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Rejecting the dictator

overcoming identity aesthetics through Granados's sounding legacy

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Rejecting the Dictator: Overcoming Identity Aesthetics Through Granados's Sounding Legacy

Marco Fatichenti King's College London 2020

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Music

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Preface

Throughout this thesis I include audio-visual samples serving a dual function: some support and exemplify the writing, while others are constituent parts of my performance-as-research, fulfilling the requirements for the degree. The latter reflect mainly my specific area of interest, that is Enrique Granados's *Goyescas*, within which I place particular attention on *El amor y la muerte* and *Epílogo: Serenata del espectro*, left unrecorded by the composer in his piano roll recordings. In an attempt to counter the aesthetic narratives discussed in the coming pages, I also tackle scores by Isaac Albéniz. I will propose that my conclusions should eventually become relevant outside this specifically Spanish repertoire, even if for current purposes I have limited my scope. The transfer of knowledge between the study of historical recordings and current performance thus promises further opportunities for investigation.

I should clarify the format of the thesis, insofar as the relevant media are concerned. Appendix A contains a list of all audio files used throughout the thesis, as well as a sample of scans from my practice diaries, organised by chapter and example number. The audio and video files forming part of the dissertation's performance output are located in Appendix B.¹

As an example of my copying practice, discussed in chapter 4, I have included a performance of *Quejas*, *o la maja y el ruiseñor* (Ex. 4.1). A set of five videos (Video Ex. 4.2.1–4.2.5) from a masterclass in Tokyo, Japan, also discussed in the same chapter, show a different approach to teaching that could allow renewed ideas and aesthetic possibilities.

I interact with Granados's historical legacy in ways that challenge the performance practices that have settled into tradition; this is a major concern throughout my research. By means of audio extracts, I also highlight the ways in which I believe performance trends have homogenised throughout the twentieth century, all the while considering alternatives and envisaging a more personal performance of the two *Goyescas* mentioned earlier. Performances of *El amor* and *Epílogo* are therefore at the core of my findings, evidenced in live performances in Ex. 5.1 and 5.2. For reference only, I also include earlier versions of the same pieces in Ex. 5.1.2 and 5.2.2, recorded before the start of this research for the CD *Empire of Sound*.²

In an attempt to extrapolate from my work on *Goyescas*, I am also providing a video with detailed points of discussion on Albéniz's First Book of *Iberia*. This represents a case

¹ Audio files for both Appendixes are available for perusal at the following Dropbox link: https://www.dropbox.com/sh/vwwr96jrogpho4m/AABINGvmjbvfo6lyxj9pOg8Ra?dl=0. The performance output videos will be available through specific YouTube links.

² Fatichenti, M. (2014) *Empire of Sound*, Fly on the Wall, FOTW0001, London. Available in Appendix A.

study for ways in which we can challenge our engagement in the practice room, so long as we allow for the possibility of relinquishing the stylistic canon we have constructed through the course of the previous century. This example, available in Video Ex. 5.3, is presented in the style of a vlog, which in many ways signified the most challenging submission included in this research, for reasons that are beyond performance, but rather due to belonging to the Millennial, or even Xennial generation.

Introduction

In my mid-teens I left my native country of Italy to continue my studies in the USA under the guidance of Spanish pianist Joaquín Achúcarro; during my third year at university, the arts department became ebullient with excitement, as celebrity architect Santiago Calatrava had been commissioned a sculpture to celebrate the institution's newly-built Meadows Museum, which holds one of the finest Spanish art collections outside of Spain.³ To commemorate the inauguration, my teacher's piano class was asked to share in the effort of performing Enrique Granados's Goyescas. If Los requiebros was then my first practical encounter with the Suite, it was far from foreign to me: I heard it in full several times at my teacher's concerts, and I knew it through the legions of pianists keen on mastering this repertoire with him. Achúcarro, alongside Alicia de Larrocha, had long been considered a leading specialist of this repertoire, together with that of other Spanish composers — tellingly, notice how I felt the need a few lines earlier to associate Mr Achúcarro with the nationality-defining adjective 'Spanish'. At this time in the early 2000s, I was struck by how much 'Spanish character' there was to be mastered, feeling daunted by how I should extract it from my scores; it was clear to me how unquestionably this performance style should be stressed and highlighted when offered to audiences. It seemed there had to be a special kind of primeval strength and rhythmical sensuality that were essential to portray the score's identity successfully: put more plainly, I wanted my playing to transmit all those features that have become associated with the 'spirit' of (southern) Spain. These had to be, I was convinced, my goals as I made progress on Los requiebros, as well as my guidelines when listening to my friends working on their own selections. With almost two decades of hindsight, I see that those characteristics belong, largely, in *flamenco* taverns, faded postcards and dubious souvenir shops. Yet, it is within this warped background — I am sure of this now — that Granados's Goyescas have held a preferential place in many artists' repertoire, as well as in my aural memories; foregoing such a crude approach became one of the driving reasons drawing me towards this subject.

I started to cultivate an interest in the available literature on Granados and his *Goyescas* as I was preparing to record commercially the Second Book of the Suite for my album *Empire of Sound*. With a detached and matured interest, I began to notice a remarkable lack of progress in research, whereas a whole new field of study focusing on historical recordings was in bloom

³ Calatrava's Wave Sculpture: https://calatrava.com/motion/smu-meadows-museum-wave-sculpture-dallas.html. Meadows Museum: https://meadowsmuseumdallas.org/collections/pages/. Both pages last accessed 01/05/2020.

dealing with more readily prominent composers. Nothing remotely resembling Roy Howat's work on Debussy's set of historical recordings seemed to be in the pipeline. Compared to the knowledge gained and the questions that arise as a consequence of problematising historical recordings, research on Granados was, and largely remains, almost exclusively in Spanish, safely tucked between arguments of casticismo and Krausismo, 4 and on debates over nationalism. The only examples of modern literature published in English, in the writings of Carol A. Hess and Walter C. Clark, represent nevertheless crucial steps forward; but while being excellent tomes, they still offered little in the way of research within the performing context of the early twenty-first century. The most that can be witnessed in advances in musicology at the close of the last century are analyses of Granados's works, treated and dissected as we would a classical sonata, with some additional comments on colourful Spanish traditions and folkloric elements. Mentions of his recordings — over one hour in total representing one of the earliest composer-performers setting his own scores on record — are scarce to say the least, and usually tinted by negative comments regarding the dangers of following, or even taking seriously, such liberal approaches; their value for contemporary research and inquisitive pianists apparently limited. These recordings have, at best, been discussed at length by Lionel Salter in *The Pianola Journal*, or otherwise quickly critiqued and dismissed, within a framework in which Granados's style clashes with our expectations;⁵ thus, they have been cornered as stale museum pieces from a bygone era, recorded by a charming, if somewhat minor, performer whose example is best admired from afar, since more appropriate models are available from his lineage of pianistic 'descendants'.

The convergence between the idyllic, as much as fictional, 'performed' Spain of my youth and the standardised styles I could generally hear from pianists (myself included) began to seem problematic. Through my own practice, I started a process of self-evaluation and careful discovery of early recordings of composer-pianists performing their own scores — *re*-discovery perhaps, or more precisely still, listening to such sources without modern

⁴ The former refers to a desire for Spanish purity that will be considered in greater detail in chapter 1, while the latter to a much-discussed cultural movement seeking, amongst other things, a liberal regeneration of the education system. Based on the philosophical tenets of German philosopher Karl C. F. Krause (1781-1832), it had little practical impact in Germany; after Krause's death, though, his principles were adopted by many Spanish philosophers as a guide towards an ideal rebirth of the country. For further reading on this mainly Spanish debate, I would suggest: Orden Jiménez, R. (2019) '¿Por qué fuimos krausistas?', in *O krausismo ibérico e latino-americano*, Instituto Cervantes, Lisbon, p. 51–83. In the realm of music education, Felipe Pedrell embodied the central figure from whose legacy a legion of musicians would have created a musical 'Spanish school', aiming to gain a standing next to other national traditions of the continent. Perandones Lozano, M. (2016) *Correspondencia epistolar de Enrique Granados (1892-1916)*, Editorial Boileau, Barcelona, p. 44–47.

⁵ Salter, L. (1998) 'Granados as Pianist', in *The Pianola Journal*, No. 10, 1998, p. 54–60. Further discussion on this in chapter 1.

preconceptions. It was not mere stylistic change that detached us from 'Romantic' approaches and techniques, but at least in equal measure an ethical change that emphasised nationalistic traits and narratives on the one side, and a new style of performance favouring objectivity and repeatability, starting from a few decades after Granados's death.

An effective example of extra-musical narratives can be witnessed in a Japanese book dealing with Spanish composers' biographies. The author describes Granados's music as having 'the character of elegance' where 'lyricism is filled with sorrow and pathos'; but we are also given the timely reminder that 'one should not forget to see the spirit of bright Spanishness.' But what is *this* Spain, and where is it coming from? What is leading us to explicitly wish for a folkloric and nationalistic musical Spain? As Xoán M. Carreira affirms in the Prologue to the latest Granados monograph, it is not at all clear, perhaps even justifiable, that such inferences should be assumed from the life of the composer. In fact, he affirms that:

[t]here is absolutely no evidence that Granados was affiliated to ecclesiastic pressure groups or to their propaganda instruments, regardless of what is habitually said by his hagiographers. Furthermore, there is no evidence of any participation by Granados in socio-political projects, whether *krausist*, *regeneracionista*, ⁷ nationalist or any other type; his sporadic participation in charitable events cannot be said to belong to a clear belief system or any political militancy. Granados's only documented interest was music and his only documented diversions were drawing, motorbikes and shooting.⁸

We must look beyond Granados's life and his works, at the events that unfolded in subsequent years. What caused a search for a Spanish *spirit* to become such an obvious, almost existential necessity? The answer will lead to many of my findings and convictions and unifies in a search to create an *ad hoc* national musical identity starting from the years leading to the Spanish Civil

⁶ My thanks go to Ms Eri Narita for providing a copy of Uehara, Y. (2000) *Gracia y pasión – Kizuna to Jounetsu, Supein Piano Sakuhin He No Shoutai [Grace and Passion, Invitation to Spanish Piano Music]*, $\Rightarrow \exists \land `` \land `$ Chopin, Tokyo, Japan, p. 163. Special thanks also to Mrs Mio Kobayashi for her patient support with the Japanese translation.

⁷ Literally meaning 'regenerationist', this was an ideological current that debated notions of nationhood, and aimed to restore Spain's standing in the world, following the disastrous Cuban War expedition of 1898.

⁸ 'No existe la menor evidencia de que Granados estuviese relacionado con grupos de presión eclesiásticos ni con sus instrumentos de propaganda, a pesar de lo habitualmente afirmado por sus hagiógrafos. Del mismo modo, no existe evidencia alguna de la participación de Granados en ningún proyecto político-social, krausista, regeneracionista, nacionalista o de otro tipo; sus esporádicas participaciones en actos benéficos no parecen estar relacionadas con ningún sistema de creencias o militancia política alguna. El único interés documentable de Granados es la música y sus únicas aficiones documentables son el dibujo, las motos y el tiro.' Xoán M. Carreira (2019) 'Prologue', in Rebés, J. M. (2019) *Granados: crónica y desenlace*, Libargo, Granada, p. 8.

War and the consequent fascist/falangist/technocratic Francoist regime that subjugated the country until the mid-1970s.

In view of the interplay of histories, I set out my analysis from different angles; on the one side, I look at concepts of nation and nationhood — the essence of regeneracionismo through the social writings of the late-nineteenth-century thinker Miguel de Unamuno and the scholarship on nationalism by authors such as Eric Hobsbawm; together with these, I will explore the contemporary writings of Enrique Sacau-Ferreira and the already mentioned Carreira, which form the basis for my enquiries into the musicological constructions of Hispanidad as a direct result of the regime's propaganda. With a second strand of research, that which deals with performance, I aim to contribute ways of remedying this obligation for national identity to be superimposed onto our performances; I do so with the help of Granados's sounding example, thus placing this research alongside the rare exceptions of previous literature that make the case for the validity and worthiness of such evidence. I was also inevitably drawn towards problematising its significance; it became evident that I needed to deal with the stylistic gap between historical and contemporary performance, and only after investigating the shifts that allowed the latter. As this search advanced, the links between the cultural implications of the Francoist regime and a performance style morphing in a one-way direction became all too evident; but if the regime officially ended in 1975, its cultural legacies are felt to this day, and are hardly losing their magnetic and enduring fascination.

Beyond addressing the legacies of the regime in performance, this dissertation aims to expand on the quality of the literature that considers Granados's works within a musicological framework. It is striking, for example, that the latest monograph on Granados willingly avoids any considerations of his compositions and his influential standing as performer. When questioned by a local newspaper about the lack of 'music' in the book, author Josep Maria Rebés said that 'the offer from [Walter C.] Clark...suffices...I could not bring anything new...what was missing was a chronology and a new perspective on some events in [Granados's] life. In particular, it was proper to reconsider the reasons for a return trip [from New York City] through the war zone in the English Channel'. Rebés's monograph has been

⁹ 'Considero que l'aportació de Clark en aquesta línia és prou bona i jo no sóc un especialista en música. No podria aportar res de nou. Però tampoc és el que buscava ni el que m'ha interessat: el que mancava era una cronologia i una perspectiva nova d'alguns fets sobre la seva vida. Especialment, calia reflexionar el per què d'un viatge de tornada a través de la zona en guerra del Canal de la Mànega.' Ferrer Flamerich, A. (2019) 'Rebés: 'No em quadrava tot el que llegia sobre la mort de Granados'', in *ElNacional.cat*, 18/09/2019, Barcelona, https://bit.ly/2yh6eXx. Last accessed 02/05/2020.

widely publicised and represents a welcome addition to the literature, though it seems to me necessary to attempt to offer a better understanding of the historical musician.

I should clarify also this dissertation's overriding aim; that is, to suggest and encourage alternative performing possibilities, and in turn, to apply these to different contexts and repertoire, and test their relevance. When the evidence of 'true' period performance is witnessed, through the uncommon legacy of historical composers performing their own pieces, the consequences are unsettling and must offer serious doubts about much of what is assumed as stylistically proper. Granados's recordings are in this sense exemplary for what they *do not* show; namely, traits of an accentuated nationalistic style coupled with the literal approaches that place the score as our only source of possible interpretative decisions. These parallel shifts are condensed to the extreme in a sentence by Alicia de Larrocha, to which I will return in chapter 3: warning us of the dangers of too liberal an approach, she proposed following instead 'the fine line of tasteful recreation'. ¹⁰ Even though she has long been regarded as the supreme keeper of Granados's artistic legacy, these are words that seem to place her at odds with his own performances. I will aim to trace how we got ourselves into this situation.

While chasing the evidence I needed to constrain the scope of the purely historical investigation, both due to the vastness of the subject and the need to refocus my attention onto the pianistic angles of this research. It is with this in mind that chapter 1 of this dissertation serves a dual function; as an assessment of the development of academic criticism, the current state of research, and the existing literature on Granados's legacy, while also exploring the context that will allow a better understanding of the post-Civil War performing styles. The literary review will highlight the shortcomings within modern musicological research, which seldom venture beyond biographical details — quasi-hagiographic, as Carreira might say — and fantastical descriptions of a Spain that must seemingly be located within Granados's scores. Alongside this, I will offer a brief but in-depth evaluation of the impact that cultural political propaganda had on institutionalising nationalism, informing and influencing performance practices and musical aesthetics for subsequent generations.

In chapter 2 I will trace back the historical line of events influencing performers' preferences, and how in turn these became standardised from the middle of the twentieth century onwards, using a number of audio examples by a variety of pianists. While such performance approaches work satisfyingly enough in many cases, I claim that Granados's

¹⁰ Quantrill, P. (2017) 'Rubato according to Granados', in *Pianist*, Issue 96, June/July 2017. https://www.pianistmagazine.com/news/rubato-according-to-granados/. Last accessed 22/08/2020.

Goyescas suffered an unjust and limiting treatment following these univocal narratives. It becomes my contention that Granados's notation has been interpreted to explicitly contain depictions of an idealised Spain, one that is both decades away from Granados's cultural milieu, as well as ideally suited to the controlling needs of the regime and its musical leadership. Modern and contemporary performers quite simply assumed and continue to accept as inevitable these narratives, including those who make a commendable step to place Granados's inspiration less in the boisterous sensuality of Spain's southern regions than in the aristocratic casticismo of Castile; I will demonstrate, in fact, how these two seemingly antagonistic ideals of Spain are far from conflicting. A discussion of ontological issues on the nature of the work, a debate on the values and significance of subscribing to a Historically Informed Performance approach, and the importance that we as modern performers can attribute to the performing style of the early twentieth century, will also form part of this chapter.

Granados's recorded performances take centre stage in chapter 3, where I will focus on a playing style that has all but vanished and on the significance it might hold for us a century later: is it something to be admired as a museum piece, or instead a style with which we can interact and from which it is possible to gain valuable performing information? What could we hope to uncover and learn from the sounded evidence that would allow expanding our aesthetic options, and how much of these could we transfer into today's performance? I will discuss some fundamental elements of piano performance, their evolution through the century, and stress the divergences with current performing trends found in respected performers of this repertoire. Granados's example should shed light on the wider range of possibilities that modern performers could again consider including in their playing (and I suggest immediately that this would increase variety), but especially it could dispel the *need* to incorporate the idealised Spain of the regime into performances. Once again, rejecting certain undisputed 'truths' follows a double thread: historical and stylistic.

In chapter 4 I table a discussion on the growth of the ground-breaking performance research that is expanding our understandings of what is acceptable in performance, and how these could be imagined beyond the restrictions of a score-centred approach. I discuss and challenge the practice of copying historical recorded evidence, which has been admirably adopted by researchers such as Anna Scott (on Brahms) and Sigurd Slåttebrekk (on Grieg), and finally assess my own views. In this discussion, I must stress, I wished to avoid a mere intellectual exercise, instead keeping my aim at informing practical results; in my performance

and teaching practices to begin with, and perhaps in time making way into other practitioners' horizons of possibilities.

In the last chapter of the thesis, I draw together my research, academic and practical, offering complete performances or significant passages that could lead to staged results. A discussion of my approaches is made either in writing in the chapter's body or elucidated through video recordings. Ultimately, in both my teaching and performing, I intend to stimulate students and colleagues by encouraging independent thinking: in the specific case of *Goyescas*, a thinking that should depart void of preconceived nationalistic aesthetics, which Granados's example is useful in dispelling — the composer's authority in this case becoming perhaps not the worst kind of necessary evil.

With uncharacteristic boldness I will say that this research wants to serve as encouragement not to take aesthetic choices for granted, nor to underestimate the magnetism of decades of cultural propaganda and stylistic stasis, and even suggest different performing approaches; to pianists and teachers I would like to function as a nudge to venture into different ways, insofar that they elude the aesthetic rules we have been caged in — or in which we have (un)consciously caged ourselves — over the last century of mainstream performance. If that means taking inspiration from, copying, and/or incorporating elements of 'golden age' performance styles, I ultimately see nothing wrong in that, as long as we continue to create valid, interesting, and competent performances that eradicate some of the rust set on our imaginations by the exactitude of recordings and the strictures set by generations of rulemaking gatekeepers. Empowering an artist's creativity is far from accepting that any approach will be successful and memorable; in fact, the heightened creativity of newly liberated performers should require supremely trained ears, allowing our minds to imagine potential performed solutions, and refined technical abilities, indeed honed through years of studies. Although technical abilities are certainly not in short supply in today's concert halls, it does not necessarily follow that we must remain trapped in what we have long thought to be correct, just because it has been done so for decades.

As my own post-research performances should demonstrate, I want to suggest and promote another way. This research process allowed me, forced me even, to consider a performing approach that surpasses structural fundamentalism and unreliable, or even dubious, historically informed practices, as well as the aesthetic of perfection deriving from the idealised performances found in modern recordings. I would expect a side-by-side examination of my performances of *El amor* and *Epílogo*, as recorded in 2014 (a full year before giving any thought to a doctorate on the subject) and from a live performance in early 2020, to warrant

my efforts and demonstrate the divergences in my renewed perspectives.

The legacies of recorded historical performances can and should drive us to consider expanding *what* is possible, reset our goals as performers, and shed a light on different processes that stimulate and enhance our aural creativity in the various stages from the practice room to the concert hall. I do not intend to suggest that accepting and implementing all the technical and expressive devices of early-twentieth century playing should become unquestioningly normalised. Rather, I want to claim that it might be possible to find in that style of piano playing and music making something that speaks to us and is relevant to the present, and which might be worth bearing in mind as we continue to strive towards successful, satisfying and diverse performances at the piano.

Chapter One

Issues in Research and the Problem of Nationalism

1.1 Drawbacks in existing literature and in research

Literature on Granados hardly represents an extensive or diverse bibliography, and crucially drops significantly, leaving but a few titles, when we consider those that are not in the Spanish language. To account for this, it must be stated that research on the topic has been generally patchy through the course of the last century, facing some significant drawbacks: these range from historical chance and research habits, to the extensive consequences of a devastating Civil War that abused Spain from the mid-1930s, with aesthetic consequences that last to our days. As I aim to sieve through the publications that have signified progress in the field, it will be worth keeping in mind the series of obstacles that caused insufficient development in research objectives and investigative methodologies. The first element impacting on Granados's legacy, particularly how it is perceived beyond the Spanish borders, is the composer's early death in 1916, on the torpedoed passenger ship Sussex, during the last leg from England of his return voyage from the United States. This premature and tragic event left the musical community with a sense of unfinished trajectory in his artistic output, leading musicological investigation to pay only superficial attention to Granados's multifaceted artistic production. More recently, it has also generally failed to apply cultural and aesthetic contextualisation to its studies. The original disregard for his compositional output can be attributed mainly to the absence of a sizeable symphonic production, a prerequisite for consideration within traditional criticism. 11 Suffice to say that Goyescas represented Granados's first major breakthrough in the international musical scene; it brought the composer a taste of recognition at first publication between the years 1910 and 1913, followed by their operatic staging at New York's Metropolitan in 1916. Although the latter failed to cause a stir among local critics, ¹² the original piano version was well received by contemporaries. This can be witnessed in the correspondence of renowned performers of the time showing an interest in receiving copies of

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¹¹ Clark, W. A. (2011) Enrique Granados: Poet of the Piano, Oxford University Press, p. 172.

