate nod to the music of earlier centuries.

As the piece progresses, the perfect intervals are colored by the addition of dissonant clusters, evidenced in the accompaniment of the work's principal theme. The harmonies on the last eighth note of each bar each span the Major 6th interval between A-flat and F but contain different pitches within. They are made more severe by white-key clusters in the right hand, rolled downward:

FIGURE 3.5. Goué, *Préhistoires,* "Incantation," mm. 13-16 (original manuscript).

[146] Émile Goué, *Éléments Fondamentaux d'Ecriture Musicale,* 191.
[147] Ibid., 129

The above introduction (Figure 3.4) and theme (Figure 3.5) generate the musical material for the entire piece, revealing a bithematic structure based on limited motivic ideas. Both melodies reappear in a multitude of ways throughout the work, transposed, inverted, manipulated, and reharmonized.

Goué employs a free system of dissonance, unlike his contemporary Olivier Messiaen. Cluster chords are central to both composers' expressive languages, but in a piece by Messiaen, the same clusters repeat as cells of a defined modal system. Goué's approach is less calculated. The second occurrence of the main theme, excerpted below, is set against a new choice of dissonances and a new dynamic level to reflect the emotional change this elicits. Immediately after the statement, the theme abruptly repeats a minor third lower:

FIGURE 3.6. Goué, *Préhistoires,* "Incantation," mm. 41-47 (original manuscript).

While the harmonizations seem spontaneous, they are not arbitrary. As the drama dissipates toward the end of the piece, Goué juxtaposes harmonic ideas from both statements of the principal theme, allowing the white-key cluster from the first statement of the theme to alternate with the C-E-flat-F group that appears later on in Example 3.6. He accompanies this intermingling of ideas with a *pianississimo* dynamic marking.

FIGURE 3.7. Goué, *Préhistoires,* "Incantation," mm. 149-153 (original manuscript).

"Incantation" ends with a short and reflective coda that emphasizes the tonality of B-flat, now in its major mode. The final chord can best be described as a B flat major triad with an added B natural:

FIGURE 3.8. Goué, *Préhistoires,* "Incantation," mm. 164-165.

Goué defines neochromatism as the process of adding chromatic tones to a traditional major, minor, or seventh chord. These expanded diatonic chords, according to the composer, maintain their stability and are "perfectly suitable for forming 'rest' to punctuate a musical discourse,"[148] which is precisely how this final chord functions.

[148] Émile Goué, *Cours d'esthétique Musicale*, 191. For more discussion of neochromatism, see Marie-Hélène Benoit-Otis, *Charles Koechlin: Compositeur et Humaniste* (Belgique: Libraire Philosophique J. VRIN, 2010), 556.

II. Imploration

Monothematic construction is best represented in the second piece of *Préhistoires*, titled "Imploration." This central movement is slow and mysterious, forming an introspective contrast to the dramatic outbursts of the outer movements. Goué builds the piece on a single thematic idea, which begins with a repeated melodic octave and is presented below in the opening measures of the left hand:

FIGURE 3.9. Goué, *Préhistoires,* "Imploration," mm. 1-8.

In its initial statement, the theme on the tonic note A is harmonized by E-flat major triads and inversions. These chords, built a tritone apart from the tonal center, lend a distant and unfamiliar quality to an otherwise diatonic melody. Returning three more times, the theme on A is virtually unchanged, but undergoes emotional transformation as Goué underscores it with new key areas. Goué called this process decorative variation. For example, leading to the movement's climax, Goué restates the theme in octaves against a more active accompaniment. The broken-chord bass line and sixteenth note figurations in the inner voice imply a B minor triad with the added dissonance of F natural.

FIGURE 3.10. Goué, *Préhistoires,* “Imploration,” mm. 22-25.

This is another example of Goué’s neochromatism, this time with a diminished fifth added to the B minor sonority.

Polytonal reiterations of the opening motive reach their most poignant in the final statement, in which Goué forgoes distantly related key areas in favor of triads and clusters from the same diatonic scale. The purity that C Major offers against the theme in its relative minor key is a welcome respite after the numerous chromatic detours.

FIGURE 3.11. Goué, *Préhistoires,* “Imploration,” mm. 37-41.

Decorative variation, the term for this transformation of a static motif through harmonic variety, illustrates in Goué’s works a “progression from uncertainty to certainty, a sort of modern reinterpretation of Bach's thought: the same theme is proposed without any real polar basis; development seems to be groping to find this basis; finally, the re-exposure dispels all hesitation and affirms with force and vehemence the enlarged tonality, which imposes itself as divine truth

after a long wandering in the desert."[149] The metaphors of searching and longing are present in Goué's words and this movement especially portrays these sentiments of reflective nostalgia.

3. Invocation

"Invocation" opens in a fury of explosive chords. The harsh dissonances are constructed bitonally, first with an A-flat7 superimposed on an accompaniment of a G7. Goué keeps the tonic-dominant polarity intact and counters the first phrase with a bitonal answer built on the dominants, D and E-flat, respectively. While both Goué and Rodrigo exploit the semitone relationship through these polytonal passages, Goué's approach is again less systematic. The absence of a key signature enables the effect to be loosely episodic and transformed more freely.

FIGURE 3.12. Goué, *Préhistoires,* "Invocation," mm. 1-8 (original manuscript).

[149] Philippe Malhaire, "Préface," *Prélude, Chorale et Fugue* by Émile Goué (Vernouillet: Klarthe Editions, 2021), iii.

These fortissimo passages occur three times in the piece and are interspersed with sections of wistfully free chromaticism and relaxed tempi. Goué assmebles these slower sections with layered polyphony, which he manipulates to highlight different voices in the texture. For example, the inner voice in the passage below—starting on the pitch G in measure 32—moves mainly by half steps and is perceived as a chromatic countermelody to the top voice.

FIGURE 3.13. Goué, *Préhistoires,* "Invocation," mm. 32-37.

Later on, this chromatic inner voice becomes the principal melody in the upper voice, notated in octaves:

FIGURE 3.14. Goué, *Préhistoires,* "Invocation," mm. 65-72 (original manuscript).

Goué's detailed tempo markings in these sections are worth noting. He suggests a slow tempo of 50 beats per minute in the above excerpt, with markings like "*animez*" and "*retenez*" to quell any prolonged steadiness and give the passages a languid, searching quality. Occasionally he treats corresponding thematic statements with a marking of 80 bpm. These frequent vacillations in the tempo contribute to the uneasiness and anguish that are audibly perceptible in Goué's *Préhistoires.*

Chromatic simultaneity describes a form of neochromatism in which the major and minor forms of a chord are heard at the same time. Goué hints at this in "Incantation," where B-flat major and B-flat minor both function as a tonal center and are used interchangeably. In the third and final piece, C Major and C minor triads are continuously juxtaposed. The most robust iteration of this chromatic simultaneity occurs in the final measures, where E-flat grace notes, marked fortissimo, lead into heavy C Major triads. These are interjected by outbursts of the opening bitonal theme, now fragmented in bars with an uncommon time signature, 2 ½ / 8:

FIGURE 3.15. Goué, *Préhistoires,* "Invocation," mm. 108-115 (original manuscript).

While the term chromatic simultaneity was coined by Émile Goué, Rodrigo and Barber also explore the relationship of parallel major and minor triads, but for different emotional effects. Polymodality is used in Rodrigo's piano music to project half-step dissonances onto a tonal center as well as imitate the language of the classical guitar, which often uses the modal sonorities interchangeably. The second and fourth of Barber's *Excursions* play with polymodality as references to blues music and unrefined folk styles, references that shall be discussed in the next chapter.

Composing in Captivity

In his preface to the 2021 critical edition of Goué's *Prélude, Chorale et Fugue* for piano, Philippe Malhaire suggests that the composer's formulation of new techniques was an expression of his evolving creative temperament through years of imprisonment.[150] The mature works, like the cycle *Préhistoires* and the *Prélude, Chorale et Fugue* of the same year, became more formal and architectural through these processes, but also more reflective of the composer's emotional state. Chromatic simultaneity, in its layering of opposite modalities on the same root note, exacerbates through sound the feeling of pain and strangeness within an enlarged tonal atmosphere. The result is an expression of the duality that then "inhabited the composer, torn between suffering and acceptance of his fate."[151] Harmonic transformation of a single motif through decorative variation can also be likened to a metaphysical journey.

[150] Philippe Malhaire, "Préface," iii.
[151] Ibid.

The creation of art in captivity is often deemed a curative experience. Prisoners find solace in artistic outlets, either communal or individual, as a means of coping with hardship.[152] A further function of the creative process, and one which is present in the case of Émile Goué, is that of maintaining one's individuality in the face of uncertainty and the threat of anonymity. For Goué, writing philosophical texts and composing music was a means of asserting a personal identity that was compromised the moment he was captured in June of 1940. In this way, artistic creations within the camps can be seen as a reactionary response to oppression and a microcosm of the larger international conflict of the Second World War.

Goué speaks to the satisfaction of achieving creative freedom in a letter sent from Oflag XB to his wife: "The *Prélude, Choral et Fugue* is probably my masterpiece so far - because I have achieved, I believe, a great lucidity in the expression of my thought; I am no longer the slave of my inspiration. I overcome it and use it to make music."[153] To recall another example of a work written in captivity, Messiaen's *Quartet for the End of Time* remains historically symbolic of the experience of war prisoners and suggests, along with Goué's prolific output between the years 1940 and 1945, that hope through music is not easily corrupted by the limitations of discomfort, oppression, and violence.

---

[152] The topic of music in prison camps, ghettos, and concentration camps and ghettos is thoughtfully covered in Kellie D. Brown, *The Sound of Hope: Music as Solace, Resistance and Salvation During the Holocaust and World War II* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2020).
[153] Émile Goué, letter to Yvonne, April 28, 1943, cited in Philippe Malhaire, "Préface," i.

CHAPTER 4: SAMUEL BARBER'S EXCURSIONS, OP. 20

Music for Morale

In December 1941, just days after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the American Federation of Musicians' leader James Caesar Petrillo addressed an open letter "To the President and the People of the United States." His letter identifies morale as a vital force for victory, claiming that "music has always been and is today one of the finest media for maintaining high public morale." Petrillo pledges that the musicians' union will do its share in the struggle. He concludes by coining the slogan "Music for Morale,"[154] a catchphrase that would govern popular music and classical music alike in the tumultuous years to come.

News headlines, fundraisers, and product advertisements seized upon the new motto as a chance to unify artistic circles in the U.S. for a common cause, setting forth a surge in music both as morale-boosting entertainment and a political service to the front lines. Virtually every page of the December 27th, 1941 issue of *The Billboard* contains reference to the war, including a front cover graphic with the text "Let's Go, America!," an article about bands freely donating their time and music to the U.S. Army, and a featured column titled "Show Business and the War" which reaffirms Petrillo's unabashed support for the conflict at hand. The abundance of wartime rhetoric even in those artistic realms that seemed far removed from the War reveals that musicians were not only summoned to participate but eager to serve the larger cause.

During the war years, popular music saw unprecedented publications of war-related songs by professional and amateurs, echoing the boom of Tin Pan Alley songs that characterized

[154] James C. Petrillo, "To the President and the People of the United States," *The Billboard* (December 27 1941), 33.

World War I.[155] Advances in printing now allowed these songs to reach wider audiences. The *Army Songbook,* a collection of music aimed at the new recruits, was published in March of 1941 and became the first joint musical initiative actively distributed to troops by the U.S. government.[156] The government promoted forward-moving and stimulating songs, as opposed to sentimental ones, to encourage comradery, ambition, and other desirable military traits in men. In this way, morale-boosting music became a psychological and propagandistic weapon to win the war.

The notion of communal music-making was not new, but by the 1940s, the dissemination of music via recordings and radio generated a direct link between musicians and listeners, a link that was especially powerful for those fighting the War abroad. Technology allowed soldiers to convene in camps, on ships, or in chapels to listen to a performance together on a phonograph.[157] Classical music enjoyed a swell in popularity among both civilians and soldiers, owing partly to technology and also to the populist ideals of the Roosevelt administration. Music projects were embedded in the policies of Roosevelt's New Deal and classical music became an integral part of American culture throughout the 1930s and into the war years. The Federal Music Project (FMP) sponsored educational programs and produced low-priced or free classical concerts, intending to increase interest in music and expand audience base.[158] Most performances showcased traditional 18th and 19th century repertoire, with occasional new works. European classical music appeared in multiple Hollywood films, a trend epitomized by *Fantasia* (1940), with its novel fusion of

---

[155] John Bush Jones, *The Songs that Fought the War: Popular Music and the Home Front, 1939-1945* (Lebanon, NH: Brandeis University Press, 2006), 33.
[156] Annegret Fauser, "After Pearl Harbor: Music, War, and the Library of Congress," Library of Congress, September 18, 2008, video, https://www.loc.gov/item/webcast-4400/
[157] Fauser, "After Pearl Harbor."
[158] Annegret Fauser, *Sounds of War: Music in the United States During World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 137

classical music with Disney animation. All of these ventures worked together toward "a lay fluency in the concert music repertoire through education, appreciation, and exposure."[159]

The democratization of music and culture under the Roosevelt administration belonged to an international political strategy. With tensions rising in Europe, government resources abroad were redirected to military efforts while the U.S. held onto the isolationist policies set forth by the Neutrality Acts. The years 1939-1941 opened a window through which the United States could develop a new cultural prominence through opposition to the fascist principles of Nazi Germany. Whereas under the Third Reich currents in new music were suppressed unless they were derivative of the longstanding German tradition, in the U.S. modern music was celebrated as a mark of a thriving culture and an act of progress. It is not surprising that leading American composers like Aaron Copland, Roy Harris, Elliott Carter, George Gershwin, and Samuel Barber spent time in cosmopolitan Paris during their formative years.

A *Newsweek* headline from October 1939 reads, "War Expected to Make U.S. the World's Music Center." The article continues to predict that, with concert halls closing and music programs on pause in war-torn countries, the U.S. could experience an even bigger boom in musical life than it had from World War I. This would be aided by the fact that the nation's major orchestras now employed mostly American musicians, a guarantee that they would not be summoned to fight abroad, while these orchestras also welcomed foreign talents who sought exile in the U.S.[160] The influx of musicians from Europe had an immediate impact on musical life in the United States, as composers and conductors at the forefront of modern music--Stravinsky, Schoenberg, Toscanini, Bartók, Milhaud, and Hindemith—were now active in the United States.

[159] Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 137.
[160] "War Expected to Make U.S. the World's Music Center," *Newsweek* (October 2, 1939), 40-42.

The U.S. Library of Congress was instrumental in the construction of a national identity in music prior to the outbreak of World War II. Spearheaded by its director Dr. Harold Spivacke, the Music Division of the Library of Congress facilitated the collection of American folk materials and handled government sponsorships of new compositions. During the Great Depression, ethnomusicologist Alan Lomax traveled on behalf of the Library of Congress, collecting songs from rural areas, the deep South, and eventually labor songs from urban areas as the decade progressed. This was an era marked by a pursuit of simplicity and a vernacular music free from foreign influence. A passage from Joseph Machlis' *Introduction to Contemporary Music* summarizes this new fascination with both rural and urban folklore. The politically incorrect language would be jarring in modern scholarship but was acceptable in the year of the text's first publication, 1961:

> As American composers became more sure of themselves, they aspired in ever greater measure to give expression to the life about them. At first they concentrated on those features of the home scene that were not to be found in Europe: the lore of the Indian, the Negro, and the cowboy. They became increasingly aware of a wealth of native material that was waiting to be used: the songs of the southern mountaineers, which preserved intact the melodies brought over from England three hundred years ago; the hymns and religious tunes that had such vivid associations for Americans everywhere; the patriotic songs of the Revolutionary period and the Civil War, many of which had become folk songs; the tunes of the minstrel shows which had reached their high point in the songs of Foster. There were, in addition, the work songs from various parts of the country-songs of sharecroppers, lumberjacks, miners, river men; songs of prairie and railroad, chain gang and frontier. Then there was the folklore of the city dwellers-commercialized ballads, musical-comedy songs, and jazz: a world of melody, rhythm, and mood.[161]

In some respects, this search for authenticity paralleled the concurrent trend in Civil War era Spain, except that in the United States the exploration of American folk music was vigorously aligned with left-wing politics rather than conservatism.[162] The American folk aesthetic seeped

[161] Joseph Machlis, *Introduction to Contemporary Music* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1961), 377.
[162] For an in-depth study of American folk music and its political associations, see Cohen, Ronald D., *Depression Folk: Grassroots Music and Left-Wing Politics in 1930s America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016).

into new works during the Second World War; examples include Roy Harris' *Folk Song Symphony* (1939), Samuel Barber's *Excursions* (1944), and Aaron Copland's *Appalachian Spring*, a direct commission by the Library of Congress that enjoyed a successful 1944 premiere on its iconic stage.

Still, classical music was a transplant from Europe and the United States was by no means detached from the conflict worsening overseas. Even before Pearl Harbor, heavily promoted classical concerts celebrated the music of Poland, France, and other Allied nations,[163] effectively smoothing the transition to the nation's full-fledged involvement in the War in December of 1941.

When the U.S. formally entered World War II, the Library of Congress closed immediately to transport its collections to remote areas, as *the Berlin Staatsbibliothek* (Berlin State Library) had done to preserve valuable manuscripts by Mozart, Mendelssohn, and others in the event of an attack in Germany. American music scholar Annegret Fauser reminds us that even though Washington was neither bombed nor invaded, a siege on the U.S. was a legitimate threat at the time. As she suggests, if Hitler could invade the Soviet Union, he might also send U-boats and planes into the Chesapeake Bay,[164] putting the Library's collections at risk. The second priority of the Library of Congress after Pearl Harbor was to keep culture and morale alive among the soldiers, so Harold Spivacke acted as a conduit between manufacturers and the military, arranging for the transport of recordings and music playback devices to troops mobilized overseas.

[163] Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 34.
[164] Fauser, "After Pearl Harbor."

Despite mounting anti-German sentiment and increased interest in American folk music, Germanic repertoire dominated American concert programs throughout the 1930s and 1940s.[165] Beethoven and Brahms were universal favorites and appeared in performances of solo piano music, chamber music, and symphonic works. With American classical repertoire still a nascent discipline in the world, the music of Beethoven especially stood in as an embodiment of freedom and other celebrated American values.[166][167] Furthermore, the rhetoric about repertoire inclusivity had changed since World War I when German music was briefly banned from concert halls in the United States. Now, musical patriotism was demonstrated not only by repertoire choices which often deviated little from concert programs in Nazi-ruled Germany,[168] but also by the performances of "The Star-Spangled Banner" that opened nearly every public program.[169] Recordings of the national anthem also accompanied classical record releases and radio broadcasts, a practice unique to the War years. For example, Italian conductor and staunch anti-fascist Arturo Toscanini paired the first ever commercial recording of Barber's iconic *Adagio for Strings* with two patriotic works: "The Star-Spangled Banner" and "The Stars and Stripes Forever."[170] While rehearsing and recording the national anthem, Toscanini insisted that the entire NBC Symphony Orchestra, cellists included, stand as if performing for a live audience, even though the session took place in an empty Carnegie Hall.[171]

---

[165] Fauser, "After Pearl Harbor."
[166] Fauser, *Sounds of War,* 139.
[167] Sanna Pederson explores the politicization of Beethoven's music and its association with the freedom in "Beethoven and Freedom: Historicizing the Political Connection," *Beethoven Forum* 12 no. 1 (2005), 1-12.
[168] A chronicle of Arturo Toscanini's live radio broadcasts of the NBC Symphony Orchestra is offered in Mortimer Frank, *Arturo Toscanini: The NBC Years* (Portland: Amadeus Press, 2002), 65-81. It reveals the diversity of concert programing during World War II. Selections by Germanic composers, including Wagner, were equally represented alongside works by composers from Allied nations.
[169] Fauser, "After Pearl Harbor."
[170] Samuel Barber, *Adagio for Strings,* NBC Symphony Orchestra, cond. by Arturo Toscanini, in *The Arturo Toscanini Collection,* RCA Red Seal, 2017.
[171] Samuel Barber, letter to Katherine Chapin Biddle, March 22, 1942, cited in Barbara Heyman, *Samuel Barber: The Composer and His Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 170.