¹² Due particularly to the weak libretto offered by Fernando Periquet Zuaznábar and to a score that the local press considered insufficiently Spanish.

the scores and assuring Granados of their intentions to include the Suite in their recital programmes.¹³

A second drawback is a consequence of the approach taken by the majority of writers and researchers within Spain's academic scene, whose ventures into the subject have remained faithful to a basic outline: variably thorough biographical readings, at times coupled with standard analyses of mainstream works. The goal, under these circumstances, continued to be that of setting out to honour the memory of a hero passed away all too soon. In short, the majority of publications have been celebratory accounts of a life, leaving little space for original, ground-breaking, or even interesting research. To counter this trend at least to some extent, there have been periodical bouts of interest, especially in conjunction with anniversary celebrations, which alas only confirm the previous statement; such was the case in 1965, when the composer's daughter Natália Granados, her husband Antoni Carreras, and Pablo Vila San-Juan founded the society Amigos de Granados¹⁴ in view of the centenary of his birth in 1967. This collaboration resulted in the publication of a commemorative book, which contained a number of original photographs and letters; although *Papeles íntimos de Granados*¹⁵ brings to us little insight, at the time it represented a first step beyond secondary sources and third party reports. ¹⁶ The years 2016 and 2017 (marking the 100th year since the death and the 150th since the birth respectively) occasioned a major anniversary celebration in the shape of an exhibition co-organised by the Museu de Lleida, in Granados's hometown, and Barcelona's Museu de la Música.¹⁷ Although the exhibition had been carefully crafted with objects of interest, linking the composer to various places visited in his lifetime — from the years of study in Paris, his return to Barcelona, to the countryside hut where he composed most of *Goyescas* — few angles revealed any significant steps forward in research. The exhibition also contextualised the composer's influences from poets, associates and fellow musicians, but never straying from the biographical. It was apparent, overall, that this retrospective was to benefit the general public; the organising team probably deciding, paraphrasing the words of Stephen Hawking's publisher, that each technical term and analytical concept would have cut ticket sales by half. Be that as it may, the state of research up to our days is still far from making waves; one glaring example of this is the lack of consideration and contextualisation of Granados's historical

¹³ Alfred Cortot, Harold Bauer and Édouard Riesler among others.

¹⁴ Friends of Granados.

¹⁵ Vila San-Juan, P. (1966) *Papeles íntimos de Granados*, Amigos de Granados, Barcelona.

¹⁶ Perandones Lozano, M. (2016) *Correspondencia epistolar de Enrique Granados (1892-1916)*, Editorial Boileau, Barcelona, p. 18.

¹⁷ *Granados, de París a Goya*, Museu de la Música, Barcelona, 21/09/2017–20/05/2018. Attended on 14/11/2017.

recordings, beyond a couple of researchers I will mention later in the chapter. As the composer's recordings are brought into the picture, it should become clear that Granados's artistic production — composition, together with performance and pedagogy — might have relevance within the wider European musical scene and deserve to be considered in the same breath as other pioneers of early recordings, from whom we have already been learning about early-twentieth-century performance practices.

A third fundamental aspect explaining the slow progress in matters of research has been the tendency of Spanish academics to focus mainly on historical repertoires. ¹⁸ Reflecting the state of research in the early 2000s, Juan José Carreras analysed the early establishment of musicological studies, pointing out that it was based on a 'mix of pitiful inferiority complex and aggressive anti-foreigner chauvinism'. Ironically, foreign-influenced views themselves became a part of mainstream musicology, while the country's exponents showed 'little interest for methodological questions and, also, for historiography itself, in its strictest sense'. 19 Carreras goes on to discuss the legacies of the founders of Spanish musical historiography: Francisco A. Barbieri, ²⁰ who focused mainly on popular theatrical production, and Felipe Pedrell,²¹ who instigated a revival of a national operatic style to rival other European traditions. Pedrell also championed the early stages of a process to 'regenerate, reform and 'popularise' religious music; firstly through 'the recovery of Spanish renaissance polyphonic repertoire by Morales, Guerrero and Victoria and its interpretation', secondly 'giving value to this repertoire through conference-concerts', and finally through his 'extraordinary musicological work'.²² Carreras concludes that, following Barbieri's and Pedrell's work, '...we start to see what will become one of the main characteristics of Spanish musicology during the 20th century, that is, its preponderant interest in religious repertoires'. 23 It is important to mention the role of

¹⁸ For more detail, please see the official website of the Sociedad Española de Musicología, which offers a useful chronology of key activities shaping the field, from the end of the nineteenth century to our days: https://www.sedem.es/es/sedem/historia.asp. Last accessed 06/03/2021.

¹⁹ '...una parte importante de la historiografia española estuvo además marcada desde sus principios por una mezcla de penoso complejo de inferioridad y chovinismo agresivo contra el extranjero... Estos rasgos negativos se reflejan igualmente en una dependencia de las síntesis extranjeras, un escaso interés por las cuestiones metodológicas e, incluso, por la propria historiografía en el sentido estricto del término.' Carreras, J. (2001) 'Hijos de Pedrell: la historiografía musical española y sus orígenes nacionalistas (1780-1980)', in *Il Saggiatore Musicale*, Vol. 8, No. 1, p. 132. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/43030378. Last accessed 02/05/2020.

²⁰ Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, 1823-1894.

²¹ Felipe Pedrell, 1841-1922.

²² '...en primer lugar, mediante la recuperación de la polifonía renacentista española de Morales, Guerrero o Victoria y sus interpretación...en Segundo lugar, con la puesta en valor de este repertorio a través de conferencias-conciertos...y finalmente, con el despliegue de su extraordinaria labor musicológica...' Perandones Lozano, M. (2016) Correspondencia epistolar de Enrique Granados (1892-1916), Editorial Boileau, Barcelona, p. 45-46.

²³ '...aparece lo que será a lo largo del siglo XX una de las características de la musicología española, su preponderante interés por los repertorios religiosos.' Carreras, J., *op. cit.*, p. 146.

Pedrell's disciple Higinio Anglés,²⁴ who came to lead the Instituto Español de Musicología (IEM)²⁵ when it was created in 1943, and who 'founded a Catholic musicological genealogy that has lasted to this day and has held great power in academic musicology.' ²⁶ The IEM survived in its original form until 1984, when a restructuring of several institutions gave rise to a new entity, the Área de Musicología de la Institución Milá y Fontanals (IMF), as part of a broader institution for the study of the humanities.²⁷ A scan of recent and current projects and publications produced by the IMF is revealing of the focus placed on Medieval and Renaissance repertoires, religious and traditional music, and critical editions of the heritage of Iberian composers.²⁸ Obviously requiring a great deal of research time to be spent in the libraries of convents and local archives, this preference tended to alienate academics not only from studies of different periods, but especially from questions of practical performance. However, an important period signifying a change in direction appears to have coincided with the work of Samuel Rubio Calzón as president of the Sociedad Española de Musicología (SEdeM) from 1978–1984;²⁹ his efforts to foster greater cooperation and to internationalise Spanish musicology yielded an influential seven-volume Historia de la Música Española (History of Spanish Music). 30 Even with this mixed picture, attitudes have been timidly changing through the work of younger researchers, opening paths into the study of different technologies and methods of research, alongside the field of performance as research.

There is, however, a further factor within musical historiography that remains to be addressed at this point; that is, the influence of nationalism from the late 1920s, when the country descended on a spiral of unrest, chaos and cultural subjugation. When historical criticism is considered as a whole, keeping in mind its research methods, aims, and subjects of study, Carreras accuses academics of inwardness, nationalistic fervour (inevitably leading to 'aggressive anti-foreigner chauvinism') and a lack of interest for 'methodological questions' and 'historiography itself'. Xoán M. Carreira offers interesting perspectives on this matter, highlighting the persistence of the marriage between conservative/cleric musicologists and a nationalistic/autarchic research attitude, throughout the duration of the twentieth century. The

²⁴ Higinio Anglés, 1888-1969.

²⁵ Spanish Institute of Musicology.

²⁶ Sacau-Ferreira, E. (2011) *Performing a Political Shift: Avant-Garde Music in Cold War Spain*, PhD Thesis, University of Oxford, p. 135, https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.543613. Last accessed 02/05/2020.

²⁷ Area of Musicology at the Milá v Fontanals Institution for Research in the Humanities.

²⁸ For more information: https://www.imf.csic.es/index.php/musicologia. Last accessed 07/03/2021.

²⁹ Spanish Society of Musicology.

³⁰ For more information on Rubio Calzón's presidency, please see: https://www.sedem.es/es/sedem/historia/Samuel-Rubio.asp. Last accessed 07/03/2021.

aims of researchers are summed up by Enrique Sacau-Ferreira: they had 'an essentialist agenda that focuse[d] on collecting, editing and preserving the legacy of Spanish music, regardless of its historical interest or quality.'³¹ After the creation of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC) in 1939,³² Carreira affirms that it 'developed as a strongly hierarchical and centralised structure...The guiding principles of research, mostly entrusted to clerics, were the same as IEM's: religious music in the age of imperial expansion, and traditional music. This translated in the development of a musicography exclusively aimed at the musical phenomenon and with no regard for what music requires of the human being in order to exist'.³³ This state of affairs can be fully understood through the words used by Franco in the decree law establishing the new body of research:

We must create a counterweight against the exaggerated and solitary specialism of our time...We must impose, finally, the order of culture and the ideas that have ruled in our glorious Movement, where the purest lessons of our universal and catholic traditions are married with the necessities of modernity.³⁴

We have started to glimpse how musicology became constrained in its methodologies by external politico-cultural forces. Eva Moreda Rodríguez joins these attitudes with the example of the priest and leading musicologist José Maria Nemesio Otaño y Eguino: 35 'Otaño felt more at ease (and more attuned with his desire to help the Francoist army win the war) conducting research in the archives than being in charge of the nitty-gritty of organising musical life on the National side, which he scornfully described as 'that fuss which is patriotic music''. 36 Together with the persisting preference for archival research, we can begin to

³¹ Sacau-Ferreira, E., op. cit., p. 94.

³² Spanish National Research Council, founded in order to 'restore the classical and Christian unity of the sciences that was destroyed in the 18th century', headed by José Maria Albareda, a founding member of Opus Dei, until his death in 1966.

³³ 'Il CSIC si è sviluppato come una struttura fortemente gerarchizzata centralizzata...Le linee direttrici delle ricerche, perlopiù affidate ad ecclesiastici, sono state le medesime dell'IEM: la musica religiosa nell'età dell'espansione imperiale, e la musica tradizionale. Ciò si è tradotto nello sviluppo di una musicografia esclusivamente attenta al fenomeno musicale ed incurante di ciò che la musica richiede all'essere umano per poter esistere.' Carreira, X. M., Della Seta, F. (1995) 'La musicologia spagnola: un'illusione autarchica?', in *Il Saggiatore musicale*, Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 115–116, Casa Editrice Leo S. Olschki s.r.l., https://www.jstor.org/stable/43030224. Last accessed 02/05/2020.

³⁴ 'Hay que crear un contrapeso frente al especialismo exagerado y solitario de nuestra época...Hay que imponer, en suma, el orden de la cultura y las ideas que han imperado en nuestro glorioso Movimiento, en la que se conjugan las lecciones más puras de la tradición universal y católica con las exigencias de la modernidad.'

³⁵ 1880-1956, musicologist, composer, and director of the Madrid Conservatoire from 1940-1951.

³⁶ Moreda Rodríguez, E. (2017) *Music Criticism and Music Critics in Early Françoist Spain*, Oxford University Press, p. 77.

highlight the influences of politico/cultural events on future aesthetics, which problematise the wide-ranging issue of nationalism during the Francoist regime. I will return to this in greater detail later in the chapter.

1.2 Modern literature

It is essential to start off reinforcing how Granados's studies have been grounded, throughout most of the last century, largely on biographical accounts and analyses of a few works. This style is first found in Henri Collet's Albéniz et Granados.³⁷ An enthusiast of Iberian culture and music, evidenced in many titles from his compositional output, Collet writes with a flowery prose inclined to oversimplification. He framed Goyescas as a set of pieces that show 'refined aristocracy but impregnated by the popular soul', in a narrative that would influence many future descriptions of the Suite. 38 More importantly, Collet frames Granados (and Albéniz) as a composer 'which the theoreticians of an impeccable and insensitive construction and architecture will laugh about';³⁹ this was Collet's way to oppose instinctive (Latin) musicians against 'serious, self-indulgent, proud and vain' (Germanic) ones, casting the former as 'nonchalant and almost hedonistic'. In one crucial stroke, he placed France firmly as a 'cultural Mecca' that offered 'the support and encouragement of French musicians, who have instilled a sense of national pride in their Spanish counterparts'. ⁴⁰ Attributing to Spanish composers the need of French support — validation, even — 'through the use of the 'noble savage' trope, Collet sends Spain to the margins of European civilisation and casts Spanish culture as subaltern'.41

An early effort to present Granados outside a biographical context through his historical recordings came from Lionel Salter in the *Pianola Journal*.⁴² Salter's major preoccupation in this six-page contribution seemed to be spotting departures from the printed score, not without passing some sharp critiques. Magnanimously, he praised Granados for his playing in *El fandango de candil*, which 'stands out as the finest and most rewarding of all the composer's recordings (besides remaining faithful to the score).' This evidently biased outlook imposes a late-twentieth-century aesthetic on Granados's performances, in hindsight pitting them against

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³⁷ Collet, H. (1926) Albéniz et Granados, Librairie Félix Alcán, Paris.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

³⁹ Llano, S. (2012) Whose Spain?: Negotiating Spanish Music in Paris, 1908-1929, Oxford University Press, p. 30–31.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁴² Salter, L. (1998) 'Granados as Pianist', in *The Pianola Journal*, No. 10, 1998, p. 54–60.

a wealth of performing principles and trends accumulated throughout the century. Salter offered his readers a final warning: 'it is noteworthy that even [Alicia de] Larrocha only occasionally adopts his emendations and generally adheres to the printed texts. This merely confirms the principle that copying another person's interpretations, even a composer's, is ultimately always unsatisfactory.' It remains somewhat unclear to me what might the connection be between de Larrocha's adherence to the text, rather than adopting Granados's variations/deviations from the printed score, and the possibility of finding satisfactory results in copying, or taking inspiration from, another's interpretation. Presumably, Salter alludes to the fact that a performance in our days should not be based around principles and tastes pertaining to a different age. But if this is the case, his insistence on faithful readings of the score betrays the author's bias in his judgement of Granados's performances, one made with his modern ears and preconceptions. Although it is fair to laud the author's effort to discuss these recordings, the article acts as a powerful deterrent to further enquiry and as a surreptitious warning to performers to resist their allure. Salter wishes to convince us that it is the printed text that offers the only performing suggestions allowed. What comes through is the classic surprise and rejection of the different musicianship of early-recorded artists, whose freedoms and spontaneous approaches, including by composer/performers towards their own scores, were undisputed features throughout most of the pre-WW2 years.

Until now I have considered the sparse attention and less than proactive attitudes by Spanish academics and the wider musicological community throughout the century since his death. In spite of this, Granados has enjoyed some popularity as the subject of an ample number of theses, particularly in the United States. The majority of these focus, unsurprisingly, on biographical elements and more often than not on *Goyescas*. But a legacy-defining example came from the hands of Douglas Riva, 43 who followed his doctoral studies with a move to Barcelona to study at the Acadèmia Marshall. 44 Eventually, Riva would become Assistant Director of the first publication of the complete piano works by Granados, collaborating with Alicia de Larrocha. 45

The publication of monographs on Granados was, until the early 1990s, geographically limited to Spain and focused on rendering homage to a national cultural figure. Only with the

⁴³ Riva, D. (1982) *The Goyescas for Piano by Enrique Granados: a Critical Edition*, Doctoral Dissertation, New York University.

⁴⁴ Founded in 1901 as Academia Granados, it passed onto the hands of pianist Frank Marshall, changing names for legal reasons.

⁴⁵ A student of Marshall, de Larrocha directed this Urtext edition to include in the score her personal advice, technical solutions, fingerings and performing suggestions. *Goyescas*, Editorial de Música Boileau, Vol. 3-4.

work of two key academics can we witness a change in the scope of research. Carol A. Hess's Enrique Granados: a Bio-Bibliography was the first major biography of the composer in English, offering an updated catalogue of works, annotated bibliography and selected discography. 46 Walter A. Clark contributed two decades later, following a monograph on the life and work of Isaac Albéniz, with his Enrique Granados: Poet of the Piano. 47 Through their academic writings, Hess and Clark introduced the subject to Anglophone audiences, giving a modern slant and substantial depth to their research. Beyond the mere biographical studies and analytical surveys of works, both authors made strides to include historical and cultural contextualisation of the artistic milieu lived by Granados, therefore opening new avenues for a new generation of academics. Hess, it is important to note, also made fundamental contributions in the re-evaluation of the life and work of Manuel de Falla, emphasising the years preceding the Civil War and of the early Franco regime; by shedding a critical light on this highly conflicted period of Spanish history, Hess generated a renewed impetus to revisit the rosy retrospectives that until recently were reported with the 'grandiloquent tone of Francoperiod rhetoric'. 48 Hess points to Falla's ambivalent stance towards the regime, while casting him opposite other figures of the time who took decisive stands — Pablo Casals and Pablo Picasso amongst the most notable. Most importantly, Hess problematises Falla's fluid allegiances, at a time when 'many Spaniards have tried to put the Civil War and the dictatorship behind them'. 49 I should clarify that while Granados was evidently free from any political influences of the type Falla would have been subjected in the 1930s, I argue that this was not the case for the aesthetics applied to performances of his scores. Hess's courageous work on such a sensitive subject has been radical.

Even with these recent critical advances in mind, only two academics, to my knowledge, have undertaken in-depth studies on Granados's recorded legacy, as an important tool to widen the scope of research. Anatole Leikin, a specialist in Romantic performance practice and piano rolls, has written a detailed article that looks at Granados's performance of his own *Danza española n.* 5.50 Leikin takes into account both the positive properties and inherent shortcomings of the reproducing piano mechanisms, discussing topical features of the

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⁴⁶ Hess, C. A. (1991) *Enrique Granados: a Bio-Bibliography*, Greenwood Press, New York.

⁴⁷ Clark, W. A. (2011) Enrique Granados: Poet of the Piano, Oxford University Press.

⁴⁸ Hess, C. A. (2008) *Sacred Passions: The Life and Music of Manuel de Falla*, Oxford University Press, p. 5. ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

⁵⁰ Leikin, A. (2002) 'Piano-roll Recordings of Enrique Granados: A Study of a Transcription of the Composer's Performance', in *Journal of Musicological Research*, Vol. 21, Nos. 1-2, p. 3–19, DOI:10.1080/01411890208574796.

performance style of the time: with detailed figures and annotated examples, he analyses hand synchronisation, tempo fluctuation, and Granados's affinity for improvisation. Leikin also discusses performers and academics that shunned this style, considering it 'faulty', 'old maid mannerisms' and even 'anathema to the modern listener'. ⁵¹ Carolina Estrada Bascuñana's dissertation focuses instead on the *Valses poéticos*, which she analyses through Granados's recordings and the contributions of his musical 'descendants', some of whom are still active in the Barcelona pedagogical scene. ⁵² With the aid of Sonic Visualiser, Estrada Bascuñana sets onto paper the precise performing characteristics and practices that might elude simple, unaided listening, once again highlighting the spontaneous divergences from the static notation of the score.

Contemporary Spanish academic studies, finally, are very much driven by the work of a more internationally minded generation of researchers. Miriam Perandones leads the way, with contributions that include the seminal publication of Granados's correspondence from the late 1800s until his death,⁵³ as well as articles dealing with the composer's experiences within the Parisian milieu during his studies and subsequent visits, and the reception and cultural contexts of the *Tonadillas en estilo antiguo*.

This literature review offers a concise but revealing scrutiny of the state of academic investigation on Granados and his legacy as composer and performer. Crucially, I set out to highlight the issues that have prevented continuous progress in this area of research throughout the twentieth century, whether due to accidental events or caused by cultural and historical factors. In order to present a fuller picture of the responses to the composer's music and the performing styles applied to it in the second half of the century, I believe it is necessary at this point to make an interdisciplinary turn into Spanish history, directing my attention to the nearly four decades of the Francoist dictatorship. Together with the thinking of Spanish intellectuals from the late nineteenth century and the revolutionary aesthetic and cultural forces active throughout the continent starting in the early 1920s, the regime effectively scarred the ideals of multiple generations of composers, musicologists and performers.

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⁵¹ Leikin mentions pianist Coenraad Valentyn Bos, who in 1949 distanced himself from his own previous style of hand dislocation, as well as the writings of Richard Hudson (Hudson, R. (1994) *Stolen Time: The History of Tempo Rubato*, Oxford University Press, New York, p. 335–336).

⁵² Estrada Bascuñana, C. (2015) Echoes of the Master: a Multi-Dimensional Mapping of Enrique Granados' Pedagogical Method and Pianistic Tradition, PhD Thesis, University of Sydney, Australia.

⁵³ Perandones Lozano, M. (2017) *Correspondencia epistolar de Enrique Granados (1892-1916*), Editorial Boileau, Barcelona.