Eleanor Roosevelt frames the inclusive ideology in music broadcasts and concert programs as a mark of national pride, an asset in direct opposition to the xenophobia of Nazi Germany: "We have come to regard music as essential of the heritage of a country that has cherished the genius of the great composers and the musical artists of all lands and peoples."[172] The confluence of popular music, folk traditions, and modernism with a reverence for traditional classics turned musical life in wartime United States into a melting pot not unlike the population itself.

Samuel Barber as a Neo-Romantic

Born in 1910, Samuel Barber began composing piano character pieces and songs with imaginative titles as a child. He pursued a triple degree at the Curtis Institute of Music, studying voice, piano, and composition. Due to financial struggles caused by the 1929 stock market crash, he did not finish the program on time. A series of awards and scholarships, however, allowed for Barber to travel extensively to Europe during the summers and return to Curtis intermittently. In Europe, Barber performed as a vocalist and achieved modest international recognition as a composer for his *Symphony in One Movement* (1936).

None of Barber's early piano works from the 1920s and 1930s were published before his death in 1981. A self-critical perfectionist,[173] he dismissed them as student exercises but held onto the manuscripts, many of which were released later.[174] Of the posthumously published

[172] Eleanor Roosevelt, quoted in Fauser, "After Pearl Harbor."
[173] Richard Walters, "Preface," *Samuel Barber: Complete Piano Music* (New York: G. Schirmer, Inc., 2010), 9.
[174] G. Schirmer, Inc. published all of Barber's piano pieces in 1994, including previously unavailable manuscripts, his student exercises in counterpoint, and pieces he wrote as a child as young as seven years old. Samuel Barber, *Samuel Barber: Complete Piano Music* (New York: G. Schirmer, Inc., 2010), 9.

piano works, the *Two Interludes* from 1931-1932 are worth mentioning as examples of Barber's fondness for the nineteenth-century Romantic style and especially for that of Brahms. The *Interludes,* according to Barber biographer Barbara Heyman, take their cue from Brahms not only in their title—"Interlude" is the English translation of "Intermezzo," of which Brahms composed eighteen—but also in their use of thick textures, ternary structures, wide spacing of the hands, hemiola, and syncopation.[175]

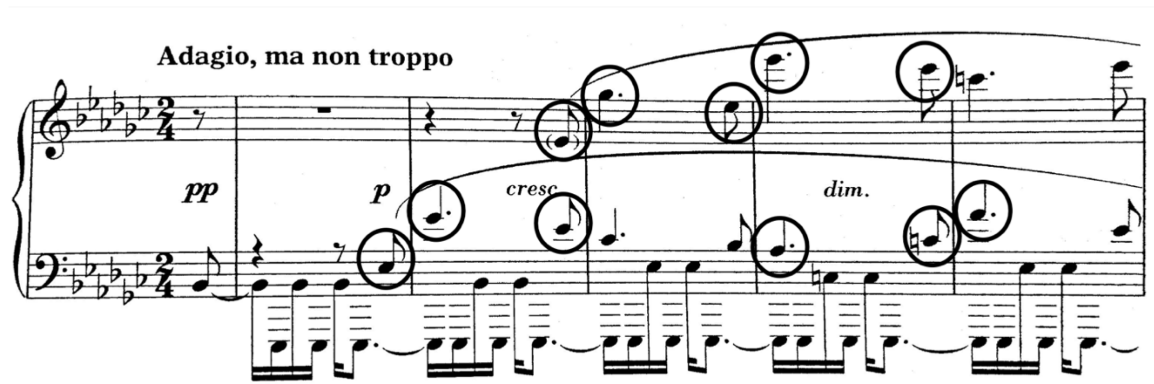
Another possible nod to the nineteenth-century composer is a specific intervallic relationship that Barber references in the first *Interlude*. Brahms, known for embedding musical ciphers in his works, developed the F-A-F motive signifying *frei aber froh* ("free but happy") most famously in his *Symphony No. 3* (1883) but also in the early piano character piece, the *Ballade, Op. 10 No. 2* (1854). The opening two bars of the *Ballade* each contain a variant of the *frei aber froh* motive placed on the pitches F#-A-F#:

FIGURE 4.1. Brahms, *Ballade, Op. 10 No. 2.* mm. 1-2

Barber's *Interlude I* presents three elided statements of the same motive on the pitches E-flat-G-flat-E-flat in the middle and upper voices, albeit with alternate spacing. The relationship is repeated in measure 4 on A-flat-C-A-flat, this time with the upward direction from Brahms' example intact.

[175] Heyman, *Samuel Barber,* 78.

FIGURE 4.2. Barber, *Interlude I,* mm. 1-5.



Aside from such veiled allusions to a Brahms motif, the lyrically diatonic writing of this first *Interlude* coupled with the rhapsodic drama of the second, not to mention such expressive works as his *Adagio for Strings* (1938), make it justifiable to categorize Samuel Barber as a conservative neo-Romantic. The decade of the 1930s produced exciting and groundbreaking compositions infused with novel techniques but was not conducive to the sort of emotional subjectivity of Barber, whose visions were "best expressed in an existing and well-known tongue."[176] Barber was rarely apologetic for his adherence to the rich legacy of the nineteenth century, commenting in a 1935 *Philadelphia Bulletin* article that "The universal basis of artistic spiritual communication by means of art is through the emotions."[177]

Virgil Thomson was another American composer who aimed to recapture the lyric tradition for a twentieth century audience. Frustrated that modern music had become too complex, too serious, and too intellectual, Thomson writes of the neo-Romantic movement, "The new romanticism strives neither to unify mass audiences nor to impress the specialists of intellectual objectivity. Its guiding motive is the wish to express sincere personal sentiments with

---

[176] Nathan Broder, "The Music of Samuel Barber," *The Musical Quarterly* 34 no. 3 (1948), 331.
[177] Samuel Barber, quoted in Gama Gilbert, "Philharmonic Plays Youth's Work Today," *Philadelphia Bulletin,* March 24 1935, quoted in Heyman, *Samuel Barber,* 130.

a maximum of directness and of spontaneity. It tends consequently to avoid impersonal oratory; and it is wary about the conventionalistic [sic] tendencies bound up with consistent and obligatory dissonance."[178]

Neo-Romanticism was perhaps a reaction to the cultural upheavals in the first half of the century that spawned such musical movements as serialism, objectivism, and atonality; however, considering composers like Sergei Rachmaninoff and Richard Strauss who carried on the Romantic tradition directly from the nineteenth century, it can be argued that this lineage was never broken. Barber never fully departed from tonal and lyrical writing, owing to his training as a vocalist, yet his influences and motives for composing saw a palpable shift during World War II.

Barber's Wartime Output

While ideological support of the United States' war efforts was widespread among the press and the public, the specific roles that musicians would play were not as clear-cut. By the end of the war, as many as 10 million able-bodied men were drafted, and music was not deemed essential enough to civilian life for musicians to avoid the draft based on their occupation. It became necessary for them to either give up their craft entirely or redirect their creative efforts to the military. Band duty was the most likely task assigned to enlisted musicians, and renowned bandleaders like Glenn Miller and Artie Shaw managed to continue performing as part of their service.[179] Uptempo jazz and band music easily fit in the category of "music for morale" and also provided an avenue for some composers to serve as instrumentalists. Pianist Eugene List traveled

---

[178] Machlis, *Contemporary Music*, 413
[179] Fauser, *Sounds of War,* 30.

and concertized in uniform with government sponsorship, but he represented a rare exception among classical soloists.[180] Those who composed art music exclusively had a harder time carving out a niche for their works to be useful.

Samuel Barber was the most successful American composer to navigate the uncertainty of a music career in the military. When the Nazis invaded Poland in September 1939, Barber was in Paris composing his *Violin Concerto.* The dire situation sent him home to the United States immediately, where he completed the work, though it would not be premiered until 1941. The subject of war was ubiquitous during these years, and in Barber's case, surfaces already in the 1940 work *A Stopwatch and an Ordnance Map*. Wartime references are two-fold in the piece's scoring for male chorus, timpani, and brass as well as its text about a fallen soldier in the Spanish Civil War.[181] Upon returning to the Curtis Institute, this time as an instructor, Barber's activities were again interrupted when the United States declared its involvement in the War. Barber was called to service in September of 1942, which he regretted not for lack of patriotism, but because he did not want to give up composing.[182] He was at the apex of his career, anticipating premieres of his works both in Western Europe and in Russia at the request of Dmitri Shostakovich. The draft also forced him to abandon an experimental film collaboration with Howard Hughes.[183]

Barber enlisted first in the Special Services division, but the increasing demands of his service left little room for composing. His initial requests for more private space and time were refused as "dangerous military precedent."[184] When he was promoted to private first class in

---

[180] Fauser, *Sounds of War,* 32.
[181] Stephen Spender, "A Stopwatch and an Ordnance Map," (1939), poem text available at https://allpoetry.com/A-Stopwatch-and-an-Ordnance-Map.
[182] Heyman, *Samuel Barber*, 212.
[183] Ibid., 211.
[184] Ibid., 213.

November 1942, he negotiated several commissions and justified his work as a composer in service of the military.

In early 1943 Barber scored his *Commando March* for brass, woodwinds, and percussion and conducted the Army Air Force Technical Training Command Band in its premiere.[185] This three-minute march consists of two outer sections in E-flat Major framing a harmonically vigorous and technically demanding trio. With a regular pulse and snare drum hits punctuated by triplet figurations throughout, the work's military implications are unmistakable. *Commando March* was a popular morale-boosting piece of musical propaganda played throughout the War, later becoming a popular staple in American band repertoire; however, its militaristic style was at odds with Barber's personal musical language as well as the modernist compositional trends of the era. Nathan Broder, whose 1948 article in *The Musical Quarterly* traces the changes in Barber's writing after 1939, contains no mention of the *Commando March* except for inclusion in a list of works,[186] implying that despite its popularity, it held only limited significance in the trajectory of his art music.