1.3 The problem of nationalism in Goyescas

In order to adequately discuss and evaluate modern and contemporary performances of Spanish post-Romantic repertoire, and Granados's works in particular, it is impossible to avoid weighing in the concept and significance of political and cultural nationalism. The alternative would be to imagine the acts of creation and performance occurring in a bubble indifferent to historical events. The *nationalistic* label has come to be applied *tout court* to the music that stems from Spain and must hold valuable information on the construction and extensive propagation of the concept; I aim to investigate how it can be identified in performance and the processes that allowed it to creep so virulently into Granados's Goyescas. In view of this, parallel with the aims relating to performance-as-research and performance criticism, a further objective of this thesis is to highlight and assess the role that totalitarian and nationalistic attitudes played before and after the Civil War. I maintain that during this historical period the acquisition of an imaginary and over-emphasised national identity became institutionalised, inspired by a pre-existing, traditional 'local' character. A pre-existing 'cell' became popularised by foreign encouragement and expropriations, 54 becoming exacerbated by the cultural hegemony of the Francoist regime. I want to demonstrate how this hegemony had opposite results in performance than it did in compositional processes, where folklore and nationalism became less desirable. James Parakilas makes the interesting assertion that a generation of Spanish performers needed to shake off the branding of 'specialists' in the music of their country, in order to assert their names and obtain international status. He says that the cost of not doing so would have had consequences on 'how seriously they may be taken outside that specialty. Would Pablo Casals have been acclaimed for his Bach if he had been willing to play on his Spanishness as a musician?'55 At some point throughout the century the reverse was to become marketable for later generations; being regarded as a 'specialist' in 'Spanish music' was essential, for example, in order to tackle Granados's Goyescas. Rather than excellent and creative performances of the pieces, mastering the presumed Spanishness within the text became the main objective.

Perhaps we can draw theoretical lines that converged during the early 1920s in Spain; Richard Taruskin analyses the Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset's thoughts, stating

⁵⁴ Collet's words earlier in the chapter are but one example.

⁵⁵ Parakilas, J. (1998) 'How Spain Got a Soul', in Bellman, J. (ed. 1998) *The Exotic in Western Music*, Northeastern University Press, Boston, p. 163.

that '[t]he ban on pathos' was a consequence of the Great War, 56 and that there was a concerted 'effort to purge art of all those 'human, all too human' concerns that threaten to turn it into a sweaty, warty human document of only ephemeral value.' 57 Alongside this pan-Western-Music movement, the same period saw in Spain a need for national archetypes to be emphatically applied to the musical score: a trill was no longer just a trill, but unfailingly a representation of an Andalusian singer's heartfelt pain; a gruppetto was not just a colourful rhythmical embellishment, but the representation of castanets or the tapping of a dancer's feet on a tavern's tables. A New York Times review of a recital by Douglas Riva is significant as an example of these expectations; during the performance, we are told, 'the energy of individual phrases soon dissipated in these musical realisations of Goya's paintings. Rhythms were softened rather than strengthened by tempos that fluctuated with each phrase. The images were given a scrim of sentimentality. More deftly applied pianistic colour would have helped, as would have a more assertive and compelling vision of the score.'58 A lack of energy, softened rhythms with fluctuating tempos: if the lack of assertiveness and of a 'compelling vision' can be personal conclusions, the former bear the hallmarks of disappointed expectations of folkloric attributes.

Throughout the next section, I aim to offer practical examples allowing a first overview of the evolution in the performance practices of Granados's *Goyescas*. Starting with Granados's own recording, I present a selection of artists sitting at the keyboard before and after the watershed events of the Civil War, both Spanish and non-Spanish — not an insignificant element of the discussion, as non-Spanish performers would have felt a sense of inferiority towards such repertoire. I have chosen the Suite's most popular piece, *Quejas*, *o la maja y el ruiseñor*, which with its melodic and languorous style represents the least easily manipulated towards a folkloric style, at least on the surface. ⁵⁹ Please refer to audios 1.1.1–1.1.6, where the process towards 'nationalisation' should start to become audible. ⁶⁰

I should now enquire into the origin and nature of this widespread fundamentalist nationalism. The Suite *Goyescas* makes for an unusually clear example, because contrary to other instances in the composer's output they lack an evident and immediate intent to recall

⁵⁶ Taruskin, R. (2010) The Oxford History of Western Music: Volume 4, Oxford University Press, p. 475.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁵⁸ Rothstein, E. (1982) 'Music: Debuts in Review; Douglas Riva, Pianist, Interprets Granados', in *The New York Times*, 09/05/1982.

⁵⁹ Granados probably found inspiration for the main melodic material in the streets of Valencia.

⁶⁰ For the audio files throughout the thesis, please see Appendix A, where they are listed for each chapter following the numbering in the text. Please find them for perusal by following the link: https://www.dropbox.com/sh/vwwr96jrogpho4m/AABINGvmjbvfo6lyxj9pOg8Ra?dl=0.

and depict a folkloric setting; Granados's Spain — if we must give it a label to start a process of clarification — often resides not so much in the tabernas or streets of Andalusia, but rather in the traditional heartland of Castile. 61 As I will elucidate later in the chapter, though, this Andalusia vs. Castile distinction is not one that can easily be identified, or perhaps even sustained. It would be better to differentiate those works that are clearly folkloric (which we readily describe as Andalusian) and those that, by linking them to Castile, hold at arm's length stereotyped traditional influences. I find solace in this clarifying passage by Hess: '...in the great majority of Granados's work we do not find rasgueado, nor Phrygian modes, nor the rhythms of *jotas* and *seguidillas*, that is to say, those *Spanishised* gestures (almost exclusively Andalusian), that many expected to see in Spanish music of the time'. 62 To be sure Granados made ample use of popular dance rhythms and explicitly traditional writing in other works, which indeed require familiarity with dances, rhythms, and, if this is not too lofty a concept, Spanish atmospheres; nevertheless, the only instance of such a sharp intention in Goyescas is found in El fandango de candil. The dance-rhythm suggested in the title is found in the persistent and unifying triplet rhythm, which serves both as accompaniment and filling material, 'a movement with no line',63 as well as generator of much of the melodic material throughout the piece; in this instance, all traits that *clearly* recall techniques on the guitar (rasgueo and punteo). Parakilas defines such material, speaking about a bolero by Méhul: '...in its mixture of energy and stasis, this music conveys the Spanish dancer's unmistakable...combination of self-possessed bearing with passionate movement.'64 Even in such circumstances, where popular inspiration is desired and space for rhythmical elasticity is limited, modern performances have undergone a remarkable stasis in creativity. Or to put it another way, they suffered from a *disinterest* in anything that might interfere with the piece's more explicit folkloric traits. Please listen to audios 1.2.1–1.2.4, which go a long way in exemplifying the priorities for modern performers and the ways in which the dance-rhythm has evolved from subtle evocation of the fandango (as in Granados's performance) to purely folkloric material to be highlighted as such. The recordings' dates (from Granados's in ca. 1912, to de Larrocha's in 1976, Torres-Pardo's reissue in 2015 and Zabaleta's in 2016) are

⁶¹ Clark, W. A. (2011) Enrique Granados: Poet of the Piano, Oxford University Press, p. 174.

⁶² 'En suma, en la mayor parte de la obra de Granados no encontramos *rasgueado*, ni el modo frigio, ni los ritmos de *jotas* y *seguidillas*, es decir, aquellos gestos *españolistas* (casi exclusivamente *andalucistas*) que muchos esperaban ver en la música española de la época.' Hess, C. H. (2005) 'Enric Granados y el contexto pedrelliano', in *Recerca Musicológica XIV-XV*, 2004-2005, p. 52.

 ⁶³ Parakilas, J. (1998) 'How Spain Got a Soul', in Bellman, J. (ed. 1998) *The Exotic in Western Music*,
 Northeastern University Press, Boston, p. 144.
 ⁶⁴ *Ibid*.

good indicators of the direction travelled towards a standardised approach in the piece's opening page. 65

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⁶⁵ Beyond Granados, the artists for this example, with a brief biographical note, are:

Alicia de Larrocha: a pupil of Frank Marshall, himself a student of Granados, who succeeded her teacher as director of the Academia Granados-Marshall in Barcelona.

Rosa Torres-Pardo: a student of Joaquín Soriano, who will be mentioned later, at the Real Conservatorio de Madrid. A precise recording date has been impossible to verify, as the Deutsche Grammophon disc only specifies a reissue date. The master, from what I have been able to gather, dates from a live performance at the now discontinued summer festival in Robles de Laciana (León – Spain), between 1998 and 2014. Torres-Pardo's recording of *El fandango* admittedly shows some differences in approach to most of the others offered here; for example, a slower speed, and a more languorous treatment of some passages can be heard. These factors would make it worth further discussion at greater length. At this time, though, I am strictly concerned with the piece's characteristic and ubiquitous rhythmic cell.

Marta Zabaleta: a pupil of de Larrocha, put forward by the late mentor as the successor for the directorship of the Academia Granados-Marshall.

3 El Fandango de Candil

Escena cantada y bailada lentamente y con ritmo.

Scène chantée et dansée lentement arec beaucoup de rythme.



Extract from El fandango de candil, bars 1–13.66

⁶⁶ Granados, E. (1991) Goyescas: Los majos enamorados, Union Musical Ediciones, S.L., Madrid.

In light of what should be apparent already from these extracts, the debate should obviously be centred around a post-Civil War *nationalistic approach* to performance. Only by considering seriously the events that took place during the four decades of this conflict and ensuing dictatorship could we hope to grasp more fully the aesthetics that have driven performers to realise their interpretations of *Goyescas*.

1.4 Orientalism and Hispanidad

Following Taruskin's support for Stravinsky's argument that 'questions of musical performance are 'of an ethical, rather than of an [a]esthetic order', 67 it would seem defiant to detach these folkloric tendencies in music from the political environment that supported their rise. I concur with Taruskin's position that art is not 'politically neutral', and that it cannot be 'easily detached from politics'. 68 Having at hand the evidence of Granados's own performing style, I must investigate the agencies that opened this wedge, allowing and encouraging such models to become accepted and expected, particularly amongst Spanish performers — the self-proclaimed and self-labelled 'specialists' of the repertoire. While I would not wish to blindly accuse all modern performances of any piece by Granados of succumbing to 'wholesale nationalism', it is undeniable that this trend occurred as a consequence of social constructs much after Granados's death. This represents a National style after the fact.

The music of Spain has for centuries, whether in popular or Western Art Music styles, drawn much of its inspiration from traditions arriving from the Arabic world, for historical, cultural and simply geographical reasons. Although the Arabs were definitively expelled from Spain in 1492,⁶⁹ as long-time colonisers their legacy endured in the country's customs. In particular the *Oriental* sound-world remained a part of Spain's imagination, entering musical mainstream through popular and folkloric traditions. We can define *Orientalism* in this context as a colonial construct, a borrowing if not an acquisition, in order to find a direction that is lacking within; 'as if a national soul were the compensation offered to the powerless'. ⁷⁰ Taruskin speaks of *Orientalism* within Russian music, defining it as follows: '[t]he East as a sign or metaphor, as imaginary geography, as historical fiction, as the reduced and totalized

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⁶⁷ Taruskin, R. (2010) *The Oxford History of Western Music: Volume 4*, Oxford University Press, p. 477.

⁶⁹ '...Granada, the last stronghold of the Moors in Spain and, with its Alhambra, the place that most strikingly symbolized Spain's Moorish past – symbolized, that is, a Spain not European in origin and not Christian in religion.' Parakilas, J. (1998) 'How Spain Got a Soul', in Bellman, J. (ed. 1998) *The Exotic in Western Music*, Northeastern University Press, Boston, p. 145.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 137–138.

other against which we construct our (no less reduced and totalized) sense of ourselves.'⁷¹ Spanish and Russian *Orientalisms*, although differing in the means of arrival of the 'East' (as post-colonial hangover or as willing acquisition), under this definition share, nonetheless, many similarities. I will allow myself to swap nationalities, Russian with Spanish, when Taruskin says that '[w]ithout a collective folkloristic or oriental mask he is 'faceless'',⁷² commenting on Tchaikovsky's perceived lack or 'Russianness'; the same could have held true about many Spanish composers who took a pass at 'collective' folklore.

The Spanish musical actors needed to find a voice, a viable national style capable of contending with the dominating French, German and Italian traditions; in this search, a reliance on a style that was well-accepted in other countries (especially France), led to artistic surrender and fell prey to easily marketable genres and styles. Granados himself gives a brief hint at his preoccupation with establishing his music, alongside that of Spain, on par with that of the continent: in a letter from September 3, 1910, he declares that his *Goyescas* 'are works of much colour and, so they say, of great hope for our cause abroad.'⁷³ In general, the main sources from which to draw inspiration were to be the popular hits of the late nineteenth century, recalling North African and Arabian sound worlds. Miriam Perandones Lozano calls it *flamenquismo*, with the aid of Felipe Pedrell's criticism of its being mono-dimensional: '[b]y *flamenquismo* [Pedrell] means a superficial treatment of the popular song without looking for the 'expression of the national instinct', with permanent reference to the Andalusian as the only Spanish expression.'⁷⁴

The unifying element of the political and musical strands of this area of my research is that of *Hispanidad*, 75 to which I will return often as it permeated the construction of a Spanish

⁷¹ Taruskin, R. (1997) *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays*, Princeton University Press, p. 153.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁷³ Perandones Lozano, M. (2016) *Correspondencia epistolar de Enrique Granados (1892-1916)*, Editorial Boileau, Barcelona, p. 338.

⁷⁴ 'Por flamenquismo entiende un tratamiento superficial del canto popular sin buscar la "expresión del instinto nacional", con permanente referencia a lo andaluz como única expresión española.' Translations are my own, unless otherwise stated. Perandones Lozano, M. (2016) '¿Granados no es un gran maestro? Análisis del discurso historiográfico sobre el compositor y el canon nacionalista español', in *Diagonal: An Ibero-American Music Review*, Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 52, http://escholarship.org/uc/item/6f42h4h1. Last accessed 02/05/2020.

⁷⁵ I use the term *Hispanidad* not only as the overall inclusion of Spanish-speaking peoples and cultures, but also in the meaning that can be assumed in the writings of Núñez Seixas, X. M. (2006), *Fuera el invasor!: nacionalismos y movilización bélica durante la guerra civil española* (1936-1939), Marcial Pons Historia, Madrid. He points to Franco propagandist Manuel García Morente, who aimed to make of the Caudillo a savior fighting the 'invisible army' of the Communists, and which had strong catholic veins to spread the values of the regime. It is therefore intended to signify an accentuation of the local, the folkloric, the conservative, immortalised in the Consejo de la Hispanidad (Council of Hispanidad), created by the regime in 1940.

identity throughout the centuries and through the years of the regime. Given the importance of this concept, it is worth quoting Moreda Rodríguez at length:

...Hispanidad was a timeless concept existing well before Spain materialized as a political unity; the inhabitants of Roman Hispania...fiercely resist[ed] the Romans, which marked, in García Morente's opinion, the first crucial moment in the history of Spain. The second and third such moments were the war against the Muslims during the Middle Ages and the building of the Spanish Empire, throughout which Hispanidad, after having accomplished the task of unifying Spain, further extended its potential by expanding to the exterior and ensuring Spain's political, religious, and moral leadership. The nation was, again, fulfilling its destiny and putting itself in the forefront of the world because Franco, in defeating communism, had demonstrated that national values such as Hispanidad should prevail over 'transnational' ideologies.⁷⁶

This political objective, popular in its time as it is in ours, was mirrored in the musical sphere with a return to local folklore; used within propaganda as the ideal carrier of 'the essential authentic wisdom of a language community or *nation*',⁷⁷ it played into the hands of the well-known refrain calling for 'a national reawakening'.⁷⁸

1.5 Nation, nationhood, casticismo

In order to understand the link between *Hispanidad* and the shifts towards a more folklore-flavoured style in performance, I want to dig deeper into the background of the former. 'Nations do not make states and nationalisms but the other way around' is a maxim by Eric Hobsbawm in the early pages of his *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*.⁷⁹ He refers often, and not casually, to the Dictionary of the Spanish Academy, ⁸⁰ where in 1925 the entry for nation '...is described as 'the collectivity of persons who have the same ethnic origin and, in general, speak the same language and possess a common tradition''. ⁸¹ As will be evidenced shortly,

⁷⁶ Moreda Rodríguez, E. (2017) *Music Criticism and Music Critics in Early Françoist Spain*, Oxford University Press, p. 35.

⁷⁷ Taruskin, R. (2010) *The Oxford History of Western Music: Volume 3*, Oxford University Press, p. 122.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 746.

⁷⁹ Hobsbawm, E. J. (1990) *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge University Press, p. 10.

⁸⁰ Diccionario de la Real Academia Española.

⁸¹ Hobsbawm, E. J., op. cit., p. 15.

Hobsbawm points at a characteristic that gave Spain a unique lead in the European context; Castile in the nineteenth century 'was one of the earliest European kingdoms to which it is not totally unrealistic to attach the label 'nation-state''. 82 The idea of nation-state was at first constructed around the concept of 'historical nation'. 83 Following the work of Richard Böckh in the second half of the nineteenth century, the focus shifted instead to language as a more adequate indicator of nationality.⁸⁴ There was also 'a sharp shift to the political right of nation and flag, for which the term 'nationalism' was actually invented in the last decade(s) of the nineteenth century'. 85 Spain, then, appears to have been the epicentre of a particularly relevant historical juncture, as the glory of Castilian imperialism came to an end following the Spanish-American War of 1898.86 The key question for Spanish intellectuals became that of how the country should regain a relevant place amongst the nations of Europe. Miguel de Unamuno was one such influential figure who wished to address and rebuild the moral and cultural directions of the nation;⁸⁷ the argument in his writings was that Castilian had to be the unifying trait of a 'race' that included under its umbrella all the former imperial colonies. In his seminal five essays En torno al casticismo, 88 published in 1895, Unamuno goes to great lengths to incite the need to maintain an 'eternal tradition', 89 based around the element of purity. Casticismo, deriving from casta (breed), is defined by Unamuno in crude terms as the purity assigned to animal species; he would say that 'a dog is of 'good *casta*'' when it is 'pure and without mixes from foreign elements.' He then widens the definition to humans, affirming that '[t]o say in Spain that a writer is *castizo*, it is to understand that one believes him to be more Spanish than others'. 90 Spain's past imperialistic 'plundering' 91 and its Christianisation of lands are criticised by Unamuno, although more for the betrayal of Christianity's message than for the widely perpetrated violence towards indigenous populations. Javier Krauel gives a lucid summary of Unamuno's arguments questioning the path to be adopted in the future; for Krauel, Unamuno arrives at 'providing an exceedingly simple answer to these questions: the key to

⁸² Hobsbawm, E. J., op. cit., p. 16.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁸⁶ The loss of Cuba, Puerto Rico and other colonies at the hands of the United States was known as the 'disaster of '98'.

⁸⁷ Miguel de Unamuno:1864-1936.

⁸⁸ Around Casticism.

⁸⁹ La tradición eterna, the title of the first essay.

⁹⁰ 'De este modo castizo viene a ser puro y sin mezcla de elemento extraño.' 'Decir en España que un escritor es castizo, es dar a entender que se le cree más español que a otros.' De Unamuno, M. (2007) *Obras completas, VIII: Ensayos*, Biblioteca Castro, Fundación José Antonio De Castro, Madrid, p. 65.

⁹¹ Saquear.

Spain's paralysis lies in 'nuestro núcleo castizo' [our *castizo*, or pure, core], which for Unamuno is the product of the physical conditions found in Castile (its central geographical location in the Iberian Peninsula, its climate, and its landscape).'92

In En torno, Unamuno thoroughly reveals his ideas for cultivating Spain's nationhood, especially by sounding alarm bells on the 'Europeanisation' of Spain; he argues that a real Spanish nation will ensue only from a 'need of being Spanish', following freely an ardent desire (querer) that supplants resignation (resignarse) to being Spanish. 93 If Unamuno can be understood as an intellectual in search for a uniquely national charisma, it is easy to take his words to be the forebears of future tragedies, as well as contemporary debates, at least insofar that his preaching for a national/nationalistic centralisation gave rise to the creation of other Spanish peoples; others who by definition could not fit the Castile-centred model. His nationalism is nostalgically attached to the native land and to the historic nation, and unquestionably and powerfully catholic in approach. The other as foe comes into focus in an essay from a decade later, La crisis actual del patriotismo español, 94 where he laments that Catalans, together with the Basques and Galicians, represent anti-Castilianism, and are therefore profoundly averse 'to the Castilian spirit and its manifestations. This is the truth, and it is necessary to be told. As far as the rest, this aversion is, whatever one might say, mutual.⁹⁵ In his view, then, Castile should undertake the role of leader of the various Spanish regions, for the immense cultural, artistic and political traditions that it produced. Keeping in mind that he considers as Castilians also the Aragonese and the Andalusians, he lays the blame on non-Castilians for neglecting to make their voices heard towards the creation of a national unity.⁹⁶ Nationhood is to be gained, in Unamuno's view, through the unifying language of Castile,

⁹² Krauel, J. (2013) *Imperial Emotions: Cultural Responses to Myths of Empire in Fin-de-Siècle Spain*, Liverpool University Press, p. 85.

⁹³ 'Desde hace algún tiempo se ha precipitado la europeización de España' 'Se podrá decir que hay verdadera patria española cuando sea libertad en nosotros la necesidad de ser españoles, cuando todos lo seamos por querer serlo, queriéndolo porque lo seamos. *Querer* ser algo no es *resignarse* a serlo tan sólo.' De Unamuno, M. (2007) *Obras completas, VIII: Ensayos*, Biblioteca Castro, Fundación José Antonio De Castro, Madrid, p. 68–94.

⁹⁴ The Current Crisis of Spanish Patriotism, 1905.