A second march, titled "Funeral March," exists only in manuscript form, and while it enjoyed a few performances as functional music and a concert piece during the war, it never entered the standard military or concert canon. In his study of the wartime compositions of Barber, Jeffrey Marsh Wright II suggests that its failure is due to Barber's appropriation of the Army Air Corps[187] official song, "Into the Wild Blue Yonder."[188] The composer's decision to reharmonize the song's melody in a minor key elicited mixed reactions; members of the Army

---

[185] Heyman, *Samuel Barber,* 214.
[186] Broder, *The Music of Samuel Barber*, 335.
[187] The Army Air Corps was the branch of the U.S. military dedicated to aerial warfare at the start of the War; it was not called the Air Force until 1947.
[188] Jeffrey Marsh Wright, The Enlisted Composer: Samuel Barber's Career, 1942-1945," Ph.D diss. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2010), 56.

Air Force undoubtedly had strong associations with the song and may have been perplexed by its reimagining as a funeral dirge.

The public's fascination with flying and war planes was the impetus behind Barber's most substantial wartime commission, the Second Symphony, titled "Flight Symphony." In preparation, Barber relocated from New York to the Army Air Corps base in Fort Worth, Texas where he trained in flight and carefully studied the experiences of the pilots: "It is hard to imagine what they are going through. Many pilots talked to me about the sensations of flying, the lack of musical climax in flying, the unrelieved tension, the crescendo of descent rather than mounting, and the discovery of a new dimension."[189]

Appealing to requests that the symphony be "modern" in keeping with the technologically advanced Army Air Corps, Barber included in the score an electronic tone generator invented by Bell Telephone Laboratories, the sound of which resembled the sonic radio beam used to guide flyers at night.[190] Barber's own program notes explain the synthesizer's appearance in the second movement, but also uncover an important consideration about his musical intentions: "There is a crescendo into the high strings and the climax is interrupted by an electrical instrument which simulates the sound of a radio-beam. The latter is a code signal used in night or blind flying, or over unknown territory, in order to keep the pilot to his course. But its use in the symphony is primarily musical and not descriptive."[191] It is difficult to conceive of such specific imagery as anything but descriptive, but at the time of its composition, Barber felt extremely satisfied with the work and hoped that it would have a life in the symphonic repertoire beyond its immediate use as government propaganda. By insisting that the work lacked

---

[189] Samuel Barber, letter to cousin Anne Homer, September 11, 1943, quoted in Heyman, *Samuel Barber,* 217.
[190] Heyman, *Samuel Barber,* 219.
[191] Samuel Barber, Program of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, March 3, 1944, Nicholas Slonimsky Archive, Box 147, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. In Heyman, 219.

programmatic references, he could detach it from its wartime associations and improve its chances of emerging into the standard repertory, even though the army would receive all royalties from the composition.[192]

Although the tone-generator never worked properly and was omitted from the Boston Symphony's 1944 premiere under Serge Koussevitsky, other modern elements surfaced in the Second Symphony that reveal a departure from Barber's neo-Romanticism. The dangers and hazards of flying are portrayed in the first movement by an angular, disjunct melody rather than a lyrical one. The tonality and pulse are both ambiguous as the woodwinds introduce a series of seventh and seconds in the first five measures of the Symphony:

FIGURE 4.3. Barber, *Symphony No. 2*, 1st movement, mm. 1-5 (winds).

The thematic material enters in measure 4 and derives from these dissonant intervallic relationships, answered by an interjection from the piano in chromatic octaves:[193]

---

[192] Heyman, 219.

[193] Barber's angular writing for the piano here in the Symphony foreshadows the opening of his *Piano Sonata* (1949).

FIGURE 4.4. Barber, *Symphony No. 2*, 1st movement, mm. 1-6 (percussion and strings)

These driving dotted rhythms, forceful gestures, and harmonic dissonances characterize much of the first movement. The image of a quiet, melancholy flight at night follows in the nocturne-like second movement, and dramatic tension and energy return in the final movement. Here, Barber utilizes another experimental twentieth-century device, a series of figurations in the string instruments that is entirely unmeasured, supposedly representing a spiraling aircraft:[194]

FIGURE 4.5. Barber, *Symphony No. 2*, 3rd movement, m. 1.

[194] Nicholas Tawa, *The Great American Symphony: Music, the Depression, and War* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 133.

Music critics had long denounced Barber for his caution in taking creative risks and embracing stylistic change. Most audiences and critics praised the Second Symphony for its attempts at modernism, although some reviews emphasized its value as propaganda over its musical worth.[195]

For Barber, this career milestone allotted him more freedom to compose due to the work's concert hall success. Following the well-received premieres in 1944, Barber confirmed an assignment with the New York Office of War Information and was permitted to compose at home full-time for the war efforts. He named the *Capricorn Concerto* (1944) after his estate near Mount Kisco, a home he shared with longtime collaborator and on-and-off lover, Gian Carlo Menotti.[196] The Second Symphony also became a great source of turmoil. Never satisfied, Barber spent nearly a decade revising the work, removing the programmatic title "Flight Symphony" and diluting any overt musical references to the war. He ultimately declared it "not a good work,"[197] and in what Alex Ross calls "a Sibelian gesture,"[198] destroyed the score in 1964. He may have felt more forgiving toward the second movement, which he kept and released as an orchestral tone-poem called *Night Flight, Op. 19A*, with only slight revisions from the original. In the program notes for *Night Flight*'s premiere by Cleveland Symphony Orchestra, Barber writes in retrospect of his dissatisfaction with the Flight Symphony: "This is a revised version, twenty years later, of a movement from my Second Symphony, the rest of which is now withdrawn. It was composed during the years of the Second World War. Such times of cataclysm are rarely conducive to the creation of good music, especially when the composer tries to say too

---

[195] Heyman, *Samuel Barber*, 224.
[196] For an in-depth discussion of Barber's experience with homosexuality in the military, refer to Jeffrey Marsh Wright II, "The Enlisted Composer," 9-11.
[197] Hans Heinsheimer, "The Composing Composer," quoted in Heyman, 230.
[198] Alex Ross, *The Rest is Noise,* 383.

much. But the lyrical voice, expressing the dilemma of the individual, may still be of relevance."[199]

Most Barber scholars including biographer Barbara Heyman observe a change in the composer's style as early as the finale of the Violin Concerto, or by the time of the 1942 *Second Essay for Orchestra*, which Barber himself considered a war-related piece even though it was not an Army commission. In his 1948 survey of Barber's music, Nathan Broder writes, "In all of these [newer works since 1940], Barber has employed his new technical gains in an attempt to fuse an essentially lyric spirit with an awakened awareness of the restlessness and discordance of our times."[200] Musicologist Howard Pollack observes that his music became "distinctively more chromatic and angular" during the course of the War. A 1984 study on the effects of social disruption on World War II composers reaches a different conclusion. This research compares the works of those composers in the "noncombat" zone, like Barber in the United States, to those in the "combat" zone.[201] The study bases its empirical research on several criteria, including melodic shape, rhythmic regularity, phrase structure, form, and frequency of dynamics, and concludes that those who did not face combat, including Barber, demonstrated very few changes in their style from their prewar compositions. While fascinating to examine, the sampling of works studied is limited and the study falls short in its attempt to reframe subjective musical elements in a quantifiable and fully convincing way.

---

[199] Samuel Barber, program notes referenced in Heyman, 230.
[200] Broder, *The Music of Samuel Barber,* 332.
[201] See Karen A. Cerulo, "Social Disruption and its Effect on Music: An Empirical Analysis," *Social Forces* 62 no. 4 (1984).

Excursions, Op. 20

Hindsight may have dented Barber's initial enthusiasm for his wartime commissions, but it did not taint his opinion of the *Excursions, Op. 20.* This piano suite remained one of his favorite works even though it strayed far from his signature lyrical voice in some of the same ways as the *Second Symphony*, published the same year. Casually referred to by the composer as "nothing but bagatelles,"[202] these four pieces are his only solo piano works to explore a distinct American folk idiom in a manner normally traversed by his contemporaries Aaron Copland and Roy Harris. Here, in atypical fashion, the Eurocentric Barber succumbs to the American trend to write music reflecting popular influence during the World War II years. Other examples from wartime piano repertoire include Roy Harris's *American Ballads* (1942-1945)[203] and Virgil Thomson's "Ragtime Bass" from his 1943 set of ten etudes.

Barber had fostered an interest in European folk music throughout the 1930s, extending that interest to American music in 1943 when he requested recordings from the Archive of American Folk Song at the Library of Congress.[204] Harold Spivacke replied that the recordings would be cost-prohibitive and recommended that Barber ask the Army to purchase them. Barber never did ask the Army for assistance, apparently preferring to keep this more personal endeavor separate from the demands of the military.

Excursions, Op. 20 was a response to a request from pianist Jeanne Behrend for a new American piano work. A long-time friend and former classmate of Barber's, Behrend championed piano music by American composers to international audiences, including a series

[202] Samuel Barber, Letter to Henry-Louis de la Grange, December 5, 1945, quoted in Heyman, 235.
[203] Harris's cycle *American Ballads* arranges five songs for solo piano in a modern and virtuosic style. The source material comes from both folk songs and African American spirituals.
[204] Heyman, 234.

of popular recitals in South America in which she often performed Barber's *Two Interludes*. The first live performances of the *Excursions* were not given by Behrend, however. Before their publication, Barber delivered the first, second, and fourth movements to Vladimir Horowitz. Jeanne Behrend debuted the complete set in 1948 at her Concert of American Piano Music in New York.[205]

Barber's description in the published score for *Excursions* reads:

> These are "Excursions" in small classical forms into regional American idioms. Their rhythmic characteristics, as well as their source in folk material and their scoring, reminiscent of local instruments are easily recognized.

Biographer Barbara Heyman notes that his choice of language, specifically the words "classical" and "reminiscent," disconnects the *Excursions*' intention from the realm of parody: "Rather than parody, [Barber] seems to have in mind stylized concert pieces, somewhat 'refined' and elaborated versions that compare to their sources in much the same way as Stravinsky's *Piano-Rag-Music* does to the popular prototypes."[206] By recasting folk styles in a refined and detached way, Barber treats this material in much the same way as Rodrigo stylized Spanish folk dances through his use of an incompatible instrument, the piano.