 ^{95 &#}x27;En el fondo del catalanismo, de lo que en mi país vasco se llama bizkaitarrismo, y del regionalismo gallego, no hay sino anticastellanismo, una profunda aversión al espíritu castellano y a sus manifestaciones. Esta es la verdad, y es menester decirla. Por lo demás, la aversión es, dígase lo que se quiera, mutua.' De Unamuno, M. (2007) *Obras Completas, VIII: Ensayos*, Biblioteca Castro, Fundación José Antonio De Castro, Madrid, p. 837.
 96 'Castilla ha sido durante siglos, y sobre todo desde los Reyes Católicos, el eje histórico de la nacionalidad española; Castilla ha impreso su sello a las letras, a las artes, a la filosofía, a la pseudo-religión, a la política española. Aunque todos hayan podido participar legalmente de la gobernación del Estado, todo se ha hecho a la castellana – y *entiéndase de ahora para en adelante que llamo castellanos a aragoneses y andaluces* –, y por culpa principalmente de los no castellanos, que, presos de otras preocupaciones, descuidaban la de hacerse sentir en la marcha política y en la cultural.' De Unamuno, M. (2007) *Obras completas, VIII: Ensayos*, Biblioteca Castro, Fundación José Antonio De Castro, Madrid, p. 837. My emphasis in the Spanish extract.

which he calls 'the blood of my spirit'. 97 With this explanation we can better understand the core meaning of *Hispanidad* discussed earlier, which reaches far beyond the *primus inter pares* status of Castile, leading to cultural and societal shifts that gave rise to the future of the nation as we know it today. We should understand the presence within Spain of a *true* fatherland, opposed to various destabilising *others*. 98

Unamuno's writings gained a towering presence in the intellectual debate, perhaps because they allowed, following backtracks and changes of mind, ambivalent interpretations through the years; his ideas were taken hostage by both the political right and left, as each side could find some principles justifying their partisan and cultural agendas. 99 Appalling as some of his stances may seem, Krauel warns not to immediately suppose that Unamuno's writings 'foreshadowed or prepared Francoist imperial propaganda in any way', as this would mean 'impos[ing] on the works of Unamuno...an ideology (Fascism) that was simply not available at the turn of the century'. 100 Towards the end of his life, Unamuno pronounced the edict that would trigger his removal from the post of dean of the University of Salamanca and sentence him to house arrest by order of Franco: after hearing the cry 'death to intellectuals', shouted at a celebration for the Día de la Raza, 101 he lambasted 'you will win, but you will not convince'. 102 If proto-Fascism might not be the correct label to apply to his writings and thoughts, although it eerily anticipates future 'imperial propaganda', Unamuno's overall arguments took the familiar shape of many unsuccessful human endeavours that see pride crossing the Rubicon into hubris. Krauel concedes that 'the lingering imperial emotions were subsequently appropriated by other, more conservative intellectuals and institutions that instrumentalized them for other, more reactionary projects.' 103 These 'reactionary projects' had their beginnings in the writings of successive analysts of the early twentieth century, and became 'the object of an excessive — and by any standard, false — pride (the best example being the Francoist discourses about *Hispanidad*, the purported Spanish-speaking community

⁹⁷ La sangre del espíritu, Sonnet LXVII from Rosario de sonetos líricos.

⁹⁸ Yet, this was a position that was not unchallenged in the European landscape. Ernest Renan, in his influential 1882 lecture *What is a Nation?*, offered an opposing view that would deserve a lengthy reassessment; summing it up, Renan claims that 'one confounds the idea of race with that of the nation and attributes to ethnographic, or rather linguistic, groups a sovereignty analogous to that of actually existing people'. Renan, E. (1882) *Qu'est-ce qu'une Nation?*, Presses-Pocket, Paris, 1992, p. 1, http://ucparis.fr/files/9313/6549/9943/What is a Nation.pdf. Last accessed 25/09/2019.

⁹⁹ Krauel, J. (2013) *Imperial Emotions: Cultural Responses to Myths of Empire in Fin-de-Siècle Spain*, Liverpool University Press, p. 83.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

¹⁰¹ 'Day of the race', the annual celebration to commemorate Columbus's discovery of America on 12 October.

^{102 &#}x27;Venceréis, pero no convenceréis'.

¹⁰³ Krauel, J., op. cit., p. 179.

on both sides of the Atlantic). Needless to say, the moral consequences of the national identities forged by imperial pride are nothing short of disastrous.' The Civil War would do the rest; with Franco's goal to 'hold the centre' by 'repressing regional languages and cultures', 105 it is little wonder that Castile (by which, with Unamuno's thinking, we should conflate also Aragón and Andalucía) came to dominate the proud aesthetics of the country, forgoing the 'resignation' of being Spanish, and instead rekindling the 'desire' of being Spanish. National pride resided in being more Spanish than *others*.

1.6 Construction of *Hispanidad* in musical criticism

This awakening of *Hispanidad* can be evidenced in the music criticism of the time; although it took place once Granados had long entered the history books, it managed to profoundly reshape the aesthetics applied to his music, as well as appropriating his name for non-artistic motives. It is vital to remember that it would be wrong to associate the Barcelonese-by-adoption Granados with any sort of pro-Catalanist affiliation. During his life he was well known for abstaining from any political debate. Nevertheless, or perhaps because of it, this apathy would set him to collide with independentist projects, such as the choral society Orfeó Català, whose founders imprinted with traits of chauvinistic separatism. 106 Granados wrote, in a letter to an unknown recipient: '[t]hey want to give a catalanist political colour to the Orfeó, and with that I cannot agree. I believe that art has nothing to do with politics. Perhaps because I do not understand it, nor does it interest me. And this has brought me some unpleasantness, up to the point of receiving scorn from anonymous that accuse me of writing Andalusian dances! [...] I consider myself as Catalan as the next person, but in my music I want to express what I feel, what I admire and whatever I may like, whether it be Andalusian or Chinese.' 107 If his a/political stance did little to ingratiate him with Catalan separatists, it played well into the hands of the future regime's propaganda. We should not forget that one of the Civil War's central points of conflict was the Catalan political situation. In a situation much like today's, Spain's central government found it difficult to deal with Catalunya's strong stances for self-

¹⁰⁴ Krauel, J., op. cit., p. 175–176.

¹⁰⁵ Hess, C. A. (2001) *Manuel de Falla and Modernism in Spain, 1898-1936*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, p. 210.

¹⁰⁶ Clark, W. A. (2011) Enrique Granados: Poet of the Piano, Oxford University Press, p. 74.

¹⁰⁷ Perandones Lozano, M. (2016) *Correspondencia epistolar de Enrique Granados (1892-1916*), Editorial Boileau, Barcelona, p. 17.

determination and its proud and liberal attitudes. Unamuno's words echo powerfully in this respect.

Propaganda of the time allows us to witness its reach within the artistic domain. The Gran Teatre del Liceu, ¹⁰⁸ in 1939, staged the operatic version of *Goyescas*, with one critic commenting that it 'recalled the glory days of absolutism and sentimentalized class distinctions. Its exaltation of Castile also accorded with right-wing ideology. [...] Franco's stated purpose was to cleanse the opera house itself of 'Red contamination', as a sort of operatic fumigant.'109 With the propagandist work by the regime, and two decades after the National side's victory in the Civil War, Clark states that 'the apolitical poet of the piano was no longer a bone of contention between the Left and the Right, Granados again became a unifying presence on the cultural landscape'. 110 This sentence perhaps leaves more open doors than it may seem at first; indeed it would be surprising, in my opinion, for either side to accept the composer's post-facto allegiance for the other camp. If the 'apolitical poet' had been granted the sympathies of the regime, it consequently must have meant that the Catalans had bargained the significance of his legacy. The very fact that no academic has openly questioned these matters may not necessarily mean it is accepted that Granados is seen as a 'unifying presence', by any means. Be that as it may, from the mid-50s Granados had effectively become an established figure of Spain's cultural history, even if in terms of popularity on the international stage, both Albéniz and Falla obtained the favours of performers and musicological posterity.¹¹¹

The changes in performance style I am aiming to discuss occurred *in* Granados's music, but did not necessarily come to life *because of* it. Alongside the widespread stylistic shifts taking place from the second decade of the century, it was the cultural milieu of Spain's '[t]wo decades of isolation caused by the civil war'¹¹² that promoted a degree of self-absorption and marked the musical scene to suit the regime's propaganda. Although Spain is today broadly regarded, at least from the outside, as a beacon of democracy, it is vital to remember that before and after the authoritarian regime it remained a backward nation. We should not neglect the tortuous transition into our times, with key supporters of the regime directly associated with

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¹⁰⁸ Barcelona's main opera house.

¹⁰⁹ Clark, W. A., op. cit., p. 180.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

¹¹² White, J. (1992) 'Music and the Limits of Cultural Nationalism', in Graham, H., Labanyi, J. (eds. 1992) *Spanish Cultural Studies: an Introduction*, Oxford University Press, p. 226.

¹¹³ The continuous and tumultuous changes of government, the first military dictatorship under General Miguel Primo de Rivera, attempted coups, miner strikes, and subordination of language minorities in the 1930s, which opened the path to Franco's hold on power, were the external evidence of such troubled times.

modern-day political figures, or the attitudes towards the Catalan independence issue. These are still palpably reminiscent of the old regime, as demonstrated by the 2019 trial and incarceration of elected politicians, following a contested referendum for independence. He tit was just in that backward environment until the shift to democracy that the potential for creativity and generation of new aesthetics was sparked. As Graham and Labanyi point out, '[t]he acute contradictions thrown up by Spain's belated, uneven development produced a particularly brilliant artistic, literary, and musical avant-garde. It has, in fact, been argued that the avant-garde occurred most characteristically in countries marked by uneven development, which exacerbated the experience of modernity as contradiction and crisis, rather than in the more advanced capitalist nations where modernity was less problematic. According to these arguments then, the very fact that the artistic scene before the Civil War was not on par with that of other countries made it inevitable for musical practitioners to take steps in *creating* a new Spanish tradition. If it can be said for composers exploring avant-guard techniques, a parallel can be drawn with performers born after the 1920s adopting an endemic style that would have made them unique; 'specialism' had become a commodity to advertise proudly.

As concepts of Spanishness/Hispanidad come to the fore, performers felt their influences through the work of those with the powers to shape future generations, in Madrid as in other parts of the country, regardless of one's personal political affiliations. Starting from the second decade of the twentieth century, the country's wider cultural milieu must have influenced musicians with inevitable political and social anxieties; as Spanish pianists claimed their specialism in the repertoire, and foreign pianists mostly left it aside, performance practices started to crystallise around a uniform style. It is interesting to note how tensions amongst commentators arose starting in the years before the Civil War; while in the early 1930s the Second Spanish Republic¹¹⁶ fomented 'the ethical, pedagogical, and Europeanist dimensions characterising the [government's] musical and cultural programs' through 'the 'missionary' eagerness of republican intellectuals', after Franco's takeover we find 'the exaltation of the nation, a nation identified with the Empire, religion, and hierarchy, with an idealised past and

¹¹⁴ Regardless of the 'Pacto del Olvido', the Pact of Forgetting the violent acts committed during the Civil War and subsequent dictatorship, following Franco's death in 1975. Sacau-Ferreira, E. (2011) *Performing a Political Shift: Avant-Garde Music in Cold War Spain*, PhD Thesis, University of Oxford, p. 189, https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.543613.

¹¹⁵ Graham, H., Labanyi, J. (eds. 1992) *Spanish Cultural Studies: an Introduction*, Oxford University Press, p. 14. ¹¹⁶ The Second Spanish Republic, 1931–1939, was a constitutional attempt to reform the country that bridged the failed dictatorship of General Miguel Primo de Rivera, the deposition of King Alfonso XIII, and the Civil War, with the beginning of Franco's decades in power.

utopian future'. 117 These words hardly suggest the likelihood of performance practices that reject an easily recognisable 'exaltation of the nation' achieved by folklorising Granados's output; suddenly then, political neutrality in these aesthetics can no longer be claimed. But already in 1916, the influential and polymathic Adolfo Salazar¹¹⁸ was compelled to point out, in a publication marking Granados's passing, that 'Spanishness is something inextricable from a superficial and basic Andalusianism that has had easy export and of which foreigners are not the only victims: it is a genre...whose main audience is amongst ourselves'. 119 Salazar's influence as a critic would become almost legendary throughout the 1920s and 1930s, showing favour for 'a different European modernity: through the example of French Impressionism, the lessons of The Russian Five and Stravinsky, and, to a lesser extent, towards the revolutionary contributions of Arnold Schoenberg'; Consuelo Carreano called it 'Salazar's gamble for musical modernity'. 120 His legacy continues to be relevant as it allows to witness the direction of much of Spain's musical discourse towards the avant-garde and the neo-classical style championed by Falla. 121 Both actors return at a pivotal turning point in the history of Spanish aesthetics, with a trade-off between the 'dehumanisation of the vanguard of these years', which saw the Grupo de los Ocho in Madrid 122 adopt revolutionary left-wing positions, and the validation of opposite political ideals only a few years later. The counterweight to the Grupo was found in 'Falla, [who] with its fervent Catholicism cannot be considered an influential figure for the left. In the same way, Salazar's neutrality, and the considerable distance he took from the revolutionary left in the 1930s, also mark a fracture with the development of the

^{117 &#}x27;Tras la Guerra Civil, la dimension ética, pedagógica y europeista que fue característica del programa cultural y musical de 1931, el afán 'misionero' proprio de los intelectuales republicanos, dejaron paso en los textos legales a la exaltación de la nación, una nación identificada con el Imperio, la religion, la jerarquía, con pasados ideales y futuros utópicos.' Pérez Zalduondo, G. (2006) 'Ideología y política en las instituciones musicales españolas durante la segunda república y primer franquismo', in *Quintana. Revista de Estudos do Departamento de Historia da Arte*, Vol. 5, p. 153, https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=65323971009. Last accessed 07/03/2021.

¹¹⁸ Adolfo Salazar, 1890-1958. More recognised as music critic and historian, he was also active as journalist, artistic and cultural commentator, and composer.

^{119 &#}x27;Primeramente cabe pensar que el criterio extranjero del *españolismo* es algo inseparable de un *andalucismo* chirle y ebén que ha tenido fácil éxito en la exportación y del que no son los extranjeros las únicas víctimas: es un género ese, de un españolismo italianizante cuyo más numeroso público se encuentra entre nosotros mismos'. Salazar, A. (1916) '*Goyescas* y el 'color local'', in *Revista musical hispano-americana*, 30 de abril 1916, p. 9-10. 120 ... su tendencia iba a girar hacia una modernidad europea diferente: a través de las vías del impresionismo francés, de la lección del Grupo de los Cinco rusos y de Stravinski y, aunque en menor medida, hacia los revolucionarios aportes de Arnold Schoenberg'. 'La apuesta de Salazar por la modernidad musical'. Carredano, C. (2004) 'Adolfo Salazar en España. Primeras incursions en la crítica musical: la revista musical hispano-americana', in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, Vol. 26, No. 84, p. 128, 133.

¹²¹ Falla would introduce Salazar to influential journalistic circles and facilitate his appointment at the newspaper *El Sol*, where he would become the primary musical critic from 1918 until the start of the Civil War. *Ibid.*, p. 144. ¹²² Group of the Eight, also known as Generación de la República, or Generation of the Republic.

activities of other composers of the time'. 123 From these arguments we can gather that musical conversations, and in particular Salazar's preoccupations, resided mostly with contemporary composers, the reception of their works, both at home and further afield; yet, we can deduce an aesthetic that in performance would have privileged shifts towards objectivity, precision, and adherence to the letter of the score. Shifts that suited well the advance of a regimented style favouring tightly executed rhythms, energetically delivered melodies, and less *rubato* — as will be evidenced in more detail in the next chapter. It should not be too difficult to imagine, perhaps unsurprisingly in hindsight, how the political and social environment following the dissolution of the Republic would have influenced pianists approaching the repertoire in question.

In order to offer a flavour of artistic and extra-musical influences we should look at the studies of both general historians and musical specialists dealing with more recent composers. Although it will be fairly obvious to the reader what the aims of the regime's propagandists might have been, it is less clear how these measures translated into practice in the arts. Moreda Rodríguez (2017) tells us that this was never done in Spain to the same extent as in Nazi Germany. Nevertheless, the familiar principles to be favoured during this period were 'the 're-Spanishification' and 're-Catholicization' of society.' ¹²⁴ If Spain lacked the systematic interventions of the German dictatorship, it should not necessarily be assumed that these actions were absent. I support the principle outlined by Philip Bohlman, which could ring true for Spain:

[t]he assertion that music could and does exist in a metaphysical domain separate from cultural forces such as nationalism is, undeniably, the product of European modernity. On the other hand, at a very basic, gut level there is the belief, predicated on contextual and cultural grounds, that nationalism cannot be good, or rather that it can only be bad. Music influenced by nationalism thus takes on all that is bad about nationalism and is ultimately sullied by it.¹²⁵

^{123 &#}x27;…la deshumanización propia de las vanguardias de estos años…', 'Falla, con su ferviente catolicismo, no puede ser considerado un personaje realmente influyente para la izquierda. De la misma manera, la neutralidad de Adolfo Salazar, y su considerable alejamiento de la izquierda revolucionaria en la década de 1930, también marcan una fisura respecto al desarrollo de la actividad de otros compositores del momento'. Palacios, M. (2009) '(De)construyendo la música nueva en Madrid en las décadas de 1920 y 1930', in *Revista de Musicología*, Vol. 32, No. 1, Madrid, p. 507-508.

¹²⁴ Alted, A. (1992) 'Education and Political Control', in Graham, H., Labanyi, J. (eds. 1992) *Spanish Cultural Studies: an Introduction*, Oxford University Press, p. 197.

¹²⁵ Bohlman, P. V. (2004) *The Music of European Nationalism*, World Music Series, ABC-CLIO, Inc, Santa Barbara, California, p. 19.

In discussing the propagandists' role at this time (whether political or artistic figures) we must point out that 'whilst the new regime rarely intervened in administrative affairs and was largely unconcerned with aesthetic and technical musical matters, the prevailing casticista nationalism, ¹²⁶ exemplified by the post-war composers Turina and Rodrigo, coincided — in its purist emphasis on a return to 'authentic', traditional roots — with official cultural ideology, even if it was not directly determined by it.'127 A sense of the growing casticismo during the regime years can be inferred again from Graham and Labanyi (1992); time and again they return to the overriding concept that highlights the inward state of artistic creativity, when they mention 'the anachronistic and parochial nature of intellectual debate in 1950s Spain...as the regime instrumentalized a return to cultural primitivism (Tridentine Catholicism, religiosity, Manichaeism, miracles, and mysteries) to bolster its power. 128 If we accept that music can be understood as a mirror into the past of society, some of the celebrated creations of the middle of the century are telling of the direction of Spain's cultural milieu: Julian White proposes that '[t]his regressiveness is most strikingly highlighted by the case of Joaquín Rodrigo (b. 1901), whose celebrated Concierto de Aranjuez (1938-9) — performed in Madrid at the end of the civil war amidst feelings of great nationalistic fervour — is typical'. 129 White goes on to criticise 'Carlos Suriñach (b. 1915), whose compositions such as the *Danza Andaluza* (1946) display a superficial folkloric Andalusianism which, fostered by the regime, became extremely popular at this time.' 130 Rodrigo returns time and again given his prominence as a young composer during the early years of the regime. Quoting Moreda Rodríguez: 'Rodrigo valued above all the skill of the composer in reflecting the 'fragrance', all the while adapting it to his own particular style, without using clichés; he was quite aware of the century-long popularity of Andalusian music as a marker of exoticism and Spanishness, which, he argued, put pressure on Spanish composers 'to be staunch nationalists'. 131 I can spot ambivalence between maintaining a 'fragrance' of the popular while, ideally, avoiding becoming 'staunch nationalists'. Less ambivalent propagandist rhetoric can be seen in a review of the premiere of Rodrigo's Concierto heroico for piano and orchestra by the influential journalist Víctor Ruiz

¹²⁶ Casticismo: cultural nationalism, as outlined by Unamuno.

¹²⁷ White, J. (1992) 'Music and the Limits of Cultural Nationalism', in Graham, H., Labanyi, J. (eds. 1992) *Spanish Cultural Studies: an Introduction*, Oxford University Press, p. 226.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

¹²⁹ Regino Sainz de la Maza was the guitar soloist in the premiered of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*. We will encounter him again later in the chapter.

¹³⁰ White, J., op. cit., p. 170.

¹³¹ Moreda Rodríguez, E. (2017) *Music Criticism and Music Critics in Early Françoist Spain*, Oxford University Press, p. 123.

Albéniz: 132 '[b]eing as he was in the prime of life, it was natural for this young composer [Rodrigo] to feel in himself the vibration of the impulse, of the enthusiasm, of the brave sacrifice made by the best among Spanish young men to preserve our civilization, our beliefs and our patriotic sentiment [...]. He is, has been and will always be a spiritual fighter, a fighter in heart and soul to defend Spain's greatness to liberate our country from the shame of the Marxist hordes. 133

This politicization of music can seem extreme to our eyes, or perhaps irrelevant for my purposes. Far from this being the case, it can be proved by turning the argument on its head by looking at efforts made in modern times to depoliticise a composition. Such was the case with the same Concierto heroico and the work of one of Spain's foremost contemporary pianists, Joaquín Achúcarro. In 1995, Achúcarro edited and arranged the score with the approval of the composer; this was followed, in 1996 and 1997, by a 'first' performance in Valencia and a recording for Sony of the revised score. 134 Oddly, the title had been 'changed to the more innocuous Concierto para piano [Piano Concerto] in both the edition and the recording, without any explanation whatsoever, although this is certainly not consonant with Rodrigo's habitude to name his concertos (Concierto de Aranjuez, Concierto de estío, Concierto madrigal, Concierto Andaluz) rather to refer to them by the name of the soloist instrument.'135 And further to this, 'another change was introduced that reinforced the association of the work with war: instead of the dedication to Leopoldo Querol, ¹³⁶ as in the 1946 edition, the work is here dedicated to 'Sagunto, my hometown, to whose ruins I have dedicated this concerto'. 137 These editorial moves make it difficult to avoid linking them to a premeditated cleansing of inconvenient political elements.

Concepts pertaining to the regime's propaganda come through again as the main goals of criticism in the work of Federico Sopeña Ibáñez. An art historian and musicologist, Sopeña praised the establishment in Bad Elster, Germany, of a Hispanic-German music festival in 1941

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¹³² Leopoldo Querol, to whom the work is dedicated, was the soloist on this occasion. Victor Ruiz Albéniz, also known under the pseudonyms Tebib Arrumi (Christian doctor in Arabic) and Acorde (Chord) 1885-1954.

¹³³ Ruiz Albéniz, V. (1943) 'El 'Concierto heroico', de Joaquín Rodrigo', in *La Hoja del Lunes*, Epoca Tercera Número 216, May 10,

http://prensahistorica.mcu.es/es/publicaciones/numeros por mes.cmd?idPublicacion=9023&anyo=1943. Last accessed 03/04/2018.

¹³⁴ Achúcarro, J. (1997) Rodrigo Edition Vol. 1, Sony, SK 63106.

¹³⁵ Moreda Rodríguez, E. (2013) 'Musical Commemorations in Post-Civil War Spain: Joaquín Rodrigo's *Concierto Heroico*', in Fairclough, P. (ed. 2013) *Twentieth-century Music and Politics: Essays in Memory of Neil Edmunds*, Ashgate, Farnham, Surrey, p. 188.

¹³⁶ 1899-1985. Pianist, composer and musicologist, he premiered the work throughout Spain and took part in the regime's anniversary celebrations on 1 April 1945.

¹³⁷ Moreda Rodríguez, E., op. cit., p. 188.

and 1942, commenting as follows the first edition: '[t]he fact that the most musical of nations, Germany, organizes in the middle of the war a series of concerts dedicated to Spanish music is not only a proof of vitality – it bears as well the symbol of the special unity of these nations, whose sons fight again against the universal enemy: Communism. [...] Tomorrow, our shared triumph in the trenches which protect the highest essences of both nations will result in a new artistic communion.'138



Detail of the front page of the magazine Ritmo, September 1941 (n. 148). 139

This quote matters a great deal, beyond its intrinsic meaning, when combined with the fact that Sopeña would eventually be 'called back to Spain in 1951 to head up the Real Conservatorio de Madrid [taking over from the above mentioned Otaño]. The appointment was a reward to Sopeña's commitment to renewal of the country through music criticism, bestowing on him the ultimate honour of shaping the aesthetic ideals of future musicians through the directorship of the Conservatorio in a time of political change for the country.' 140 After his appointment

¹³⁸ Moreda Rodríguez, E. (2008) 'Fascist Spain and the Axis: Politics, Race and Canon', in *British Postgraduate Musicology*, ix, http://britishpostgraduatemusicology.org/bpm9/rodriguez.html. Last accessed 01/04/2018.

¹³⁹ Text within picture reads: 'SPAIN IN BAD ELSTER – The Director of the Music Department in the Ministry of Propaganda of the Reich, Dr. Drewes, accompanied by illustrious personalities in attendance to the Hispano-Germanic music festivals, among them from left to right: Ataúlfo Argenta, Víctor Espinós, Federico Sopeña and José Cubiles.' Although not mentioned here, Sáinz de la Maza was also in attendance.

¹⁴⁰ Moreda Rodríguez, E. (2017) *Music Criticism and Music Critics in Early Françoist Spain*, Oxford University Press, p. 6. My emphasis.

Sopeña, together with Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez, strived to include music as a secondary school and university subject, and 'launch[ed] a period of cultural openness that coincide[ed] with the loosening of international condemnation of the Francoist regime'. 141 By this time though, change had already arrived at the Conservatorio, as one of 'the most chastised institutions, with eight music professors sanctioned' following the regime's purge of educational rosters. ¹⁴² Even bearing in mind the role of the Conservatorio in the highly centralised regime, the politicised use of its professorship, and the work by Sopeña and others to both control and modernise music education, it is not straightforward to make a connection with an organised plan to imprint performance aesthetics with nationalistic traits. For instance, the much-celebrated Alicia de Larrocha deserves some elaboration as a political outsider who has come to represent the pinnacle of Spanish pianistic specialism. She was alien to the standard education path that might have put her in contact with the regime's establishment, at least musicological and educational, and her teacher, Frank Marshall, 143 was persecuted by the regime, forcing him to leave Spain at the outbreak of the Civil War and returning only after combat had ceased in 1939. In an interview for the New York Times, journalist Donald Henahan asserts that '[l]ike many upper-class Spaniards who lived through the Franco years, Miss de Larrocha is reticent about discussing politics but her sympathies were clearly not on the side of her teacher's enemies'. 144 Hispanidad, folklore, virile pride and nationalism, in my opinion, entered the bloodstream of musical language so profoundly as to forge a national identity that overlooked personal political affiliations.

Other equally influential figures were invested in the advancement of *Hispanidad*: Regino Sáinz de la Maza, 'as a critic, repeatedly wrote on the action of performing as a reenactment of values of Spain's historical past and therefore a contribution to regeneration of

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¹⁴¹ Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez, 1913-2009, was Franco's appointed minister for National Education. 'Ambos nombramientos [Sopeña and Ruiz-Giménez] abren un periodo de cierto aperturismo cultural que coincide con la ruptura del cerco internacional al regimen franquista'. Moro Vallina, D. (2016) 'Nuevas aportaciones al estudio de la vida musical en Madrid durante los años cincuenta', in *Revista de Musicología*, Vol. 39, No. 2, Madrid, p. 601-602

¹⁴² Amongst them Óscar Esplá, who felt it necessary to go in exile to Belgium. '…el Conservatorio de Madrid constaba como una de las instituciones más castigada [*sic*] con un balance de ocho profesores de música sancionados'. Contreras Zubillaga, I. (2009) 'Un ejemplo del reajuste del ámbito musical bajo el franquismo: la depuración de los profesores del Conservatorio Superior de Música de Madrid', in *Revista de Musicología*, Vol. 32, No. 1, Madrid, p. 571.

¹⁴³ Frank Marshall King (1883-1959): Spanish pianist and pedagogue of English descent. A student of Granados, following the composer's death became director of the composer's academy in Barcelona.

¹⁴⁴ Henahan, D. (1976) 'They're Mad About Alicia', in *The New York Times*, 18/07/1976, p. 155. Not an insignificant year in which to talk openly about one's opposition on the regime, considering Franco had passed away a mere nine months before the interview.

the country, following Falange¹⁴⁵ conceptions of *Hispanidad*.'¹⁴⁶ A pretentious example of this style can be seen in his description, in 1939, of Falla's mythical (both in subject and expectation) work-in-progress Atlántida as 'the perennial voice of Spain'. 147 José Cubiles 148 was, together with Turina, co-director of the Comisaría General de la Música, 149 as well as a celebrated pianist — premiering Falla's Nights in the Gardens of Spain — and a prominent teacher at the Conservatorio de Madrid for over four decades. A performance of Falla's Nights in 1938 with Cubiles taking on the soloist's role 'was billed as a demonstration of 'patriotic enthusiasm and true love...toward the Movement, the soul and energy of Spain that leads Franco through the spiritual empire toward God.' 150 Among his students we can highlight names that in turn have shaped and influenced most of the contemporary conception of appropriate performances of Spanish music, thus corroborating one maestro's responsibility for 'shaping the aesthetic ideals of future musicians': Achúcarro himself, Guillermo González and Rafael Orozco being the more recognised. 151 In conclusion, many active musicians and teachers who were part of the regime's machinery controlling the musical scene found themselves bestowed with the 'ultimate honour of shaping the aesthetic ideals of future musicians', ensuring the continuation of their own performing ideals.

1.7 Contemporary criticism of post-Civil War musicology

Looking back to the long-lasting regime, Moreda Rodríguez states that '[m]usic critics did have political views; most of them felt ideologically at home under Francoism inasmuch as they identified with conservative and nationalist ideas, both politically and musically.' But we can go further in a broad investigation of the Francoist period's musical attitudes, especially with the work of Xoán M. Carreira. In a noise-creating article from over a quarter of a century

¹⁴⁵ Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista [FET y de la JONS] (Traditionalist Spanish Phalanx and of the Juntas of the National Syndicalist Offensive) was the party founded in 1933, headed by Franco from 1937, which ruled until 1975 when other party associations were constitutionally allowed. Dismantled in 1977. Both Sopeña and Sáinz de la Maza were members.

¹⁴⁶ Moreda Rodríguez, E., op. cit., p. 10.

¹⁴⁷ Hess, C. A. (2008) Sacred Passions: The Life and Music of Manuel de Falla, Oxford University Press, p. 281.

¹⁴⁸ José Cubiles, 1894-1971.

¹⁴⁹ General Commissariat for Music.

¹⁵⁰ 'Patriótico entusiasmo y verdadero amor...[al] Movimiento, alma y nervio de la España que conduce Franco por el Imperio espiritual hacia Dios'. ('Pepe Cubiles con la Orquesta Bética en el 'Falla,'' *Diario de Cádiz*, 11 May 1938, AMF press file). Hess, C. A. (2008) *Sacred Passions: The Life and Music of Manuel de Falla*, Oxford University Press, p. 229.

¹⁵¹ A musical 'ancestry' which easily encompasses, directly or indirectly, a large part of today's active Spanish musicians, of which I am also a part as a former student of Joaquín Achúcarro.

¹⁵² Moreda Rodríguez, E. (2017) *Music Criticism and Music Critics in Early Françoist Spain*, Oxford University Press, p. 3.

ago, Carreira stated at the offset that musicology conferences of the time were demonstrations of autarchic ideals in their aims to study Spanish music exclusively, so as to prove its importance within the context of western musicology, with opening and closing speeches charged with national fervour. 153 Equally persuasive in my evaluation of the shifts in musicology influenced by external factors (both historical and political) in the post-Civil War period has been the work of Enrique Sacau-Ferreira. In his doctoral thesis Performing a Political Shift: Avant-Garde Music in Cold War Spain, Sacau-Ferreira takes the lead from Carreira's position in order to clarify further the musicological shifts imposed by the regime. Especially critical to Sacau-Ferreira is the transition in the late 1950s to a government formed and guided by a new wave of youthful technocratic ministers. The overriding musical element of discussion is the 'Concert for Peace', celebrating 25 years of 'peace' from the end of the Civil War. Amongst the most revealing aspects of this concert-celebration was the performance of Cristóbal Halffter's Secuencias for orchestra: with aptly crude metaphorical allusions, 'a tutti long cluster sounds' and '[t]he conductor-cum-military-officer begins to make sense of the initial chaos'. 154 Federico Sopeña, by then former director of the Real Conservatorio de Madrid and future inspector of conservatoires, wrote the programme notes; in these, he views Halffter's piece as 'a journey from chaos to cosmos so that it becomes a metaphor for the previous twenty five years, 'conducted' by General Franco.' 155 In this instance, the 'conductorcum-military-officer' heading the Orquesta Nacional de España was Rafael Frühbeck de Burgos, indeed an ex-officer in Franco's army. Sacau-Ferreira allows a wide-ranging overview of the nation's musical milieu after the first period of Franco's dictatorship; he highlights the hunger for a national voice that would fill the chasm between its solipsistic isolation and its desire for international influence: '[n]ationalism and internationalism, hand in hand, acrobatically bridge the gap between parochialism and universalism.' 156

Sacau-Ferreira's work goes still further, though, introducing the shift that occurred in the creation of new musical works under the regime. He claims that the Spanish avant-garde succeeded in promoting music that was 'modern', 'objective' and that went 'beyond

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^{153 &#}x27;Carichi di fervore nazionalistico, i discorsi istituzionali letti nelle cerimonie protocollari d'inaugurazione o chiusura dei congressi di musicologia sono, come abbiamo visto, una dimostrazione eccellente di come la musicologia accademica spagnola sia ispirata da un ideale autarchico: lo studio esclusivo della musica spagnola, allo scopo di dimostrare la sua importanza nel contesto della musica occidentale.' Carreira, X. M. and Della Seta, F. (1995) 'La musicologia spagnola: un'illusione autarchica?', in *Il Saggiatore musicale*, Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 107, Casa Editrice Leo S. Olschki s.r.l., https://www.jstor.org/stable/43030224.

 ¹⁵⁴ Sacau-Ferreira, E. (2011) *Performing a Political Shift: Avant-Garde Music in Cold War Spain*, PhD Thesis, University of Oxford, p. 32, https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.543613.
 ¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

nationalism' to become 'truly international.' ¹⁵⁷ In her *Manuel de Falla and Modernism in Spain*, Hess gives us grounds to place the beginning of this internationalist aesthetic preference as early as 1926, while discussing the supposed 'Castilianism' of Falla's *Harpsichord Concerto*: 'representing Spain without indulging in 'regional influences' such as 'languishing' evocations of the Alhambra, held out potent implications for universalism.' ¹⁵⁸ From this time onwards it became convenient to keep a distance from folklore and align with continental trends as well as the politico/propagandist activities of subsequent years. The question that remains open, then, must be to what extent, if at all, did this attitude of the avant-garde towards internationalism, flow into the minds and conceptions of performers approaching Spanish music? Is there any evidence from performers to *avoid* a nationalistic style in their playing, as composers often cleansed their Alhambra-evoking approaches? As we will see in the next chapter, more closely dealing with audio examples, it seems implausible to suppose that such a transfer to performance was ever desired. In fact, perhaps the opposite stood true; Romantic, pre-avant-garde repertoire was the realm of 'self-complacent patriotism', ¹⁵⁹ where it continued to reign as distinctive trait of an autarchic Spain successfully marketed and exported.

1.8 Conclusion

The evidence brought forward in this chapter allows several strands of research to illuminate the shifting practices that arose after Granados's death. These started in the interwar years and became ever more forceful after the Civil War, fed by a cultural environment keen to impose *Hispanidad* as an ideal for all cultural manifestations — even if following divergent paths in different disciplines, as I have argued to be the case in composition and performance. The culmination of these cultural and political actions signified an inclination towards, and nearly exclusive existence of, a style that would persist throughout the rest of the twentieth century.

Spain's geographical position at the south-westernmost edge of the European continent coupled with the historically orientalised musical background, were the ideal context for a unique tendency towards the exotic. Brought into performance practice, these were joined by the forces of a political agenda that sought to *impose* a proudly *Hispanicised* national aesthetic, occurring within a European artistic context undergoing radical evolutions, cleansed of all that

¹⁵⁷ Sacau-Ferreira, E., *op. cit.*, p. 64.

¹⁵⁸ Hess, C. A. (2001) *Manuel de Falla and Modernism in Spain, 1898-1936*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, p. 210.

¹⁵⁹ Sacau-Ferreira, E., op. cit., p. 74.

was 'human, all too human'. ¹⁶⁰ This indoctrination was active on a wide-ranging political and propagandist level, consistently spread outward by politicised figures of musical criticism and by the systematic education of new generations of composers and performers. Bearing in mind the influence of the critics, performing artists and educators mentioned, who represent a relevant yet obviously incomplete share of the musical establishment, it is not hard to imagine the replication rates at which the styles codified during the regime settled into established practices. There can be few doubts in maintaining that younger generations would have been fervently drawn to such aesthetic results; and that, in turn, they would have been eager to hand over these exclusive, proudly *Hispanicised* traditions.

¹⁶⁰ Taruskin, R. (2010) The Oxford History of Western Music: Volume 4, Oxford University Press, p. 60.

Chapter Two

Nationalism in Performance

In the previous chapter I undertook a discussion that problematised the cultural forces reshaping Spain's cultural identity from the 1920s and during the autocratic Francoist regime. These shifts had consequences that can be identified in the amplification of elements concerning Spain's inward confidence and outward reception: Hispanidad acted as an overriding attitude directed at nation-(re)building, that on the artistic plane caused musical criticism's encouragement of artists to work towards folkloric or internationalist directions hand in hand with political needs. I have already demonstrated how in the lead up to the Civil War and through Franco's regime, criticism, performance and composition were submitted to new tensions that pushed practitioners to produce new styles of composition and consonant approaches in performance. In other words, borrowing from Taruskin's analysis of musical intuition, attitudes formed and were trained 'by long years of unconscious conditioning'. 161 I challenge this 'conditioned' national style, its resulting approaches on the keyboard and the authorities that have made it the only acceptable game in town. In this chapter I aim to explore more closely the aesthetics applied to Granados's works, bringing my focus to the performative experience, as well as the narratives surrounding it. I will present and analyse various sets of recordings, both historical and contemporary, which will help bring forward insights into the trends and preconceptions set by the 'specialists' of this repertoire.

2.1 Coloquio en la reja

I will start unravelling aesthetic and stylistic choices, starting with an example of how performance evolved throughout the twentieth century. I should also begin to include in my discussions the supranational shifts that would ultimately lead away from what is known as the 'golden age' of pianistic performance. This style, which will be studied in more detail in the next chapter, became apparent in all pianistic traditions and was characterised by the loss of a certain kind of *rubato*, of an approach aimed at of-the-moment fluency. Clearly epitomised in Granados's recordings, it was 'characterized by originality and freedom of expression that

¹⁶¹ Taruskin, R. (1984) 'The Authenticity Movement Can Become a Positivistic Purgatory, Literalistic and Dehumanizing', in *Early Music*, Vol. 12, No. 1, p. 10.

produces a feeling of improvisation', ¹⁶² while Bruce Haynes says that the '[m]odern style is the reverse: light, impersonal, mechanical, literal, correct, deliberate, consistent, metronomic, and regular'. ¹⁶³ This modern approach to performance, superimposed with a preference for folkloric and nationalistic aims, colluded in the creation of a performing style remarkably divergent from that of Granados.

Although later in the chapter I will be engaging more closely with audio examples, using graphs and detailed analyses, such characteristics can be understood with unaided listening. In Ex. 2.1 we hear an extract from *Coloquio en la reja*, at a particularly emotional stage of the Suite. Found at bars 105–116 (in the score below, from the long pause over the double bar, to the return to two-stave writing at the bottom of the page), it presents a melody of popular inspiration (a *copla*) consisting of twelve bars of original material. In the overall structure of the piece this section functions as an expressive bridge between the free-flowing opening pages and the exuberant virtuosic elements waiting in the concluding passages of the piece. In Granados's recording the *Copla* seems performed with a conception following this outline: the first eight bars (hovering around the key of Eb) are given a subdivision feel into four groups of two bars, where the first (with melodic material) pulls back the tempo, while the second of the mini group (containing mainly passing chordal material), pushes forward; from the ninth bar (113 in the score), as the harmony moves towards Bb and the melodic material is condensed into every bar, the flow is markedly pushed forward to the end of the section at bar 117.

The years of birth of the chosen performers are relevant in my comparisons: Amparo Iturbi (Ex. 2.1.2) and Nikita Magaloff (2.1.3) clearly make stylistic choices close to Granados's sound-world and approach (2.1.1); the two leading figures of the Spanish pianistic scene, Alicia de Larrocha (2.1.4) and Joaquín Achúcarro (2.1.5), born at crucial times around the mid-1920s and early 1930s, opened the way for the following generations of pianists (2.1.6–2.1.8), growing up in awe and under the spiritual wing of their achievements and legacy. The appreciation of each approach is a matter of personal taste, yet it should be apparent that elasticity and an improvisatory feel all but fade in more recent performers. For all the variations that each pianist brings to their performance, there seems to be a veiled acceptance of an *authority* setting the *status quo* for an ideal interpretation. Investigating this *status quo* requires also exploring the appearance of powerful extra-musical narratives.

¹⁶² Peres da Costa, N. (2012) *Off the Record: Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing*, p. 9, Oxford Scholarship Online: May 2012, DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195386912.001.0001.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*



Extract from Coloquio en la reja, bars 103-117. 164

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¹⁶⁴ Granados, E. (1991) Goyescas: Los majos enamorados, Union Musical Ediciones, S.L., Madrid.

2.2 Contemporary narratives

An overview of accounts of Granados's legacy and works sheds light on how these are perceived today, as well as bringing frontstage the symbolic images that artists rely on as catalysts for their interpretations. The fairly widespread *Pianist* magazine is revealing, introducing one of the narratives that arose through the course of the century. Peter Quantrill focuses on *Quejas* to discuss Granados's use of *rubato*. He describes it as '...replete with rolled chords and a Couperin-meets-Count-Basie approach to the ornamentation in the RH: a dangerous precedent to follow, perhaps, without the backing of a technique as secure as the composer's.' A categorical statement is then made: '[t]he ultimate authority is the late Alicia de Larrocha', ¹⁶⁵ followed by a significant quote from the authoritative pianist:

Granados calls for a type [of rubato] that is broader than that demanded by romantics such as Chopin – broader and often more sudden in its stopping over a point in the melodic line, almost a temporary disfiguration, a *very strongly presented instant followed by a long breath of relaxation*. ¹⁶⁶

However, Quantrill adds: 'she is careful to warn that 'a constantly free treatment of every phrase group leads to sentimentality, and this is a danger with Granados in the hands of performers lacking in musical sensitivity.' ¹⁶⁷ De Larrocha carries the authority for what is a less 'dangerous precedent to follow', one which is more in accordance with our faithful reproductions of the text.

It is important to turn to the writings of Italian pianist, musicologist and pedagogue Luca Chiantore, for more evidence on the wide-ranging influence of de Larrocha's authority. In his *Historia de la técnica pianística* Chiantore dedicates, admirably, considerable space to the Spanish pianistic tradition stemming from Granados — his teaching and recorded sound understood as integral parts of his legacy — alongside those that are normally discussed at greater lengths, such as the Russian and French. In a later article, Chiantore elucidates a key element of my current research, while making us aware of the contradictions that arise when we compare de Larrocha's with Granados's playing:

¹⁶⁵ Quantrill, P. (2017) 'Rubato according to Granados', in *Pianist*, Issue 96, June/July 2017. https://www.pianistmagazine.com/news/rubato-according-to-granados/. Last accessed 22/08/2020.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*.

When...the young Alicia de Larrocha learns to play the piano (firstly with her mother, also a student of Granados, and then with Marshall), World War 1 is already concluded, which signified the definitive fall of the romantic legacy and, by the way, took the life of Granados himself. However intense the memory left behind by Granados, within the musical world were circulating Stravinsky, Bartók, Schönberg, Berg and even the young Messiaen. It should not surprise, therefore, that when we compare the recordings of Granados with those of Alicia de Larrocha, the common traits cohabit with others clearly antithetic. And all this does not imply any 'negation' of the received legacy: Alicia herself, whom I had the immense privilege of being associated with during her last decade of life and collaborated actively in the courses organised by Musikeon in Spain, spoke with unconditional admiration of Granados, fully aware that in what she did nothing was a 'negation' of his legacy, but completely the opposite. ¹⁶⁸

Chiantore leaves the reader's curiosity suspended as far as the question that must immediately come to mind; that is, reconciling de Larrocha's sometimes 'clearly antithetic' approach with the assertion that this should be 'completely the opposite' to a 'negation' of Granados's legacy. I want to be clear; it was within de Larrocha's full right to do things in the way she did — her enormous success speaks for itself, as I take no issue with *not* playing in *the style of* Granados. I do, though, with the certainty that *the style of* de Larrocha, as 'ultimate authority', thus excluding almost completely the conceivability of any other approach. Moreover, I should add as a personal note that the lack of clarity and sincerity in some words could lead to an obfuscation of matters in order to protect one's position, rather than clarifying doubts with a respectable, but perhaps uncomfortable, truth.