The nostalgic qualities in Barber's writing can be most clearly related to a specific idea of regionalism in both its urban and rural forms. Improvised styles like jazz and blues had been source material for art music composers since the end of the First World War, most famously by George Gershwin in *Rhapsody in Blue.* The gap between low-brow art and high art is lessened through numerous appropriations of African American art forms, with varying degrees of success, but sustained as well with the Depression Era's revival of rural folk traditions. Barber's

---

[205] Heyman, 234.
[206] Ibid., 235.

modernist experiments, cultivated during the years of World War II, lends to these piano miniatures a stylized personal aesthetic that is comparable with that of Joaquín Rodrigo and Émile Goué.

I. Un poco allegro

In 1935 Barber remarked, "Skyscrapers, subways, and train lights play no part in the music I write."[207] While Barber admittedly disliked cities[208] the World War II years found the composer more inclined to "urbanize" his music, incorporating elements from jazz and popular styles and in the case of the first *Excursion*, the dynamic sounds of an urban metropolis.

The driving rhythm of this movement comes from an incessant ostinato figure that is repeated throughout in the left hand with only a few brief interruptions. A steady and rhythmic bass line, this eighth note pattern evokes the boogie-woogie style of piano playing[209] and is introduced *senza pedale* in the opening bars:

FIGURE 4.6. Barber, *Excursion I*, mm. 1-3.

[207] Samuel Barber, quoted in Heyman, 130.
[208] Benedict Taylor, "Nostalgia and Cultural Memory in Barber's Knoxville: Summer of 1915," *The Journal of Musicology* 25 No. 3 (Summer 2008), 224.
[209] *Merriam Webster* defines boogie-woogie as "a percussive style of playing blues on the piano characterized by a steady rhythmic ground bass of eighth notes in quadruple time and a series of improvised melodic variations."

The figure passes through the subdominant and dominant keys before returning to C minor, suggesting a further connection with the Blues and boogie-woogie styles.

Throughout the piece Barber layers seemingly disparate musical ideas, giving the piece a sense of incongruency that is always kept in line by the constant rhythm and tonal grounding of the ostinato, as well as the movement's rondo form. In one of many polytonal examples of this layering effect, he imposes a syncopated theme in E-flat minor over the C minor bass line:

FIGURE 4.7. Barber, *Excursion I*, mm. 29-32.

Incompatible rhythmic figures are also juxtaposed against the regular ostinato, such as this recurring episode of quarter note triplets on E natural in the upper register:

FIGURE 4.8. Barber, *Excursion I*, mm. 56-57.

The climactic moments in the piece are particularly vibrant, combining polytonality with rhythmic irregularities. These intrusive sounding elements—bitonality, sudden accents, dissonance, and polyrhythms—sounding against the humming regularity of the bass line conjure

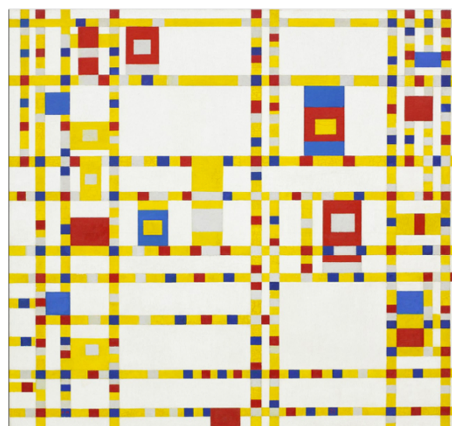
the image of a vibrant urban landscape, the clearest instance of which occurs in the piece's coda. Here, Barber alludes to a train whistle, beginning with a strident harmony that appears to mellow out in both pitch and volume as the train passes through:

FIGURE 4.9. Barber, *Excursion I*, mm. 92-95.

Barber develops this image over the next twelve bars. He recites the above rhythm using various registers, dynamic levels, and a mix of major and minor triads, conveying the aggregate sound of multiple trains traveling over the ostinato bass.

The confluence of boogie-woogie with the American cityscape is visually represented in the 1943 painting *Broadway Boogie-Woogie* by Piet Mondrian in a striking parallel to Barber's first *Excursion*. In this painting, a geometric grid suggests a vivid cluster of city blocks through which small, brightly colored squares provide a pulsating rhythm.

FIGURE 4.10. Piet Mondrian, *Broadway Boogie-Woogie.*



The Dutch painter was enthralled by New York City once he relocated in 1940 to escape the War in Europe. He conceives the character of the boogie-woogie style as analogous to his own as an artist, and these intentions coincide remarkably with Barber's musical adaptation: "the destruction of melody which is the destruction of natural appearance; and construction through the continuous opposition of pure means— dynamic rhythm."[210]

II. In slow blues tempo

The second *Excursion* contains four cycles of a Blues chord progression ostensibly drawn from the standard twelve-bar model. All but the third cycle spans the length of an irregular thirteen measures; it is safe to assume that Barber is deliberately manipulating the established form. This assumption coincides with Barbara Heyman's notion that Barber is only alluding to these popular styles, not quoting them directly, and is further supported by the fact that he also inserts meter changes. This is a device uncharacteristic of the Blues genre:

FIGURE 4.11. Barber, *Excursion II*, mm. 17-20.

Despite the formal and rhythmic irregularities, Barber keeps the Blues idiom alive with "blue" notes in the harmonic language. The G Major triad, which is clearly heard as a tonal center

[210] "Broadway Boogie-Woogie," by Piet Mondrian. 1942-1943. Museum of Modern Art, New York. https://www.moma.org/collection/works/78682

throughout even in the absence of a key signature, is colored by its lowered third, B-flat (also its enharmonic spelling A#) and the lowered seventh, F natural:

FIGURE 4.12. Barber, *Excursion II*, mm. 28-30.

The first and second *Excursions* are both rooted in improvisatory styles of music, yet Barber's markings in the score are precise and specific. Accents, dynamics, and rhythmic inflection are given detailed indications, such as in the juxtaposition of dotted rhythms with triplets in the above example. While this contradicts an authentic improvised Blues, the pianist's interpretation can still convey a sense of freedom and spontaneity.

III. Allegretto

The last two *Excursions* embody a distinctive pilgrimage to the sounds of rural America. The third piece, a theme and variations over a consistent harmonic progression in the left hand, is based on the cowboy song "The Streets of Laredo." Barber adopts only a loose transcription of the song's melody. However, given the popularity of singing cowboys in film and popular culture of the 1930s and 1940s, the reference would have been clear.[211] The simple triple meter of the original folk ballad is replaced by a polyrhythmic interpretation, giving this most lyrical of the *Excursions* a modern and unconventional twist:

---

[211] It is not a coincidence that Roy Harris also arranged "The Streets of Laredo" for piano in *American Ballads.* Harris' version is a closer match to the original cowboy song's melody and meter but harmonizes it with more spontaneity and dissonance than Barber's arrangement.

FIGURE 4.13. Barber, *Excursion III*, mm. 1-8.

Words like "*legato*," "*cantando*," and "*con pedale*" in these opening bars ensure that the pianist will strive for fluidity despite of the angular, seven-over-eight rhythmic arrangement.

As the piece progresses, its harmony becomes more abstract. What begins as a straightforward I-vi-ii-V progression yields to a nonfunctional use of the diatonic scale, called pandiatonicism. Also found in such works as Copland's *Appalachian Spring* (1944), and Barber's *Capricorn Concerto* (1944), pandiatonic writing utilizes the tones of the major scale, but by avoiding functional resolutions of the primary triads it undermines the hierarchy of traditional harmonic relationships. The following passage, with the melody in the tenor voice of the left hand, instead relies on fourths, sevenths, and seconds that are all part of the G-flat diatonic scale but undermine the tonal center with their ambiguity:

FIGURE 4.14. Barber, *Excursion III*, mm. 41-42.

The only chromaticism in the piece is a brief two-measure episode in which the melody (bars 5-6 from Figure 4.13) is displaced upward by a minor third, this time beginning on F-flat instead of D-flat:

FIGURE 4.15. Barber, *Excursion III*, mm. 61-62.

A dramatic and unexpected color is achieved by this new pitch collection containing F-flat and G-natural, but the effect is fleeting. Barber resumes writing in the diatonic G-flat scale to end the movement.

A 1982 study of Barber's piano works by James Sifferman notes that sections of the third *Excursion* take their cue from Latin American dance rhythms. The *tresillo* rhythm, a fundamental two-beat cell for building *habañera* and *rumba* patterns, consists of two dotted eighths and a regular eighth note:

FIGURE 4.16. *Tresillo* rhythmic pattern.

Each measure in the following excerpt contains two consecutive statements of the *tresillo*. The pattern's characteristic stresses are marked by the right-hand chord clusters:

FIGURE 4.17. Barber, *Excursion III*, mm. 13-14.

Figure 4.14 above also arranges the melody in this pattern.

Barber was not the first American composer to adapt rhythms from Latin America for use in classical art music,[212] but the dedication of this work to Jeanne Behrend may indicate a more personal connection. Behrend was equally well known for her promotion of South American music as she was for her South American concerts of American music, and this rhythmic gesture may have been a friendly nod to her work.

IV. Allegro molto

The final vignette from *Excursions, Op. 20* offers another tribute to the American West and, like the third, feeds into the American public's fascination with rural folk material as regional nostalgia. This is a fast-moving, exuberant hoedown with frequent alternations between the tonic and subdominant harmonies, possibly alluding to the limited harmonic vocabulary of a harmonica. The intermittent repeated note figures recall patterns that might be played on a fiddle:

[212] Other examples include George Gershwin's *Cuban Overture* (1932) and Aaron Copland's *El Salón México* (1936).

FIGURE 4.18. Barber, *Excursion IV*, mm. 1-7.

The primitive harmonic language from the opening bars is later tinged with jarring dissonances, as in the following example when the F Major and B-flat Major triads return with chromatic grace notes:

FIGURE 4.19. Barber, *Excursion IV*, mm. 57-58.

These dissonant clashes with the tonic and subdominant harmonies have a stylistic purpose, evoking in their messiness the unrefined, spontaneous quality of rural folk music.

The spacing of the two hands is also worth noting. In contrast to the sprawling textures of the aforementioned *Interlude No. 1* and other piano works like the *Nocturne* and *Piano Sonata*,

Barber keeps the hands close together on the keyboard, often within the same octave or overlapping as in the following bars:

FIGURE 4.20. Barber, *Excursion IV*, mm. 42-44.