That the performances of de Larrocha became a model on which to base one's own could seem to us hardly surprising, given the global influence she commanded. And yet, the

^{168 &#}x27;Cuando...la jovencísima Alicia de Larrocha aprende a tocar el piano (primero con su madre, también alumna de Granados, y luego con el proprio Marshall), ya ha concluido la Primera Guerra Mundial, que significó el definitivo derrumbe de la herencia romántica y, de paso, se llevó la vida del proprio Granados; por muy intenso que fuera el recuerdo dejado por este ultimo, en el mundo musical circulaban Stravinsky, Bartók, Schönberg, Berg e incluso el joven Messiaen. No debe extrañar, pues, si cuando comparamos las grabaciones del proprio Granados con las de Alicia de Larrocha, los rasgos en común conviven con otros claramente antitéticos. Y todo ello no implica ninguna 'negación' de la herencia recibida: la propia Alicia, a quien tuve el inmenso privilegio de frecuentar en su última década de vida y que colaboró activamente en los cursos organizados por Musikeon en España hablaba con incondicional admiración de Granados, plenamente consciente de que en lo que ella hacía nada era una 'negación' del legado de Granados, sino todo lo contrario.' Chiantore, L. (2010) ¿Una, nessuna o centomila? Apuntes históricos y reflexiones ontológicas en torno al concepto de escuela pianística, Musikeon S.L.U., Valencia, Spain, p. 19.

three decades spanning Granados's death and de Larrocha's early maturity were far from a vacuum of creativity. Goyescas certainly secured less attention from non-Spanish pianists than, say, Albéniz's *Iberia*: no record exists of the former by Alfred Cortot, and Rubinstein only recorded Quejas, while both left behind an early and significant contribution to the latter. It seems plausible that international audiences might have found, as they still do, Albéniz's scores more palatable, in line with their visions of the sounds of Spain. Early complete recordings of Goyescas come from the hands of A. Iturbi in 1950, shortly followed by the aforementioned Querol in 1953 — a year before his recording of the whole *Iberia*¹⁶⁹ — and José Falgarona in 1955; the remarkable and obscure Frieda Valenzi, recording the First Book in 1951, remains a personal favourite. 170 The influential Cubiles — influential both in the musical and political spheres — also left a recording of Quejas from 1959, alongside some pieces by Albéniz and several selections from Falla and Turina. 171 It is interesting to note how none of these pianists left much of a mark through their exceptional performances of Goyescas. Estrada Bascuñana closes in on a similar idea, when she highlights the number and quality of pianists proceeding from Spain; she points to many who, for reasons that can surely be only attributable to marketing fortunes, never quite reached a large audience. She mentions in particular Granados's prodigious student Paquita Madriguera and Rosa Sabater, who recorded both the complete *Iberia* (1967) and *Goyescas* (1974). ¹⁷² This overview focused on pianists born between the last years of the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth century: coming to maturity with a style of performance close to Granados's was no longer viable, but they nevertheless displayed a remarkable variety of approaches. It seems, therefore, all the more peculiar that de Larrocha alone, amongst these accomplished pianists that preceded her or whose performing activities unfolded in parallel, would obtain the cult status of 'ultimate authority' of this repertoire, and that she alone appears to have become a source of influence

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¹⁶⁹ Pérez Sánchez, A. (2014) '*Iberia* de Isaac Albéniz: Historia cronológica de los registros integrales', in *Revista Iberoamericana de Ciencias*, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 136.

¹⁷⁰ Iturbi, A. (1950) *Granados: Goyescas*, HMV, ALP 1320, 1956. Querol, L. (1953) *Granados: Goyescas*, Ducretet Thomson, LPG 8681. José Falgarona, 1921-2008. Falgarona, J. (1955) *Granados: Goyescas*, Pathé Vox, PL8580. Frieda Valenzi, 1910-2002. Valenzi, F. (1951) *Granados: Goyescas*, Remington, R-199-116.

¹⁷¹ This recording is located in the Sala Barbieri at the central branch of the Biblioteca Nacional de España (Spanish National Library), with catalogue number DC/3893. As of the beginning of 2021 I have not been able to hear it, as it is only available for perusal on site. Cubiles, J. (1957?, reissued 1993) *Recital de música española*, Zafiro 50000140, Madrid. Nevertheless, the internet offered an interesting testimony in the form of a programme booklet from a concert held, amongst others, by Cubiles at the Sociedad Filarmónica de Madrid (Philharmonic Society of Madrid) on March 7 1925, where he performed the first book of *Goyescas*. A copy is available at: https://recursos.march.es/web/musica/publicaciones/100/docs/100.pdf. Last accessed 07/03/2021.

¹⁷² Paquita Madriguera, 1900-1965. Rosa Sabater, 1929-1983. Sabater, R. (1974) *Obras de Enrique Granados*, Grandes pianistas españoles Vol. 1, Rtve Música, 65193. Estrada Bascuñana, C. (2015) *Echoes of the Master: a Multi-Dimensional Mapping of Enrique Granados' Pedagogical Method and Pianistic Tradition*, PhD Thesis, University of Sydney, Australia, p. vii.

for successive generations.¹⁷³ Her diminutive height and famously small hands have played into a myth of the fiercely determined and resourceful musician, intrinsically linked with the image of a grand dame of the keyboard who was attributed authoritative status by the artistic lineage that through her mother and teacher led back to Granados. These are the words of Joaquín Achúcarro, on the night of de Larrocha's last concert in Barcelona, attesting her influence:

Until Alicia's arrival, Spanish repertoire was relegated to the status of *encore* at the end of a concert, a candy after a recital. She managed to bring this repertoire into the musical greats. No one before her had the courage to play the whole *Iberia* by Albéniz. And the same happened with her complete version of Granados's *Goyescas*, giving to the world a piece that until then was considered somewhat superficially.¹⁷⁴

The author goes on to say that '[t]here they are, to underscore it, the three Grammys for her interpretations of *Iberia* and *Goyescas* as witnesses to the extent to which she has given to our heritage'. Whatever technical and stylistic background one might bring in the search for a performance of *Goyescas*, the ghost of de Larrocha looms large, causing performers to 'objectively...compare and model their own playing on...' that of her multi-prize winning records. ¹⁷⁶

While authority weighed heavily on performers, another aspect of contemporary narratives contributed to chauvinistic criticism: the marketing of the exotic from the non-Spanish world played a part in musicians aiming to preserve those identity-defining characteristics of the nation and its music. A recent performance at London's Barbican Centre is typical of this, advertising as follows de Falla's *El amor brujo* and Granados's semi-staged version of the opera *Goyescas*:

¹⁷³ Quantrill, P. (2017) 'Rubato according to Granados', in *Pianist*, Issue 96, June/July 2017. https://www.pianistmagazine.com/news/rubato-according-to-granados/. Last accessed 22/08/2020.

¹⁷⁴ 'Hasta la llegada de Alicia, el repertorio español estaba relegado a la propina al final de un concierto, un caramelito después de un recital. Ella consiguió que este repertorio entrara a formar parte de la gran música. Nadie antes había tenido el valor de hacer la *Iberia* de Albéniz íntegra. Y lo mismo ocurrió con su versión completa de *Goyescas* de Granados poniendo ante el mundo una música que se tenía como algo superficial.' Iberni, L. G. (2003) 'Alicia de Larrocha dice adiós', in *El Cultural*, 23/01/2003,

https://m.elcultural.com/revista/musica/Alicia-de-Larrocha-dice-adios/6317. Last accessed 02/05/2020.

¹⁷⁵ 'Ahí están, para subrayarlo, sus tres Grammy por sus versiones de Iberia y Goyescas que atestiguan la entidad que ha proporcionado a nuestro patrimonio.' *Ibid*.

¹⁷⁶ Peres da Costa, N. (2012) *Off the Record: Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing*, p. 8, Oxford Scholarship Online: May 2012, DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195386912.001.0001.

[t]wo works that radiate a very special Spanish sound...alongside Enrique Granados's opera that draws on his magical piano suite inspired by the paintings of Goya of the same name. Spanish singers, including a Flamenco star in the Falla, and the Spanish conductor – and BBC SO favourite – Josep Pons guarantee authenticity in an evening of fabulous melodies and thrilling rhythms from a country more often portrayed in music by foreigners.¹⁷⁷

A review of Benjamin Grosvenor's solo debut in Chicago reveals again the praise for contemporary preferences to curb those traits that were so characteristic of Granados's playing:

The recital ended with music inspired by the colo[u]rs and rhythms of Spanish folk dances. It's a real pity that Granados' Goyescas suite is so rarely played. Grosvenor selected just two fragments – Los requiebros and El fandango de candil (The fandango by candle light) [sic] – beautifully rendering the impulsiveness diffused through the music, avoiding any excessive use of rubato.¹⁷⁸

By now, I can start to sum up the two directions in which today's narratives have travelled; on the one hand towards exoticism, which pervaded audiences' preferences, and on the other, as was seen in Salter's writings, towards practitioners' distrust of a performance that might question our current ideals, if this relied on 'excessive' *rubato*, liberal readings of the score, or other features characteristic of early-twentieth-century playing.

In the previous chapter I explored how the scope of recent musicology started to open paths to update the narratives around Granados's life and work; general performance practice has instead remained closely attached to mythical stories of exoticism and folklore. An example of this continuing trend is the narrative around Granados's inspiration for *Goyescas*. Pianist Yoonie Han shares her insights into the overall perception of Spanish repertoire, evidencing its status as outcast; she celebrates de Falla's *Ritual Fire Dance* as 'one of the Spanish piano repertory's greatest hits', highlights that Granados was 'one of the very greatest of all piano composers', while lamenting: 'but how many general listeners are familiar with his

¹⁷⁷ https://www.barbican.org.uk/whats-on/2018/event/bbc-sopons-granadoss-goyescas. Last accessed

¹⁷⁸ Sava-Segal, E. (2017) 'Benjamin Grosvenor's Chicago debut: virtuosity as a vehicle for exploring artistic depths', in *Bachtrack*, 22 February 2017, https://bachtrack.com/review-benjamin-grosvenor-chicago-february-2017. My emphasis. Last accessed 02/05/2020.

masterworks? Not enough!'.¹⁷⁹ An interviewer who was enquiring about Han's motives for loving Spanish music, said: '[m]aking the most of her situation, Han soaked up the country's culture, spending her days at a local museum where she discovered the great Spanish painter Francisco Goya'. ¹⁸⁰ During another interview, Han was asked to mention her favourite repertoire; the answer is revealing, and allows to underline the fine line performers tread between relying on seductive myths and the necessarily pragmatic enticement of audiences. Han said:

I'd say Goyescas by Granados. It's inspired by Francisco Goya's paintings in Madrid, and it's Spanish nationalist composer Enrique Granados' piano masterpiece. I have fallen in love with Goyescas' distinct Spanish culture, colo[u]r, and rhythm...¹⁸¹

As a final example to illustrate contemporary narratives, we can witness a dissertation concerned with interpretative issues in *Goyescas*. Soyoung Cho advises readers that we should be '[s]earching the authentic Spanish character in a variety of ways', since '[n]umerous Spanish elements are incorporated into this work'; ¹⁸² in a sub-chapter titled 'Spanish temperament', Cho offers this advice on how best to convey the 'authentic Spanish character' of *Goyescas*, which 'in both forms [pianistic and operatic], represents the universality and international recognition that was the ultimate objective for this generation of Spanish composer [sic] — a style *based* upon the rhythms and accents of Spanish dance forms': ¹⁸³

The pianist must capture the essence of Spanish song and dance as it relates to each movement of *Goyescas*; it should be as natural to his or her performance as though he or she were a native Spaniard singing and dancing.¹⁸⁴

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¹⁷⁹ Sobel, J. (2011) 'Interview: Yoonjung 'Yoonie' Han, Winner of the Washington Piano Competition and Fulbright Concerto Competition', in *Blogcritics*, June 22, 2011, https://blogcritics.org/interview-yoonjung-yoonie-han-winner-of/. Last accessed 02/05/2020.

¹⁸⁰ Han had been stranded in Madrid without a passport for two months. Doherty, K. (2017) *Korean Virtuoso Yoonie Han Showcases Spanish Connection on New CD*, Capital Public Radio, Sacramento, CA, USA, Friday, February 17, 2017,

http://www.capradio.org/articles/2017/02/17/korean-virtuoso-yoonie-han-showcases-spanish-connection-on-new-cd/. Last accessed 02/05/2020.

¹⁸¹ Sobel, J., op. cit.

¹⁸² Cho, S. (2008) *Interpretative Issues in Performing the Piano Suite 'Goyescas' by Enrique Granados*, D. M. A. dissertation, University of Cincinnati, p. 1.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 19. My emphasis.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*.

What I want to propose is a reconsideration of the narratives informing our performances, which all too often interpret the score as a medium to convey the 'spirit' and 'energy of Spain'; but as Clark puts it, we could enjoy it also for 'a longing for colour, nuances, feeling, sensuality, genuineness and immediacy'. ¹⁸⁵ Eventually this might lead to what Perandones advocates: that is, a 're-evaluation of his figure...from contemporary parameters, which might allow to highlight the polyhedral, complex Granados, whose music is the perfect expression of his time and place, and of his intellectual, cultural and political controversies'. ¹⁸⁶ Framing it following on Julian Dodd's suggestion that '[w]e listen, not merely to gain a conduit to the work performed, but to consider the performer's take on it', ¹⁸⁷ I challenge these mono-dimensional perspectives as they might have played a heavy role in guiding most contemporary performers to conflate Granados with reduced and idealised visions of Spain.

Granados was indeed fascinated by grand aspects of Goya's depictions of his time, and showed great affinity for his paintings — Han said that they 'capture the spirit, that energy of Spain'. But we can witness a different slant in his thoughtful descriptions in a letter to pianist Joaquín Malats: 'I fell in love with the psychology of Goya, and his palette', he said, speaking with poetic abandonment of the 'ladylike' *maja* and the 'aristocratic' *majo*, 'of their brawls and flirts, the rosey white of the cheeks contrasting the lace and black velvets, with decorative fastenings.' This 'different' Spain Granados might have wished to portray in *Goyescas* was elaborated on in a Madrid newspaper:

¹⁸⁵ Clark, W. A. (2011) Enrique Granados: Poet of the Piano, Oxford University Press, p. 183.

^{186 &#}x27;Por todo ello es necesaria una reevaluación de su figura desde parámetros actuales, que permita poner en valor al Granados poliédrico, complejo, cuya música es la perfecta expresión de su tiempo y lugar, y de sus controversias intelectuales, culturales y políticas.' Perandones Lozano, M. (2016) 'Cuando Granados habla a través de la música', in codalario.com, March 24, 2016, https://www.codalario.com/enrique-granados/opinion/cuando-granados-habla-a-traves-de-la-musica-un-articulo-de-miriam-perandones 3858 32 10804 0 1 in.html. Last accessed 02/05/2020.

¹⁸⁷ Dodd, J. (2007) *Works of Music: An Essay in Ontology*, p. 141, Oxford Scholarship Online: September 2007, DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199284375.001.0001.

¹⁸⁸ Doherty, K. (2017) Korean Virtuoso Yoonie Han Showcases Spanish Connection on New CD, Capital Public Radio, Sacramento, CA, USA, Friday, February 17, 2017,

 $[\]underline{http://www.capradio.org/articles/2017/02/17/korean-virtuoso-yoonie-han-show cases-spanish-connection-on-new-cd/.}$

¹⁸⁹ Letter from Granados to J. Malats, dated December 11, 1910: 'En Goyescas he concentrado toda mi personalidad: me enamoré de la psicología de Goya y de su paleta; por lo tanto de su Maja, señora; de su Majo aristocrático: de el y de la Duquesa de Alba: de sus pendencias, de sus amores, de sus requiebros. Aquel blanco rosa de las mejillas, contrastando con las blondas y terciopelo negro, con alamares...aquellos cuerpos de cinturas cimbreantes, manos de nácar y carmín, posadas sobre azabaches, me han trastornado Joaquín.' Perandones Lozano, M. (2016) *Correspondencia epistolar de Enrique Granados (1892-1916)*, Editorial Boileau, Barcelona, p. 340.

I wrote [*Goyescas*] thinking of Spain, its soul, so different to that of other countries, filtering in those notes that movement and life which we can see in the work of the immortal Goya. The *majos* of that time! The loves of the painter! The fights, the passion, the life of the eighteenth-century!¹⁹⁰

I understand this to be a Spain of melancholy, of aristocratic and poetic inspiration, traits that when understood alongside Granados's sounded legacy mark a profound divergence with the 'spirit', 'energy' and 'dancing' of Spain as we understand them today.

What can be gathered from these narratives, finally, is the creation of a standardised performing style through superimposed cultural shifts, unfairly attributed folkloric descriptions, marketing necessities (from within Spain and without), and a staunch reliance on the legacies of a few authorities. It is not difficult to support the claim that the legacy of Granados is not valued so much on the evidence, but rather through posthumous narratives and 'antithetic' approaches of following generations who matured surrounded by the 'modern' in post-WW1 aesthetics. I would suggest that performers could not expect to gain more insights into a successful performance of *Goyescas* through the knowledge of the Spanish 'spirit', 'energy' and 'song and dance', than they might from closer knowledge and understanding of Granados's poetic depictions and his, equally poetic, performing style.

2.3 Ontology of performance. Revising 'old' approaches by returning to an 'older' performance style

At this point I want to reflect on the ontology of my aesthetic views, following from how nationalism can be heard in performances and how it can be identified and defined practically. Keeping in mind my assertion in chapter 1 that such tendencies hardly find justification in scores that are not of a distinctly nationalistic nature, my task leads me to take stock of the work done previously on the concept of *werktreue*. Which should be, in my research as in performance, the principles to abide by in order to stay true to the work/text? Or would it,

¹⁹⁰ 'El 25 de abril de 1912 Granados declaró a un diario madrileño: 'he escrito eso [Goyescas] pensando en España, en su alma, tan distinta de la de los demás países, infiltrando en sus notas aquel movimiento y vida que se ven en las obras del inmortal Goya. ¡Los majos de entonces! ¡Los amores del pintor! ¡Las luchas, la pasión, la vida del siglo XVIII! Estoy trabajando en la composición de otra segunda [parte] y que constará de tres fragmentos: *La calesa*, *El amor y la muerte*, y *Epílogo*.' Rebés, J. M. (2019) *Granados: crónica y desenlace*, Libargo, Granada, p. 144. In this newspaper fragment, Granados also says that he is working on three new pieces for a second book of Goyescas; beyond the finally published two pieces, *El amor y la muerte* and *Epílogo*, we learn of a projected opening piece titled *La calesa*, for which only five sketched bars remain documented.

instead, be more fruitful to take a path of closer alignment with the style of the historical recorded legacy? Current musicological research has started to shift its positions, distancing itself from *werktreue* preoccupations, as John Butt elucidates: 'the idea of individual, fully formed and authoritarian pieces of music...bog[s] [us] down with questions of the composer's intentions, and, what is worse, those of a most mundane and provincial kind, when in fact we can never know intentions or even 'know we know them' if we happen to find them, and, furthermore, composers are often wrong or change their minds'. ¹⁹¹ With backing from Taruskin, Butt continues: '[i]n this view [of authoritarian pieces of music], our need to gain the composer's approval 'bespeaks a failure of nerve, not to say an infantile dependency''. ¹⁹² The approach Butt criticises, held by many Historically Informed Performance (HIP) followers, leads them to 'err when they consider their practice to be 'History' when it is really one of 'Heritage', which should consequently demand imaginative — rather than objective — recreation of the past'. ¹⁹³

I ought to spend some time weighing my own views, so as to justify my approach when performing a Granados score. A crucial preoccupation for me, is to ascertain and highlight the shifts in performance aesthetics that occurred at the hands of Spanish pianists, which were exported and accepted by non-Spanish artists wishing to align themselves with the self-proclaimed authorities of the repertoire. As these shifts become apparent, I will be able to determine the ways in which they have juxtaposed a post-Civil War style onto Granados's *text*, and from there determine possible differing approaches.

The nature of my attitude for extracting a performance of works by Granados does not lie in restoring wholesale the style that characterised his pianism. Although immensely seduced by his playing, I am unwilling to accept the role of an 'authentic' musician, who in the words of Laurence Dreyfus should 'ac[t] willingly in the service of the composer'. Dreyfus was of course discussing performances of truly 'historical' composers, for whom we have no other means of ascertaining a HIP other than through secondary written sources, and few and (more often than not) contradictory primary ones. I should like to distance myself also from the somewhat overused and fantasised role of the performer as being at the 'service' of the composer and the score; in its wider sense, I have become suspicious of a musicianship that

.

¹⁹¹ Butt, J. (2002) *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance*, Cambridge University Press, p. 16.

¹⁹² *Ibid*.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁹⁴ Lawson, C., Stowell, R. (1999) *The Historical Performance of Music: An Introduction*, Cambridge University Press, p. 153.

respects the score a priori, even more so when such approaches contradict the available historical recordings. I am suspicious not because they are historically uninformed, but rather because often the score is *respected*, i.e. interpreted, with sensibilities shaped by posthumous rules. I maintain that there is a degree of insincerity in such forms of *respect*, which have often triggered fear of causing 'offence', consequently promoting a lack of originality. I feel closer with a conception that allows score and performer to become symbiotic allies to conjure something that is unique, perhaps even new to audiences. Discussing Glenn Gould's legacy, Diana Zuik and Cristina Vázquez claim that for the Canadian pianist scores were 'places of direct intervention', where a performer should not be 'content with the simple translation of his sentimental character or the respectful execution', but where 'one can work on it modifying it and intervening directly rejoicing in a new perspective'. 195 In so doing, with this Gouldian perspective, a work of music is not 'concluded by the composer, but rather it can be completed and complemented by the interpreter who takes an active role'. 196 While I support an active role on the part of the pianist in 'intervening directly, rejoicing in a new perspective', I suggest, at least for the case of my subject of enquiry, being aware of those juxtaposed styles and interpretative models that arrived as results of cultural shifts foreign to Granados; styles which, as discussed earlier, often derive from later authority and posthumous stylistic acquisitions. A look back at Granados's style does not equate to considering it the only viable option; it seems essential, though, to highlight and acknowledge the dubious intervening traditions of the last few decades, while recognising their provenance and raison d'être.

For pianists outside the Spanish tradition, as for large parts of musicology, there has been little interest in opening a debate over historical performance practices of Granados's music. My concern at the moment is not only with how performers have deviated from the standard set by himself in his music (which I am not seeking nor expect others to follow) but emphasising what Spanish practitioners have propagated. I must deal with a *Post-HIP*, before tackling HIP. I would hope to hold true Dodd's consideration to allow 'history [to] reveal as many perspectives on the past as there are individuals studying it; it should open up new possibilities rather than close down our perspectives'. ¹⁹⁷ To paraphrase Christopher Hogwood,

¹⁹⁵ '…las obras…son terreno de intervención directa por parte del intérprete el cual no se contenta con la mera adecuación a su carácter sentimental o a la ejecución respetuosa de lo escrito en pos de la "correcta" *performance* de la misma, sino que opera sobre ella modificándola e interviniéndola directamente para brindar una perspectiva nueva.' Zuik, D., Vázquez, C. (2007) *La interpretación pianística: de la tradición a la transgresión*, IUNA, Proyecto PICTO Arte 2007, Departamento de Artes Musicales y Sonoras, p. 6.

¹⁹⁶ Desde esta concepción gouldiana la obra no es necesariamente clausurada por el compositor sino que puede ser completada o complementada por el intérprete asumiendo éste un rol active'. *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ Butt, J. (2002) *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance*, Cambridge University Press, p. 17.

I would attempt firstly to 'Unfriend' *Post*-HIP and 'Like!' the questions raised by early-twentieth-century recorded legacies. ¹⁹⁸ Approaching a performance of *Goyescas* would benefit from a process of cleansing (to borrow an old HIP chestnut) the well-established traditions found in modern performances; starting out this process through a close study of Granados's playing style might not be the only way of doing so, but from a pedagogical perspective it seems the most profitable. In this aim to re-evaluate a historical legacy from a 'golden age' artist, I feel supported by Clive Brown's *Foreword* in Neal Peres da Costa's *Off the Record*, in which he notes that '[t]he importance of doing so can scarcely be doubted by any musician who cares about the great music of the past and aspires to enter more effectively into the composer's thoughts so that modern audiences may once again enjoy the spontaneity, vivacity, and immediacy of late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music making'. ¹⁹⁹

My interest with HIP differs, at least partially, from mainstream approaches, as I agree with Kivy's criticism that 'the driving force behind the historical performance movement is the desire to collapse performance into text'; 200 considering the evidence about folkloric-oriented performances of Granados's *Goyescas* that cannot be convincingly *extracted* from the text, it will follow that I must look outside conventional methods of criticism of the text in my attempts to understand the stylistic choices made by performers in the years following the composer's death. The evidence suggests that such performances *can* be extracted from the text only if we set off with a desire to highlight certain folkloric aspects, *interpreting* the score through the trope of 'soaking up the country's culture'. We can frame this argument the other way around: the desire to focus on those features was favoured in order to achieve a performance that properly showed the nationalistic flavours of the score.

My preoccupation with historicity is one that aims to bridge two histories: Granados's with our own, while bending around much of the stylistic accumulations that occurred in between. As Robert Philip puts it when discussing the outlook we might take towards historical recordings, I offer to create a performance 'which work[s] *now*', without necessarily restraining myself to a performance 'which supposedly worked for the composer'. I aim to strike a balance in a contemporary perspective without 'throw[ing] out all the old recordings and...do as we like with the music'; the risk of doing so today, while liberating and creatively interesting,

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¹⁹⁸ 'So let us, in modern speech, 'Unfriend' the Urtext and 'Like!' the Process Edition'. Hogwood, C. (2013) 'Urtext, que me veux-tu?', in *Early Music*, Vol. 41, No. 1, p. 123–127, https://doi.org/10.1093/em/cat006. Last accessed 02/05/2020.

¹⁹⁹ Peres da Costa, N. (2012) *Off the Record: Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing*, p. 5, Oxford Scholarship Online: May 2012, DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195386912.001.0001.

²⁰⁰ Lawson, C., Stowell, R. (1999) *The Historical Performance of Music: An Introduction*, Cambridge University Press, p. 157.

might lead to the continued reliance upon performing attitudes that have made nationalism an inseparable attribute of Granados's score.²⁰¹ Hogwood's approach in later life meant that he overcame worries about 'correct attribution' or 'authenticity'; he says, in the chapter *Musical Identities*, that '[a]fter a period of enthusiasm for 'cleaning the picture', I find I have now come to love the presence — or at least the implications — of the patina, the evidence of age, usage and transmission...a fuzzy logic is fine, and the music will continue to present its identity'.²⁰² For my research, 'cleaning the picture' is a fundamental preoccupation, a *sine qua non* condition in order to evaluate Granados's legacy with its integral 'patina' and 'evidence of age'. I would find it more satisfying to approach Granados's works — of the clearly nonfolklore-oriented vein — afresh, with *knowledge* of the composer's approach, rather than with the baggage added to it during the course of the century.

At the cost of implying a defeatist attitude, I shall say openly that it will be a challenging endeavour to erode such well-established traditions. The practice of folklorising Spanish music is by now encrusted in tradition and in the global imagination; it is identity-defining for Spanish performers and a *sancta sanctorum* for non-Spanish performers (and it is hard to establish for whom it would be harder to let go of this tradition) In the end, only a patient and informed maieutic approach will help to further our understanding and slowly change these assumptions.

In the *Foreword* to the *Companion to Baroque Music* Hogwood said that "tasteful' is out, 'dramatic' is in, the composer's expectations are superseded by those of the marketeers — 'Does it sell?', 'Do they applaud?"'.²⁰³ Hogwood's words were naturally not aimed at making observations about early twentieth-century music, but they nonetheless prove useful to describe the situation in established performing practices. Who could be perceived and marketed as more exotic than a Spanish pianist playing Spanish music? Why, indeed, would one want to give away, I hear Spanish pianists whisper, such a unique selling point? In a double-tied knot this specialism allows an advantage over non-Spanish pianists, for the familiarity they naturally have with the language of folklore and popular tradition, as well as making them the proselytisers of such enduring performing etiquette. As with other humanistic endeavours, then, the goal of my undertaking will be reached satisfactorily if my words will promote a renewed interest for Granados's subtle playing style and allow for original insights into the possibility of a fresh re-exploration of the *text*.

²⁰¹ Philip, R. (1992) Early Recordings and Musical Style, Cambridge University Press, p. 240. Author's emphasis.

²⁰² Walker, G., Leedham-Green, E. (eds. 2010) *Identity*, Cambridge University Press, p. 183.

²⁰³ Sadie, J. A. (ed. 1990) Companion to Baroque Music, University of California Press, Berkeley, p. xii.

In his chapter within John Rink's *Musical Performance*, Peter Walls makes the case for a severe adherence to historical accuracy; instruments should be used that match those of the time of the composer, with the performer having the role of bringing his imagination at the service of the music they perform. I find it difficult to agree with this in-out take on historicity: he criticises Taruskin's position that 'it is the free choice of every performer to adopt or reject an approach that takes account of what can be demonstrated of composer's intentions', which makes him arrive at the rather extreme claim that '[t]his is true only if we accept that it is also up to performers whether or not to play the right notes.' Walls concludes by declaring that 'performers who think they can do justice to the aesthetic presence of music while ignoring the score's historical implications deserve to be regarded not as 'differently abled', but as 'historically uninformed''. While it is impossible for me to subscribe to this lack of spectrum in artistic decision-making, Walls's position serves me well in the case for Granados; before reaching out towards a performance practice that takes into account the historical evidence, we must first overthrow the *historically uninformed* aesthetics that have allowed nationalism to take over our stylistic range of choices.

Lawson and Stowell (1999) highlight the position regarding authenticity taken by Dreyfus, for whom musicians should subjugate themselves at the service of the composer rather than their own self-interest. I can concur with Dreyfus, though, when he concludes:

the real advances in early music are not in the outward signs of historicity, such as original instruments, verifiable performing forces, or text-critical editions, but in the *revised operations in the minds of the players*, reconstructing the musical object in the here and now.²⁰⁶

My approach towards an informed performance has so far been mostly concerned with highlighting an absence. That is to say, the *absence* of 'nationalism' and 'Spanishness' in Granados's playing. The *revised operations* I suggest would hardly bring valuable insights if they were aimed at questioning which piano to use while performing his music, or at valuing the information obtained when an original instrument can be used in public — as is the case

²⁰⁴ Rink, J. (ed. 2002) *Musical Performance: a Guide to Understanding*, Cambridge University Press, p. 32. ²⁰⁵ *Ibid*

²⁰⁶ Lawson, C., Stowell, R. (1999) *The Historical Performance of Music: An Introduction*, Cambridge University Press, p. 153. My emphasis.

for some special and rare events at the Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya. 207 Nor, at the moment, am I fully focused on Granados's distinctive pianism. It is the patina of nationalistic performing traits, settled in the minds of the players, that accords me the need to investigate our contemporary approach and stylistic awareness, and which fall into the realm of what we must consider as 'informed practice'. Lawson and Stowell say: 'the supreme legacy of the development of historical music-making throughout the twentieth century must surely remain its contribution to the *enhancement of stylistic awareness* among the majority of musicians within the Western art tradition'. ²⁰⁸ Although the authors also say that musicians can hardly 'escape sufficiently the taste and judgement of their own times', in the same breath they concede that 'nevertheless, informed attempts at faithful reconstruction are worthwhile, for one's comprehension and appreciation of the music can gain inestimably from the effort'. ²⁰⁹ What matters is finding new meanings in *Goyescas*'s notes; doing so by revisiting Granados's pianistic style is, incidentally but not essentially, one way in which this might be achieved. The equally important matter of early recorded style will be dealt with separately in chapter 3; for now, my care was just devoted towards making this as clear a stylistic denouncement as possible.

In closing this argument, I would say that 'the whole challenge of period performance is in finding the perfect meeting point of heart and mind, instinct and knowledge, whilst recognising that instinct changes with habit, usage and redefinition of interpretative parameters'. ²¹⁰ In my research, I highlight the lack of *awareness* as the reason for certain performing traditions taking hold: by tackling this, I could begin to propose modifying performers' 'instinct' and, indeed, attempt to redefine 'interpretative parameters'.

2.4 Where nationalism lies

I will now delve into considerations of how nationalism was superimposed onto the music of Granados and implemented in performance, offering a number of audio examples from the first page of *Los requiebros*. In order to become acquainted with the overall approaches by different performers, and before investigating more detailed elements, such as specific durations, bar

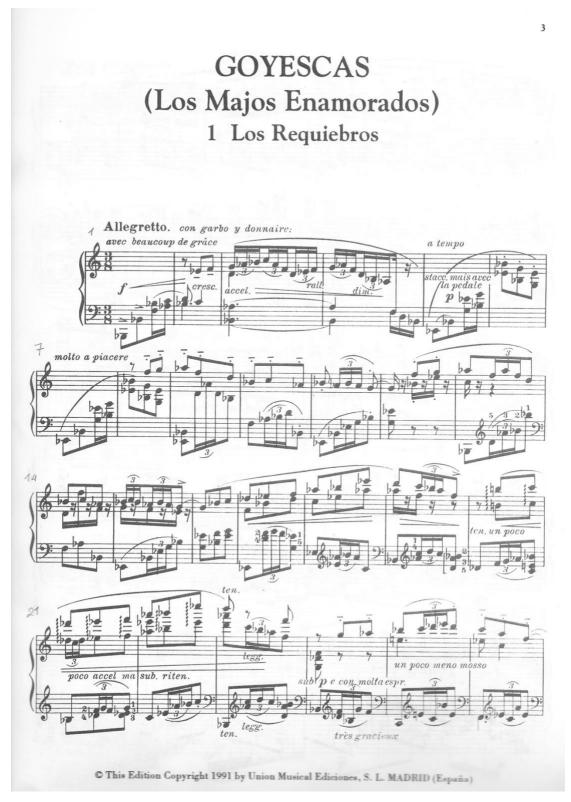
²⁰⁷ Housed in the *Sala de Llevant* (Levant Hall) is a Pleyel piano donated by the Parisian maker to Granados, following the latter's concert premiering *Goyescas* in 1911.

²⁰⁸ Lawson, C., Stowell, R. (1999) *The Historical Performance of Music: An Introduction*, Cambridge University Press, p. 160. My emphasis.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

²¹⁰ Lawson, C., Stowell, R. (1999) *The Historical Performance of Music: An Introduction*, Cambridge University Press, p. 160.

lengths and understandings of the score's directions, we should grasp with ease the sweeping changes in the first extract of the opening 23 bars (alongside the score below).



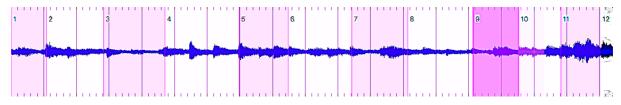
Extract from Los requiebros, bars 1-26.211

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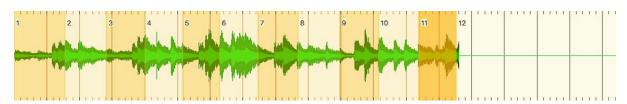
²¹¹ Granados, E. (1991) Goyescas: Los majos enamorados, Union Musical Ediciones, S.L., Madrid.

Important clues rest in the treatment of the opening quasi-cadenza and the ensuing first melodic idea. Alongside Granados's own performance (found in Ex. 2.2.1), I have included those of already familiar artists, namely Iturbi (2.2.2), Magaloff (2.2.3), de Larrocha (2.2.4) and Han (2.2.5), whose performances photograph the developments that took place in the space of a century.

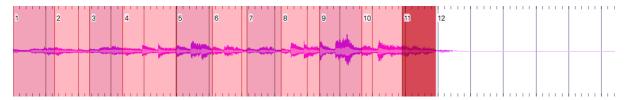
With the following examples (2.3.1–2.3.5), I will focus on traits deriving from the newly acquired aesthetics propagated from the 1920s onwards. In this sub-extract from the same passage (bars 5–16), I highlight mannerisms and customs worth discussing for their recurrence within modern performers' palette of stylistic choices. This extract can be informative, overall, of the general pace, dynamics and touch differences, which can easily be grasped with a few careful hearings. But I would draw attention to other important elements, such as the widely differing pedalling and the execution of the recurring semiquaver triplet figurations, both in the accompaniment and melodic line. With the aid of Sonic Visualiser, I have reproduced five wavelength graphs; they include the instants at which bar lines occur, highlighted by consecutive lighter and darker colours, which help in establishing visually their overall length. Furthermore, I determined the precise timings for each bar, groups of bars, and the whole passage. This handful of pianists, including Rosa Torres Pardo (b. 1960), represent an interesting and appropriate selection, embodying a wide range of pianistic traditions.



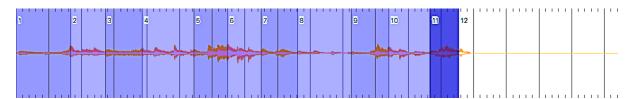
2.3.1 E. Granados – Los requiebros, extract (bars 5–16)



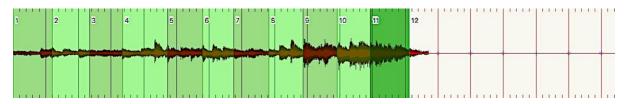
2.3.2 A. Iturbi – Los requiebros, extract (bars 5–16)



2.3.3 A. de Larrocha – Los requiebros, extract (bars 5–16)



2.3.4 Y. Han – Los requiebros, extract (bars 5–16)



2.3.5 R. Torres-Pardo – Los requiebros, extract (bars 5–16)

The first basic aspect offering wide contrast is the overall length. All performers, apart from Granados, play through these eleven bars with only slight timing differences: just under a second and a half separate Torres-Pardo's overall time of 12.11 seconds against de Larrocha's 12.91", Iturbi's and Han's 13.53". On the other hand, Granados's 18.07" signify an increase in speed ranging between 33.25% and 48.80% in modern performers. This is a substantial divergence, which could hardly indicate a mere statistical anomaly or coincidence. Further deductions can be suggested by looking closely at the graphs above. Granados delays generously the third bar of the extract (bar 5 in the score), allowing the melody in the following bar to enter as if floating and emerging from the previous accompaniment. The difference is so stark that in this bar alone Granados lingers for just under two seconds (1.89"), while Iturbi, de Larrocha, Han and Torres-Pardo clock at an astonishing 1.18", 1.02", 1.13", and 1.02" respectively. It seems that for modern performers the main concern was to observe and 'respect' the two-bar structure (bars 5-6/7-8 in the score), setting out a driving pace for the LH's accompaniment, reaching the downbeat of bar 9 with an appropriate and balanced pace. The comparison with Granados's performance becomes all the more remarkable when we take under consideration also the counterintuitive phrasing adopted by the composer, which melts the accompanying LH figuration with the melody's first ascent into bar 9. Finally, dynamic

levels also vary widely; considering the very different qualities of each recording (almost one hundred years, and huge technological developments, separate Granados's pianola recording with Han's 2011 live performance), I therefore avoided using Sonic Visualiser's spectrograph to help determine precise dynamic levels and differences. But even considering these disparities and taking into account margins of subjectivity, simple listening will be sufficient to grasp the increase in the dynamic range and lively intentions of later performers. Melodic lines are no longer exposed simply, but rather forcefully introduced, arrival points hardly shaped in a vocal style, but instead proposed as bold and folkloric declamations.

A further look at the lengths of an even shorter section within this extract also reveals interesting details; in bars 6–7 of the graphs (bars 10–11 in the score), Granados elongates the descending quavers, giving an overall sense of relaxation to the end of the phrase; this passage lasts 3.68" in his performance. Other pianists, instead, speed through this material (Iturbi taking 2.38", Han 2.14", de Larrocha 2.11", Torres-Pardo 2.0" — an increase in speed that peaks at 84%!), by rhythmicising and, as a direct consequence, folklorising the RH's triplet and the material that immediately precedes it, particularly by keeping the accompaniment lively and confidently emphasised. Within just a few bars, I have pinned down characteristic changes that occurred in the space of a few decades: that is, rhythmical elements present in the score that were originally conceived and treated melodically, sung gently, and shaped in what I perceive a carefree manner, take on a more rudimentary and mechanical approach, often treated as quick and rhythmically charged embellishments. These figurations and rhythmical elements in the text became equated with the cliché images of Spain that the world has since known: dancers' feet tapping, flamenco singing, a guitar's strumming or the clicking of castanets.

Other trends can be heard settling into practice. The instructions of the score, while not divine commandments, should at least spark curiosity as to their possible range of intended meanings; instead, it seems that these have been neglected or reinterpreted *ad hoc*, standardised and passed on by a sort of game of Chinese whispers, or by being willingly corrupted to accentuate folkloric idioms. It is remarkable, for example, that the opening direction *avec beaucoup de grâce* ²¹² seems to have completely deviated from its literal meaning. In Granados's recordings we experience it as a wish for a supple, graceful, and laid-back exposition of material, evidenced also in the *tenuto* over *staccato* signs; later performers, appear to have focused considerable energy towards making this passage an overt statement

 $^{^{212}}$ All early editions also have a further instruction in Spanish, $con\ garbo\ y\ donnaire\ [sic.]$. Possibly eliminated in modern prints due to being roughly a repetition of the French direction.

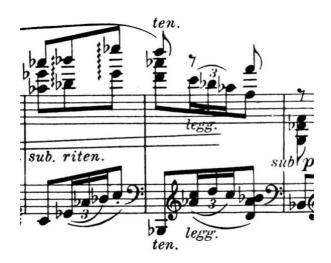
that introduces the characteristic features that are linked to folkloric rhythms and dances. The temptation to impose a *Hispanicised* flavour at the onset of the piece seems too strong to resist. 213 Continuing with the direction at bar 5, stacc. mais avec la pédale, we hear how Granados plays the accompanying rhythmic figurations smoothly, without abandoning a more pointed touch obtained by playing *staccato* while holding the sustain pedal. For the performers who made a stylistic choice to ignore this direction, or to bend its meaning to suit their intentions (after all, how much and what kind of pedal is suggested with avec la pédale?), by using multiple short pedals in each bar, or barely any significant pedal as the RH's melody enters, it is inevitable for the accompaniment to become reminiscent of a guitar-like figuration. I would even relate this to a desire for an almost harpsichord-like sonority — possibly resulting from the narrative of Granados's devotion to Domenico Scarlatti's work, which is however evidenced in Granados's recorded transcriptions of sonatas by the Italian émigré; as the RH's melody is emptied of the free vibrations of the strings, it produces a sound that is direct in rhythm and bright in touch. One final direction worthy of our attention is the *molto a piacere* in bar 7; in Granados's playing this is heard as a lingering ascent towards the RH's Ab in bar 8, followed by a calm descent towards bar 11. Granados applies the same principle to the parallel passage in bars 12–16. In the other four recordings, either such a lingering approach to the high note is eliminated (Torres-Pardo and Iturbi both accelerate towards the Ab) or the descending pattern from the top note is particularly moved forward (especially in de Larrocha and Han, who perhaps felt the need for the *rubato* to be evened out, making up for the time 'lost' on the melodic way up); invariably, the resulting impression is one that supports the rhythmical and folklore-like mannerisms that I have highlighted above.

These details, whether in the shape of misleading or misinterpreted readings of the score, or of statistical elements evidenced in the recordings, are concentrated within a small number of bars; nevertheless, they form the core of the wedge that arose between the style of the historical evidence and that of performers born from the 1920s onwards. While I am under no illusion that aesthetic change is inevitable through time — and here I am dealing with the whole timespan of recorded evidence at our disposal — I find it most remarkable that all modern performances (i.e., from de Larrocha onwards in my examples) point towards a folkloric and, I claim, *Hispanicised* interpretation of the score. So strong must the Nationalistic imprint have been that, although conceived *in* Spain, this style asserted itself in our conception

²¹³ Iturbi manages a middle-of-the-road style, whereby timings are indeed sped up, triplets more rhythmicised, accompaniments strongly flavoured by rhythmic tension, but without completely losing an overall sense of calm.

of Spain, as 'specialist' teachers and performers travelled abroad to impart their knowledge to 'foreign' pianists eager to learn the unique 'spirit' and 'energy' of Spain, to frame it in Han's words. And so powerful must have been the tribal teacher/student relationships, that even to our day it seems impossible to conceive these notes in any other, truly original, way.