The fourth *Excursion*'s limited spacing on the keyboard is reminiscent of vernacular instruments that might be played in a lively barn dance, a character enhanced by the playful rhythmic syncopations.

The last two *Excursions* idealize a rural regionalism absent from Barber's earlier neo-Romantic works,[213] a form of nostalgia that can best be described as "the portrayal of an unspoiled, "innocent" rural America, seen as the bedrock and wellspring of national identity. Such regionalism is closely allied with the South, but can also be equated with the West, essentially emphasizing anything that is not urban East Coast, New York City; the natural, unspoiled, rural Other."[214]

Reception

Horowitz's first performances of the first, second, and fourth *Excursions* in early 1945 were generally well-reviewed, though some critics found his interpretation of the Blues lacking

[213] The closest parallel is found in 1947's *Knoxville: Summer of 1915,* a song that evokes both regional and temporal nostalgia. See Benedict Taylor, "Nostalgia and Cultural Memory," 211-229.
[214] Taylor, 223.

in the sultry, lazy qualities that characterize the genre. It was not surprising, considering that Horowitz's concert repertoire had thus far featured almost exclusively nineteenth-century European music.[215] Horowitz programmed the new work alongside standard repertoire by Beethoven, Liszt, Rachmaninoff, and Czerny, and the concert in New York in March 1945 was hailed as "masterful first"[216] by the pianist, in spite of his unfamiliarity which led to a "drab blues." Horowitz's reading of the final *Excursion* was universally praised for its virtuosity. A *New York Times* review of the same concert includes just one sentence about Barber's work, followed by an effusive response to the pianist's arrangement of an American classic: "A contemporary quality was furnished by the modernity and humor of the three felicitous pieces, 'Excursions,' by Samuel Barber. This was prelude to a sensation—Mr. Horowitz's transcription extremely brilliant, difficult and exciting, and holding very closely to the original score, of Sousa's 'Stars and Stripes Forever.'"[217] The embrace of new and old American music by an international Russian-born superstar was indeed a testimony of wartime patriotism.

A review for another early performance by Czech pianist Rudolf Firkusny at Carnegie Hall alludes to descriptive titles that are absent from the current published score: "Of the three numbers making up Mr. Barber's 'Excursions,' the 'Honky-tonk,' 'Blues,' and 'Calypso' were played. The 'Calypso' is the most praiseworthy of these exacting experiments with folk material and the most difficult."[218] While it is reasonable to speculate that Barber later revised the

---

[215] Heyman, 233.
[216] For a summary of the reviews on Horowitz's performance of the *Excursions*, see Heyman, 233.
[217] Olin Downes, "Horowitz Offers Czerny Variations: Beethoven Sonata and Group of Rachmaninoff Etudes Also on Piano Program," *The New York Times* (March 29, 1945), 28.
[218] Noel Straus, "Firkusny Scores in Piano Program: Artist Fascinates Audience at Carnegie Hall with Recital from Bach to Martinu," *The New York Times* (January 19, 1946), 23.

Excursions and omitted these titles, as he had done in 1964 with the Second Symphony, these titles are absent from the manuscripts.[219]

Firkusny performed the work again in Prague in June 1946, after which Barber, who attended the concert, remarked "I could have sold a hundred copies on the spot!"[220] European audiences, especially those in Allied countries, were overwhelmingly receptive to music representing American folk traditions. That the *Excursions* had successful premieres abroad underlines yet another possible intention of the work. Annegret Fauser uses Darius Milhaud as an example of an exiled composer in the United States drawing from the folk music of his home country of France in the *Suite Française* (1944). This musical translation of his national identity for a new audience, she claims, was not duplicated by exiles from Axis countries like Germany or Italy:

> "One would be hard pressed to find any composition based on German folk song by Hanns Eisler, Ernst Krenek, Arnold Schoenberg, or Kurt Weill that shared Milhaud's form of cultural mediation of national identity for American audiences. It is clear that exiled German composers in particular could not draw on their own folk music, and may have even taken some pride in their forced appeal to the universalist aesthetic or in their adoption of American musical idioms."[221]

If composers of other Allied nations sought to convey the distinctive national identity of their countries to audiences overseas, it can be assumed that American composers wanted to do the same. Barber, who adopted the folkloric trend later and markedly less than his contemporaries, nonetheless considered the *Excursions* an effective and personal tribute to his American identity.

---

[219] Barbara Heyman, LinkedIn message to the author, June 1, 2021 .
[220] Samuel Barber, letter to publisher Gustave Schirmer, 1946, quoted in Heyman, 247.
[221] Fauser, Annegret, "Music for the Allies: Representations of Nationhood during World War II," in *Crosscurrents: American and European Music in Interaction, 1900– 2000*, eds. Felix Meyer, Carol J. Oja, Wolfgang Rathert, Anne C. Schreffler (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell and Brewer, 2014), 249. Fauser brings up examples of exiled composers from Axis countries who, instead of celebrating the music of their homeland, pledge allegiance to their new identity, as found in Ernst Krenek's variations on "I Wonder As I Wander" (1942), a folk song from North Carolina, or Arnold Schoenberg's earlier choral arrangement of "My Horses Ain't Hungry" (1935), an Appalachian song.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

The Paradox of Freedom

Freedom was an ubiquitous word in the propaganda of Allied nations that continues to dominate the discourse surrounding World War II. The appropriation of Beethoven as not only a symbol for victory but the embodiment of a free artist during oppressive times extends the notion of freedom to the musical realm. The inherently malleable nature of art music, in particular instrumental and therefore non-representational music, allows it to shift alliances and function as ideology for opposite sides of the war. In another paradox, which she identifies as the paradox of freedom, Annegret Fauser suggests that freedom was a value imposed upon artists that did not always yield authentically free expression: “If freedom was the foundational value of American democracy, then it was paramount to inscribe creative freedom into the discourse about musical composition...The war heightened the ideological tensions…between the ideal of unfettered creative freedom on the one hand and community-based artistic populism on the other.”[222] She applies the paradox to American musicians, but the question of this ideal and its manifestation in music can just as well be asked of the other composers in this study.

Within the paradox of freedom lies the dichotomy between modern experimentation and mass public appeal, which figures into the works of Rodrigo, Goué, and Barber. Samuel Barber felt stifled by the U.S. government’s need for wartime compositions that ran counter to his personal aesthetic, even though they were used to promote the value of freedom among troops and civilians. In comparison to Barber’s denouncement of the Second Symphony and his bold

[222] Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 57.

claim that "Times of cataclysm are rarely conducive to the creation of good music, especially when the composer tries to say too much,"[223][224] his *Excursions* are more likely to be classified as "free" works. However, the reality that he never returned to folk and regional material after that as inspiration—except perhaps in *Knoxville: Summer of 1915*—warrants a closer look.

Joaquín Rodrigo sought to reconcile his own artistic liberalism with the values of the state, appropriating *castellanismo* into works that would be celebrated by the oppressive Franco regime. His writings, reviews, and possibly music were influenced by the current leanings of a government that would determine how successful he could be in establishing a fruitful career in post-Civil War Spain.

It is ironic to suggest that Émile Goué, through the physical and psychological pains of captivity, demonstrates an aesthetic closest to our notion of freedom in his works of artistic maturity. Being marginalized as a prisoner for the duration of the Second World War, captivity left little need to appeal to a larger social or political, and instead bid him the artistic space to cultivate a unique compositional voice.

In "Art and the State," Leon Botstein offers a dismal view on the state of music in contemporary culture, but one that nonetheless informs the way marginalized music can function at any point in history. He cites "the comparative poverty and irrelevance of musical culture today" as an unfortunate consequence of the decline of classical concert music, state-sponsored arts activities, and music's civic purpose in recent decades. On the other hand, this poverty "now

---

[223] Samuel Barber, program notes quoted in Heyman, 230.

[224] A World War I era news article shares Barber's view on the inability of war to yield 'good' music: "Peace is the patroness of music…War afrights her, challenges her most melodious mood and defeats it. There is no rhythm in the agony of battle…All the arts are the fruits of peace, and of all the arts that of music is the most dependent on peace." Edward J. Wheeler, ed., "Emotion Strain and Music: Effects of the World's Present Emotional Strain on Musical Expression," *Current Opinion* LVII (July-December 1914), 407.

affords musicians and their audiences an opportunity for music to be created and used, without compromise, as a vehicle of freedom, individuality, resistance, and dissent."[225]

Performance Considerations

The March 1945 premiere of Barber's *Excursions* by Vladimir Horowitz in New York is a surviving snapshot of wartime tensions and nationalistic enthusiasm. A Russian-born Jew, Horowitz would have been threatened in Europe during the war, and instead assimilated to life in the United States. His eagerness to program a work by a contemporary American composer alongside his standard repertoire of nineteenth-century classics was a moving gesture of loyalty. The fact that a recording exists, in which we can hear the lavish applause after the final *Excursion*, reminds us of the power of these alliances and allows us to participate in a historically significant, unifying musical moment. In retrospect we can look critically at Horowitz's interpretations, but no criticism of the pianist can detract from this performance's legacy as an artifact of meaningful nostalgia during these turbulent times.

In performing these works it is worthwhile for the pianist to remember that the piano is a vehicle for communicating diverse styles of music, and not an exact representation of those styles. In that way, there exists a fundamental distance separating the music from the performer, and a larger distance separating the music from the audience. Rodrigo's *Cuatro Piezas para Piano* and Barber's *Excursions* should be treated as referential concert pieces; if they are approached as verbatim representations of popular art they risk losing their authenticity as

[225] Leon Botstein, "Art and the State," *The Musical Quaterly* 88 no. 4 (Winter 2005), 495.

autonomous pieces of concert art, and, as Barbara Heyman might suggest, enter the unintentional realm of parody.

That is not to say that we as pianists should not study the folk, regional, and historical styles that the pieces in these cycles adapt. Rather, close interaction with the source material is imperative for a nuanced performance. Familiarity with Spanish dance styles, for instance, leads to a more informed and vibrant interpretation. Studying the Spanish guitar, in its distinctive rhythms and gestures, informs us of the ways in which the piano can capture these sounds, and the ways in which it cannot. The *vihuela,* the *zarzuela,* and the *Siglo de Oro* place the works that appropriate them in a unique historic place and time. Our interactions with those sources ensure that our pianistic interpretations avoid the overt sentimentality of idealized Spanish music, and on a deeper level, allow them to coexist as the simultaneous images of a double exposure. Similarly, the context of Barber's output for the piano informs us of how unique the *Excursions* are in the trajectory of his compositions, thereby enabling us to locate the humor, his intentional use of unrefined vernacular, and the elements that are decidedly anti-Romantic, and, by some definitions, anti-Barber. Contextualizing Émile Goué's *Préhistoires* in terms of his captivity and musical language strengthens the relevance of the music so that we can participate in the composer's spiritual journey and nostalgia for a simpler time.

Implications for Future Study

It has been my goal to treat these composers with equal consideration throughout this research. Discrepancies in the music's lasting influence does not speak to its quality, and I believe it is

valuable to examine underrepresented repertoire alongside works of historical significance, a task that is especially critical for those works compromised by their troubled history.

Contemporary revivals of forgotten stories like Władysław Szpilman's in *The Pianist* are a treasured addition to our collective memory of a colorful but difficult past, not to mention a vital contribution to wartime scholarship. Italian composer Francesco Lotoro has taken an ambitious step in locating and archiving much of what was lost during World War II in a twelve-volume album set called *Composed in Concentration Camps*. A review of the collection from *American Record Guide* encapsulates the gravity of this project: "The books, paintings, and music of writers, artists and composers were often as much victims of the…Third Reich's wars of aggression as were their creators… Often the work of these artists vanished almost as completely as if they had never lived."[226] Lotoro includes solo piano works by Viktor Ullman and Erwin Schulhoff, both Czech-Jewish composers who perished in the camps. It also features some of the first-ever recordings of Émile Goué's piano music. Within the twenty-first century, live performances of *entartete Musik* have also brought necessary awareness to those works and composers that were repressed by the violent and racist policies of the Third Reich. As more music is uncovered from this period in our history, it is imperative that such research and performance continue.

Despite their obscurity in scholarship of the era, Goué's compositional processes are well-preserved in his treatises and courses. There is a noticeable absence of English-language sources, however, and the scholarly literature in French remains limited. As publication of Goué's music extends to countries outside of France, I foresee that his writings will also be

[226] Mark L. Lehman, "Composed in Concentration Camps," Review of "Encyclopedia of Music Composed in Concentration Camps," KZ Musik, 2009, in *American Record Guide* (December 2009), 193.

translated, and will provide insight into not only the firsthand experience of prison life but also his musical processes, which shall present a fascinating comparison to the writings of his contemporary Olivier Messiaen, which are warranted hallmarks of modernist twentieth-century theory. I hope to engage in these processes through further exploration, study, and promotion of Goué's works, especially those for the piano.

It is through these works of introspection and reaction that we see the true legacy of the era. Responses to cataclysmic events in literature and visual art are often tangible recollections of a place and time. The abstract nature of instrumental music allows for its meaning to evolve, shift, collapse, broaden, or specify over the years through performance and reconstruction. The solo piano in particular is a vehicle for individual expression, and through the piano music of the war years we catch a glimpse of the subtle ways in which composers adapt to their changing circumstances to locate traces of a common past. This art was not mere entertainment or propaganda, but offers reflections of the perpetual battles between modernism and traditionalism, both in ideological and musical arenas.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, M. T. “The Flight of the Seventh: The Voyage of Dmitri Shostakovich’s ‘Leningrad’ Symphony to the West.” *The Musical Quarterly* 102 no. 2-3 (2019): 200-255.

Association Française pour le Patrimoine Musical. *Le Quatuor à Cordes en France de 1750 à Nos Jours*. Paris: Association Française pour le Patrimoine Musical, 1995.

Barber, Samuel. *Adagio for Strings.* NBC Symphony Orchestra. Conducted by Arturo Toscanini. *The Arturo Toscanini Collection.* RCA Red Seal, 2017.

Barber, Samuel. *Complete Piano Music*. New York: G. Schirmer, Inc., 2010.

Barber, Samuel. *Excursions, Op. 20*. New York: G. Schirmer, Inc., 1945.

Barber, Samuel. *Second Symphony, Op. 19*. New York: G. Schirmer, Inc., 1950.

Benoit-Otis, Marie-Hélène. *Charles Koechlin: Compositeur et Humaniste*. Belgique: Libraire Philosophique J. VRIN, 2010.

Blok, Vladimir. *Sergei Prokofiev: Materials, Articles, Interviews*. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1978.

Botstein, Leon. “After Fifty Years: Thoughts on Music and the End of World War II,” *The Musical Quaterly* 79 No. 2 (Summer 1995): 225-230.

Botstein, Leon. “Art and the State.” *The Musical Quaterly* 88 no. 4 (Winter 2005): 487-495.

Botstein, Leon. “Music in Time of War.” *Conjunctions* 16 (1991): 122-128.

Blok, Vladimir. *Sergei Prokofiev: Materials, Articles, Interviews*. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1978.

Boym, Svetlana. *The Future of Nostalgia.* New York: Basic Books, 2001.

Boym, Svetlana. “Slow Thinking.” Thinking Aloud, March 8, 2016. YouTube interview, 3:40. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N1Jf5Li43n8

Brahms, Johannes. *Ballades, Op. 10.* Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 2009.

Broder, Nathan. “The Music of Samuel Barber.” *The Musical Quarterly* 34 no. 3 (1948): 325-335.

Brown, Kellie D. *The Sound of Hope: Music as Solace, Resistance, and Salvation During the Holocaust and World War II.* Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2020.

Calcraft, Raymond. “Joaquín Rodrigo Vidre (1901-1999): Marqués de los Jardines de Aranjuez, Life and Works.” *Joaquín Rodrigo*. Accessed June 2, 2021. https://www.joaquin-rodrigo.com/index.php/en/biografia/10-autor/biografia/15-biografia-larga.

Castillo, B. Pérez. “Problematized Music: Notes on the Reception of ‘Avant-garde’ Symphonic Music During the Franco Years (1952-1969).” In *Music and Propaganda in the Short Twentieth Century*, edited by Massimiliano Sala. 289-316. Turnhout: Brepols, 2014.

Cerulo, Karen A. “Social Disruption and its Effect on Music: An Empirical Analysis.” *Social Forces* 62, no. 4 (1984): 885–904.

Clark, Walter Aaron. *Joaquín Rodrigo: A Research and Information Guide.* New York: Routledge, 2021.

Cohen, Ronald D. *Depression Folk: Grassroots Music and Left-Wing Politics in 1930s America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016.

Colinet, María Consuelo Martín. “Tradición Histórica y Música Popular en la Producción Pianística de Joaquín Rodrigo.” *Revista de Musicología* 33 no. 1/2 (2010): 343-354.

Copland, Aaron. *Our New Music: Leading Composers in Europe and America*. United Kingdom: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1941.

Davenson, Henri. “Chronique Musicale.” *Esprit* 140 no. 12 (December 1947), 968-974.

Desmette, Philippe, and Philippe Martin, eds. *Prisons, Prisonniers et Spiritualité*. Paris: Hémisphères, 2020.

Donis, José. “The Musicologist Behind the Composer: The Impact of Historical Studies Upon the Creative Life in Joaquín Rodrigo’s Guitar Compositions.” Master’s thesis. Florida State University, 2005.

Downes, Olin. “Horowitz Offers Czerny Variations: Beethoven Sonata and Group of Rachmaninoff Etudes Also on Piano Program” *The New York Times.* March 29, 1945, 28.

Eichner, Barbara. *History in Mighty Sounds: Musical Constructions of German Identity 1848-1914*. Rochester: Boydell, 2012.

“Émile Goué.” Obituary. *Revue de Musicologie* 25 no. 79/80 (1946): 103-106.

Fairclough, Pauline, ed. *Twentieth-Century Music and Politics: Essays in Memory of Neil Edmunds.* Abingdon: Routledge, 2016.

Fauser, Annegret. “After Pearl Harbor: Music, War, and the Library of Congress.” Library of Congress. 18 September 2008. Video, https://www.loc.gov/item/webcast-4400/

Fauser, Annegret. “Music for the Allies: Representations of Nationhood during World War II.” In *Crosscurrents: American and European Music in Interaction, 1900– 2000*. Ed. by Felix Meyer, Carol J. Oja, Wolfgang Rathert, Anne C. Schreffler (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell and Brewer, 2014), 247–58.

Fauser, Annegret. *Sounds of War: Music in the United States During World War II.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Flint de Médicis, Catrina. “Nationalism and Early Music at the French *Fin de Siècle*: Three Case Studies." *Nineteenth Century Music Review* 1 no. 2 (2004): 43-66.

Frank, Mortimer. *Arturo Toscanini: The NBC Years*. Portland: Amadeus Press, 2002.

Fulcher, Jane F. *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France 1914–1940*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005.

Fulcher, Jane F. “Music Style, Meaning, and Politics in France on the Eve of the Second World War.” *The Journal of Musicology* 13 no. 4 (1995): 425-453.

Gallego, Antonio. *El Arte de Joaquín Rodrigo.* Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, 2003.

García, María Isabel Cabrera and Gemma Pérez Zalduondo, “Voices, Strategies, and Practices of Propaganda: Music and Artistic Culture at the Service of the State During Francoism” In *Music and Propaganda in the Short Twentieth Century*, edited by by Massimiliano Sala, 207-224. Italy: Brepols, 2014.

Gilbert, Gama. “Philharmonic Plays Youth’s Work Today.” *Philadelphia Bulletin.* March 24, 1935, 130.

Goué, Émile. *Cours de Fugue*. Amis d’Emile Goué, 1943. https://www.amis-emile-goue.fr/Lire%20Fugue.htm

Goué, Émile. Cours d'esthétique Musicale. Amis d’Emile Goué, 1943. https://www.amis-emile-goue.fr/Lire%20Esthetique

Goué, Émile. *Deux Nocturnes pour Piano, Op. 13*. Paris: Edition Kemel Niedernhausen, 2014.

Goué, Émile. Eléments fondamentaux d’écriture musicale. Amis d’Emile Goué, n.d. https://www.amis-emile-goue.fr/Lire%20Ecriture

Goué, Émile. *Horizons*. Paris: Edition Kemel Niedernhausen, 2016.

Goué, Émile. *Préhistoires, Op. 40*. 1943. Original manuscript provided and authorized for use by Bernard Goué, son of the composer.

Goué, Émile. *Préhistoires, Op. 40*. Paris: Edition Kemel Niedernhausen, 2016.

Hess, Carol A. *Manuel de Falla and Modernism in Spain, 1898-1936*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Heyman, Barbara. *Samuel Barber: The Composer and His Music*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Iglesias, Antonio. *Joaquín Rodrigo: Su obra Para Piano*. 2nd edition. Madrid: Editorial Alpuerto, S. A., 1996.

Jones, Dena Kay. "The Piano Works of Joaquín Rodrigo: An Evaluation of Social Influences and Compositional Style." DMA diss. University of Arizona, 2001.

Jones, John Bush. *The Songs that Fought the War: Popular Music and the Home Front, 1939-1945*. Lebanon, NH: Brandeis University Press, 2006.

Kamhi de Rodrigo, Victoria. *Hand in Hand with Joaquín Rodrigo: My Life at the Maestro's Side*. Translated by Ellen Wilkersen. Pittsburgh: Latin American Literary Review Press, 1992.

Kinderman, William. *Beethoven: A Political Artist in Revolutionary Times*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020.

Koechlin, Charles. *Correspondence*. Paris: Éditions Richard-Masse, 1982.

Laredo Verdejo, Carlos. *Joaquín Rodrigo: Biografía.* Valencia: Institución Alfonso El Magnanimo, 2012.

Lehman, Mark L. "Composed in Concentration Camps." Review of "Encyclopedia of Music Composed in Concentration Camps." KZ Musik, 2009. In *American Record Guide* (December 2009): 193-198.

Levi, Erik. "The Reception of Spanish Music in Germany During the Nazi Era." In *Music and Francoism*, edited by Gemma Pérez Zalduondo and Germán Gan Quesada, 3-24. Italy: Brepols, 2013.

Liebersohn, Harry. *Music and the New Global Culture from the Great Exhibition to the Jazz Age.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019.

Llano, Samuel. *Whose Spain?: Negotiating "Spanish" Music in Paris, 1908-1929*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Machin-Autenrieth, Matthew. *Flamenco, Regionalism and Musical Heritage in Southern Spain*. New York: Routledge, 2016.

Machlis, Joseph. *Introduction to Contemporary Music.* New York: W. W. Norton, 1961.

Malhaire, Philippe. "Composer À l'Oflag: L'Influence de la Captivité sur la Spiritualité d'Émile Goué. In *Prisons, Prisonniers, et Spiritualité*, translated by Luanne Homzy, 73-82. Paris: Hémispheres Éditions, 2020.

Marco, Tomás. *Spanish Music in the Twentieth Century.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Marco, Tomás. "Traditionalism in Contemporary Spanish Music." *The World of Music* 16 no. 3 (1974): 30-47.

"Memorial of Oflag XB, 1940-1945." Edited by L'Amicale de l'Oflag XB. N.d. Used with the authorization of Bernard Goué.

Mondrian, Piet. "Broadway Boogie-Woogie." 1942-1943. Museum of Modern Art, New York. https://www.moma.org/collection/works/78682

Moore, Christopher Lee. "Music in France and Popular Front (1934-1938): Politics, Aesthetics and Reception." PhD diss. McGill University, 2006.

Ortega y Gasset, José. "The Dehumanization of Art." In *The Dehumanization of Art and Other Essays on Art, Culture, and Literature,* 3-56. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968.

Ortiz, Carmen. "The Uses of Folklore by the Franco Regime." *The Journal of American Folklore* 112 no. 44 (Autumn 1999): 479-496.

Petrillo, James C. "To the President and the People of the United States." *The Billboard*. December 27, 1941, 33.

Ravel, Maurice. *Le Tombeau de Couperin*. Paris: Éditions Durand, 1918.

Rischin, Rebecca. *For the End of Time: The Story of the Messiaen Quartet.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003.

Rodriguez, Eva Moreda. "Fostering Friendly Relations Between Hitler's Germany and Franco's Spain Through Music." Oxford University Press Blog, November 22, 2016. https://blog.oup.com/2016/11/germany-spain-music-world-war-2/

Rodriguez, Eva Moreda. "Hispanic-German Music Festivals during the Second World War." In *The Impact of Nazism on Twentieth-Century Music, edited by* Erik Levi, 309-322. Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014.

Rodriguez, Eva Moreda. *Music Criticism and Music Critics in Early Francoist Spain.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Rodriguez, Eva Moreda. "Musical Commemorations in Post-Civil War Spain: Joaquín Rodrigo's Concierto Heróico." In *Twentieth-Century Music and Politics: Essays in Memory of Neil Edmunds,* edited by Pauline Fairclough, 177-189. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2013.

Rodriguez, Eva Moreda. "What Did Franco's Spain Do to Spanish Music?" *JSTOR Daily* online. January 15, 2020. https://daily.jstor.org/what-did-francos-spain-do-to-spanish-music/.
Iglesias, Antonio. *Joaquín Rodrigo: Su obra para piano*, 2nd edition. Madrid: Editorial Alpuerto, S. A., 1996.

Rodrigo, Cecilia. "My Father." Classical Guitar 15/9 (May 1997): 18-23.

Rodrigo, Joaquín. *Album Centenario Piano*. Madrid: Ediciones Joaquín Rodrigo, Spain.

Rodrigo, Joaquín. *Suite para Piano.* Mainz: Schott, 1994.

Rodrigo, Joaquín. *Voice and Vision: Selected Writings on Music*. Translated by Raymond Calcraft and Elizabeth Matthews. Bath: Brown Dog Books, 2016.

Ross, Alex. *The Rest is Noise: Listening to the Twentieth Century*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007.

Ross, Alex. "The Wrenching Rediscovered Compositions of Mieczysław Weinberg." *The New Yorker Recommends* (May 8, 2019). https://www.newyorker.com/recommends/listen/the-wrenching-rediscovered-compositions-of-mieczyslaw-weinberg.

Ross, Alex. *Wagnerism: Art and Politics in the Shadow of Music.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2020.

Rutt, Audrey S. "The Federal Music Project: An American Voice in Depression-Era Music." *Musical Offerings* 9 (Fall 2018): 43-59.

Sachs, Joel. "Some Aspects of Musical Politics in Pre-Nazi Germany." *Perspectives of New Music* 9 no. 1 (1970): 74-95.

Saintourens, Thomas. *Le Maestro: Á la Recherche de la Musique des Camps.* France: Éditions Stock, 2012.

Schmidt, Esther. "Nationalism and the Creation of Jewish Music: The Politicization of Music and Language in the German-Jewish Press Prior to the Second World War." *Musica Judaica* 15 (2001): 1-31.

Schott Music Corp. *Joaquín Rodrigo: List of Published Works*. New York: Schott Music Corp, 2001.

Schubart, Emma. "Tainted or Transcendent: The Political Recruitment of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony." *PIT Journal* 9 (2018). http://pitjournal.unc.edu/content/tainted-or-transcendent-political-recruitment-beethoven%E2%80%99s-ninth-symphony

Sessions, Roger. "Art, Freedom, and the Individual." In *Roger Sessions on Music: Collected Essays*, edited by Edward T. Cone, 105-119. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.

Simeone, Nigel. "Making Music in Occupied Paris." *The Musical Times* 87 No. 1894 (Spring 2006): 23-50.

Sopeña, Federico. *Joaquín Rodrigo.* Madrid: Ediciones y Publicaciones Españolas, 1946.

Sprout, Leslie A. "Messiaen, Jolivet and the Soldier: Composers of Wartime France." *The Musical Quarterly* 87 no. 2 (2004): 259-304.

Sprout, Leslie A. *The Musical Legacy of Wartime France*. Berkeley: The University of California Press, 2013.

Straus, Noel. "Firkusny Scores in Piano Program: Artist Fascinates Audience at Carnegie Hall with Recital from Bach to Martinu." *The New York Times*. January 19, 1946, 23.

Swed, Mark. "A Ballet for Us All: How *Appalachian Spring* Carries Promise for a New Beginning." *Los Angeles Times* (online), August 12, 2020. https://www.latimes.com/entertainment-arts/story/2020-08-12/how-to-listen-aaron-copland-appalachian-spring-covid

Tawa, Nicholas. *The Great American Symphony: Music, the Depression, and War*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009.

Taylor, Benedict. "Nostalgia and Cultural Memory in Barber's Knoxville: Summer of 1915." *The Journal of Musicology* 25 no. 3 (Summer 2008): 211-229.

Wade, Graham. *Joaquín Rodrigo – A Life in Music: Traveling to Aranjuez (1901-1939).* USA: GRM Publications, 2006.

Wade, Graham. Liner notes for Rodrigo, Joaquín. *Piano Music, Volume 1*. Artur Pizarro. Naxos Spanish Classics 8.557272, 2005, compact disc.

"War Expected to Make U.S. the World's Music Center." *Newsweek.* October 2, 1939, 40-42.

Wheeldon, Marianne. "Anti-Debussyism and the Formation of French Neoclassicism." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 70 no. 2 (2017): 433-474.

"Emotion Strain and Music: Effects of the World's Present Emotional Strain on Musical Expression." *Current Opinion* LVII, edited by Edward J. Wheeler, 407. New York: The Current Literature Publishing Company, 1914.

White, Harry and Michael Murphy, eds. *Musical Constructions of Nationalism: Essays on the History and Ideology of European Musical Culture 1800-1945*. Ireland: Cork University Press, 2001.

Woodruff, Sidney Dustin. "Joaquín Rodrigo's *Cuatro Piezas para Piano Transcribed for Guitar Trio.*" DMA diss. University of Georgia, 2011.

Wright, Jeffrey Marsh. "The Enlisted Composer: Samuel Barber's Career, 1942-1945." Ph.D diss. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2010.

Young, Clinton D. *Music Theater and Popular Nationalism in Spain, 1880-1930* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2016.