Defining Nationalism practically in this context has opened many avenues of discussion, and how it reveals itself on the keyboard could sometimes be tricky to observe objectively. In support of my argument, then, I wish to present a single bar (bar 23, although the previous is also included for clarity) within the same passage used above, in examples 2.4.1–2.4.7.



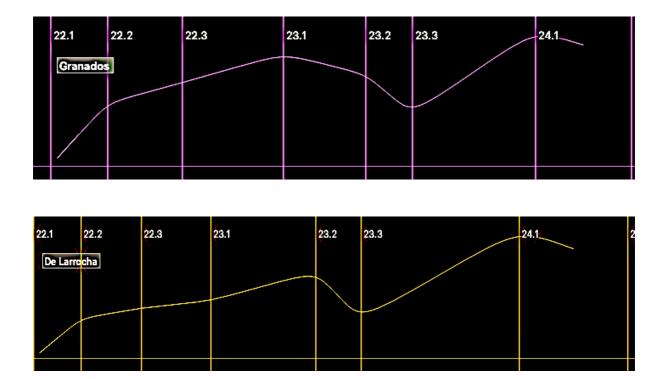
Extract from Los requiebros, bars 22-23.214

This extract is exemplary of the shift in performance practices I want to underline, which manifest themselves regularly throughout the entirety of *Goyescas*, replicated to varying degrees and in different fashions. It reveals much about a performer's intentions, and preconceptions, as well as showing clearly the homogeneous interpretation of the undeniably characteristic rhythmic formula within the theme's ascending/descending pattern (in 3/8, a quaver followed by a semiquaver triplet and another quaver). I find it hardly coincidental that performers who matured musically before the Civil War perform the passage in a particularly melodic manner — *poetic* is a useful and common description — while all others, following the climactic arrival at the Bb seventh chord of the downbeat, insert a temporal gap, making an emotional investment that protracts the first beat's quaver while charging and launching them forward into the ensuing semiquaver triplet. In this respect, de Larrocha falls at a crucial

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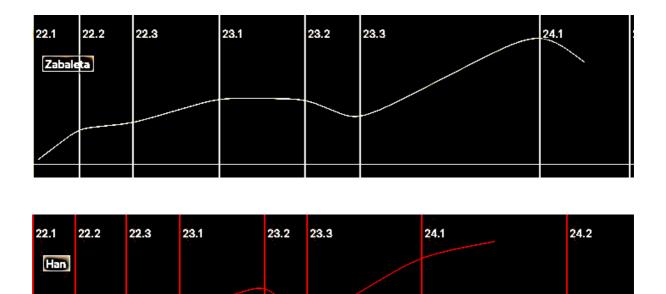
²¹⁴ Granados, E. (1991) Goyescas: Los majos enamorados, Union Musical Ediciones, S.L., Madrid.

juncture in time — she was a teenager when the Civil War began; it will be noticed how she is the performer using this climactic device to the extreme (so much so that she doubles the bass in the LH's downbeat, as many other pianists do, possibly as a nod to Granados's well-known knack for improvisation; not always with agreeable results, one could add). The dynamic levels are also generally considerably louder in more recent players, who wish to make a point of the arrival at what they consider the first emotional climax of the piece. In doing this, not only is the melodic line broken (looking at the wider passage, in several smaller climaxes), but also the general feel becomes one of overemphasised heaviness and rhythmical point-making. De Larrocha's words describing her understanding of Granados's *rubato*, which should call for a 'very strongly presented instant followed by a long breath of relaxation', ²¹⁵ are exemplified in her playing. The graphs below should help to highlight with more clarity the tendency I am describing.



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²¹⁵ See earlier quote, <u>p. 54</u>.



It should be plainly obvious both from the audio and the graphs that Granados is the only pianist for whom the climactic arrival at bar 23 holds no exaggerated importance, and for whom the triplets are an organic continuation of the phrase. This can be seen in the downward curve throughout marks 23.1 and 23.2 (bar 2, beats 1–2), which is unique to Granados's playing. His enlarging of 22.3, according with the rising shape of the melody, points towards an almost symbolically audible representation of the melodic shape, while other performers place their focus on the harmonically relevant downbeat at 23.1. The more this is prolonged, the more it requires a quick descent of the following triplets at 23.2 in order to re-establish metrical balance.

2.5 An opposite perspective

Up to this point I have submitted recorded evidence that Granados had a stylistic approach that did not place significant importance on folkloric or nationalistic elements within his scores, however evident these might seem to us; the same cannot be said for later performers, who instead, together with a typically text-based approach, seem to linger or speed up with an opposite aim. I will now analyse an example with an opposite method, in Ex. 2.5.1–2.5.4: that is, looking at a passage that clearly *should* recall folkloric elements. This should allow us to witness how and whether both Granados and others celebrate a score rich in folkloric flavour.

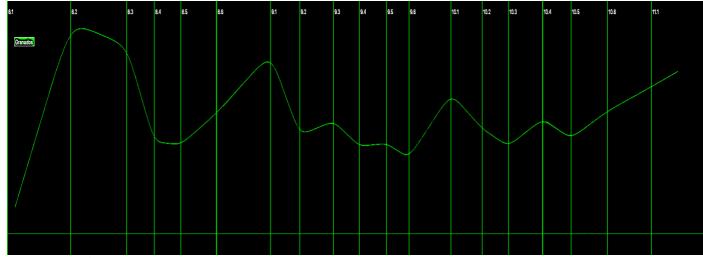
such as his *Danza española* n. 5. Widely known with the posthumous title *Andaluza*, in the style of a *playera* dance, I consider its opening page, which recalls flamenco styles such as the *punteado* (repeated) and *rasgueo* (repetitive strumming patterns) of the guitar. My attention will focus mainly on a brief passage, at bars 8–10, for which I have also provided specific graphs; in these three bars I find elements with the potential for differing approaches towards folkloric gestures.



Extract from Danza española n. 5, bars 1–15.216

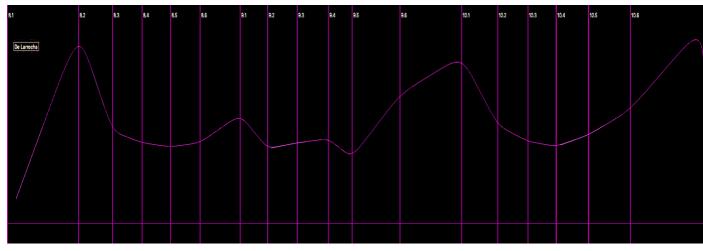
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²¹⁶ Granados, E. (1987) *Goyescas, Spanish Dances, and Other Works for Solo Piano*, Dover Publication, Mineola, U.S.A..



2.5.1 E. Granados

After hearing Granados, I can recognise throughout, in J. Barrio Jones's words, a convincingly 'unpretentious manner of...playing'. Unpretentious indeed is the furtive onset of the left-hand quavers, while the theme in the RH shows freedom and a subtly playful *rubato*, without superfluous emphasis. The obvious departures from the score represent suggestive possibilities for modern performers, although I will not comment on them at this time; ²¹⁸ I am more interested in, and charmed by, the rhythmic cell at the end of bar 9, which Granados uses as a subtle lead-in, with a carefully and delicately crafted *diminuendo*.

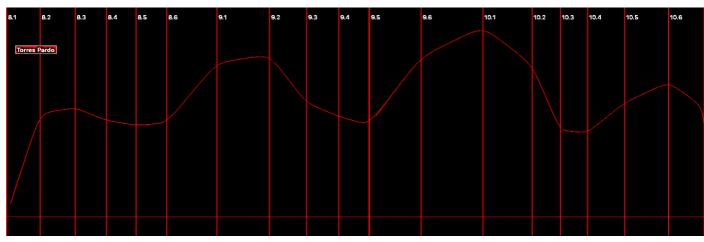


2.5.2 A. De Larrocha

²¹⁷ They are thoroughly described in: Leikin, A. (2002) 'Piano-roll Recordings of Enrique Granados: A Study of a Transcription of the Composer's Performance', in *Journal of Musicological Research*, Vol. 21, Nos. 1-2, p. 3–19, DOI:10.1080/01411890208574796.

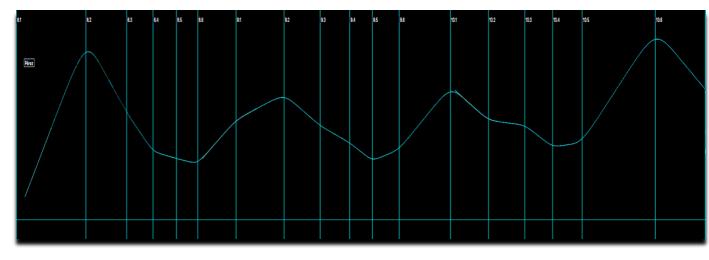
²¹⁸ *Ibid*.

De Larrocha's approach to the opening few bars is less unpretentious, stretching the rhythm considerably and making a point of the guitar-like writing. In an otherwise enjoyable continuation of the piece, we witness how the recurring LH downbeat and RH melodic upbeat figurations are more rhythmical, drier, and steadfast in approach. But bars 9–10 are worthy of closer listening, demonstrating an altogether differing approach to the rhythmic cell leading into bar 10; to my ears, this passage sounds militaristic, well-articulated and, overall, lacking any desire for subtlety. Tied to both my concern with folklore and the modern abandoning of a 'golden age' style, is the sudden metronomic and steady conception of the overall pace. The dynamic range itself creates a brilliantly delivered melody and forcefully accentuated rhythms, giving the passage an inescapably Spanish 'flavour'.



2.5.3 R. Torres Pardo

Torres Pardo creates an altogether different approach from the onset; dynamic levels are increased further, giving immediately the feeling that the music ahead is not going to be a poetic rendition, but rather a hot and steamy affair. The key point of comparison at bar 9 shows a further step reminiscent of the guitar: the RH's downbeat D (at 9.1 in the graph) is held back and extended, similarly to the F# in the last beat, requiring by default the speeding up of the demisemiquavers' rhythmic cell E-F# into bar 10. This shows at 9.5 and 9.6 in the graph, where the curve spikes and then descends markedly; the poetic shaping of the melody is supplanted here by an explosive preparation and resolution of the rhythmic cell.



2.5.4 L. F. Pérez

The last graph refers to pianist Luis Fernando Pérez, whose audio is extracted from a live performance at the 2012 *La Folle Journée de Nantes* festival, when the *Danza Española* was offered as an encore: it seems remarkable and worthy of attention, given this premise, to hear the (presumably mainly) French audience's voiced approval and satisfaction at the announcement of the piece. Besides this interesting detail, few words are necessary to describe Pérez's powerfully declamatory opening; devices evidenced earlier are also found here, such as the striking reliance on propelling the upbeats formed by the three-semiquavers pattern, leading to an enlarging of downbeats. Like Torres Pardo, Pérez drags out the RH's downbeat D at bar 9 and the last beat's F#, with the consequent quick release of the demisemiquavers into bar 10. It seems that nothing could be better (nor more satisfactory to audiences) than the emotive charge of these *exotic* devices.

Even bearing in mind how much speeds have increased in performers of the younger generation (Torres Pardo and Pérez), it is nevertheless remarkable and clearly visible in the graphs the extent to which 9.6 has become a vitally important beat. The same can be said for 10.5 and 10.6: in Torres Pardo's otherwise relatively evenly paced interpretation these beats receive substantial emphasis, although with a less forceful approach than in De Larrocha's playing. Overall, we can hear that the three modern performers peak emotionally at 10.6, while in Granados's version none of these moments acquires particular emphasis. Interestingly I think, Granados's excerpt 'lacks' powerful moments of emotional impetus — overindulging, one might say — while it can easily be understood as the most freely conducted, with an abundance of give and take; under close inspection, it proves to be the example where the fewest beats are similar in length to previous or following. The exceptions to this are only in beats 8.4 and 9.4, where very little is effectively happening in the score. With de Larrocha we

start to see a more evenly paced approach, a more sparingly adopted *rubato*, where 8.3–8.5 and 9.2–9.4 produce little tempo fluctuation. The two contemporary performers set themselves apart in that they adopt a strikingly paced approach, although investing their emotions particularly heavily at specific junctures — at 9.6 for Torres Pardo 10.6 for Pérez — and relying greatly on energetic rhythms and dynamic verve for expression.²¹⁹

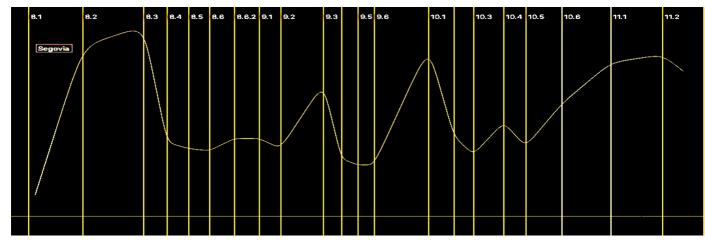
The evidence gathered up to here supports my argument that throughout the twentieth century there were two forces at work, pervading the stylistic preferences of performers: on the one hand the well-described nationalistic stylistic shifts, while on the other the no less important eradication of a tradition that welcomed rhetorical performance, a subtle conduct of rhythmic material and creation of pianistic colours. The lead-in rhythmic cell to bar 10 in the last example epitomises both these shifts.

2.6 The 'spirit' of Spain

Could I investigate through a different path the reasons behind these modifications and their hold on contemporary performers? Could I find an answer in that most Spanish of musical instruments and its traditions, the guitar? If, as I claim, artists fervently intended to portray a Spain 'true' to its folklore and traditional roots, we might find a direct line of authority in the influences of this instrument's particular idioms, techniques and sounds. A good example of this influence would be in the performance of one of the most renowned and celebrated performers of the classical guitar, Andrés Segovia. In Ex. 2.6.1 we hear an extract of the same bars from Granados's *Danza española* n. 5, in the performer's own transcription.

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²¹⁹ A brief methodological consideration might be due for these latest graphs; in order to establish the correct placement of the beat lines, I have chosen to follow the melodic (RH) line, since a great deal of hand desynchronisation occurs in most examples, particularly at emotional junctures. This is a signal that although many of the golden age's traits have been eliminated, hand de-synchronisation is still relatively widely in use in our day, at least in a certain kind of repertoire. This consideration on the choice to place beat marks with the melody's arrival was necessary for clarity, but also to highlight that the graphs lean on the conservative side of perceived lengths.



2.6.1 A. Segovia

Although I am aware of the inherently different characteristics and capabilities of the instrument, it is nevertheless a genuinely interpretative choice that reveals itself in the rhythmic cell at 9.6. This attracts such attention as to make the single beat last just under 0.8", while the previous three (9.3–9.5) are played in barely over 0.7". Once again, the statement by de Larrocha about a supposed Granados *rubato* — 'very strongly presented instant followed by a long breath of relaxation' — sums up perfectly this approach. It might not be far-fetched to suggest that another influence for pianists must have come from a further widespread narrative, both at home and internationally, which claims that 'the sound of the guitar' can be evidenced in the score. Could this symbolism have been superimposed to Granados's score as an inevitable *obbligato*? Although Segovia claimed in an interview that he wished to 'redeem my guitar from the flamenco', he actively participated with Falla and Lorca in the Concurso de Cante Jondo of 1922, aimed at reinvigorating and re-popularising that art. ²²⁰ The type of musicianship being generated, directly or indirectly, willingly or by self-replicating marketable traits, followed the narrative that Spanish music was expected to move instincts of the soul, in a very Latin fashion; one favoured method to allow genuine and powerful expressivity in performance can be heard in these 'very strongly presented instant[s]', followed by quick and athletic resolutions of rhythmic cells.

The unholy alliance that I perceive to have taken hold in Spain from the 1920s was framed in a European context that abandoned 'golden age' poetic sensibilities and improvised flexibility, with the adoption of a militaristic approach to folklore; a powerful aesthetic became juxtaposed onto any repertoire that would suit the markets. By the end of this chapter, I claim

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²²⁰ Henahan, D. (1987) 'Andres Segovia is Dead at 94: His Crusade Elevated Guitar', in *The New York Times*, June 4, 1987.

to have gathered considerable information from the aural examples offered. It is telling that even in a piece that was quite clearly composed in order to evoke Spain's southern landscapes, Granados hardly provides explicit evidence of folkloric emphasis, as the overall experience of the first page and the detail of the three-bar passage demonstrated. Impulsive and crowd-pleasing folkloric gestures were foreign to Granados's spectrum of performative choices (I would recall Hogwood's 'does it sell?' remark). The same cannot be said for more recent performers: the loss of 'originality and freedom of expression that produces a feeling of improvisation' ²²¹ becomes all the more noticeable, supplanted by 'correct, deliberate' ²²² approaches associated with the aesthetic shifts of the 1920s.

2.7 Conclusions

After analysing these audio examples, highlighting at first the general approach of a whole passage and then narrowing the focus to the single bar, we can clearly identify the stylistic divergences typical of pianists born after the 1920s. These styles, when compared with Granados's, changed more widely during the few decades following the composer's death than in the more recent half-century. We have also seen various narratives arising during this period, and the ways in which they inevitably confined the repertoire to the domain of specialism. This new style has become the goal for successive generations of pianists, who all have in common the certainty that 'the flavour' of Spain must be located within Granados's text; and therefore, that it must be 'extracted' for audiences to hear.

Further to the reliance on folkloric approaches, modernist aesthetics caused 'the cramping of personal freedom and style in performance', as Taruskin and Kivy 'both lament'.²²³ The 'tendency to reduce the art of performance to an element of the musical text, with all its connotations of accurate readings and blind fidelity to an assumed 'original' also signified the widespread reliance on and handing over of these traits, 'assumed' to be located within the score.²²⁴ Borrowing one of Taruskin's central judgements on HIP, I find parallels in my denunciation of performances of Granados, which tend to 'accord most strikingly with modern taste';²²⁵ a taste deriving from the cultural and artistic tensions of twentieth-century

²²¹ Peres da Costa, N. (2012) *Off the Record: Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing*, p. 9, Oxford Scholarship Online: May 2012, DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195386912.001.0001.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Butt, J. (2002) *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance*, Cambridge University Press, p. 24.

²²⁴ *Ibid*.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

Spain, and from the shifts that privileged an adherence to the score and the abandoning of traits such as *rubato*, 'unpretentious' fluency and poetic freedom.

The main focus of chapter 3, then, will reside in a study of the aesthetics of the 'golden age' evidenced in Granados's playing and placing this within the context of wider European stylistic currents in the early years of the century. In this way, Granados and his versatile artistic legacy could be placed alongside his continental peers, who have received much wider recognition and more ambitious platforms of research. Which are the traits in common between them? And just as importantly, which are the distinctive technical features and innate musical choices that have become so divergent in performers of his music after his death? In this exploration, I shall refer back to the powerful forces creating an 'unconscious conditioning' in musicians, as I described them in chapter 1 and demonstrated them audibly in this chapter.²²⁶ Their effects, audible in today's concert halls and recordings, have stemmed from various factors that have as common denominator the willing desire on the part of Spanish artists to feed the aura of *Hispanidad*; together with the misunderstanding, on the part of foreign artists and audiences, to assume that musical Spain has to be found depicted in the clichés of folklore. Parakilas warned us about the 'characteristic nineteenth-century naïveté of failing to distinguish two kinds of 'national' music: a nation's folk music and the music chosen, often from abroad, to represent that nation'. 227 Today's expected standard, alas, followed this 'naïveté', establishing itself universally as the only viable path towards a successful performance.

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²²⁶ Recall Taruskin on musical intuition in: Taruskin, R. (1984) 'The Authenticity Movement Can Become a Positivistic Purgatory, Literalistic and Dehumanizing', in *Early Music*, Vol. 12, No. 1, p. 10.

²²⁷ Parakilas, J. (1998) 'How Spain Got a Soul', in Bellman, J. (ed. 1998) *The Exotic in Western Music*, Northeastern University Press, Boston, p. 159.

Chapter Three

Granados's Performances within the Context of Early-Recorded Style

3.1 Introduction

At the opening of this chapter, it is worth recollecting the path I have followed so far in my research. I have problematised, and ultimately critiqued, the ways in which performances have coalesced around a standardised handling of Granados's *Goyescas*. Effectively, it has become a *fait accompli* that we should abide by nationalistic and overtly folkloric approaches, born out of the identity-defining pre-Civil War period until the end of Franco's dictatorship. In order to analyse this habit, rampant both within Spain and outside the Iberian borders, I took advantage of Granados's historical recordings as evidence that such approaches are the result of recent socio-cultural tropes. In their *Chasing the Butterfly*, Sigurd Slåttebrekk and Tony Harrison make it very clear that while '[w]e all...bow long and low to the god of the ur-text', it is still indisputable that 'we are surprisingly cavalier when it comes to approaching what is the real reason for all that notation, music as sound when it is created by the composers themselves'. ²²⁸ This 'cavalier' attitude is particularly strong when the historical evidence has the potential to unsettle our well-guarded, well-established, and in this case nation-defining, geometrical approaches based on fidelity to the text. ²²⁹

The previous two chapters can, therefore, be broadly seen as representing a cause-and-effect continuum between the ethical, political and socio-cultural turmoil shifting the *zeitgeist* of performance. Leech-Wilkinson says that '[a]fter the Second World War, music seemed to mean something much less straightforward; it had undercurrents running counter to its surface, and it was the performer's job to make those apparent, to complicate, or — as we might now say — to problematize the surface...';²³⁰ in essence, the 'old' approach to performance came

²²⁸ Slåttebrekk, S., Harrison, T. (2010) 'Historically Informed Performances', in *Chasing the Butterfly – Recreating Grieg's 1930s Recordings and Beyond...*, http://www.chasingthebutterfly.no/?page_id=288. Last accessed 07/03/2019.

²²⁹ After T. E. Hulme's lengthy quote describing 'geometrical' art: 'This leads to rigid lines and dead crystalline forms, for pure geometrical regularity gives a certain pleasure to men troubled by the obscurity of outside appearance', in Taruskin, R. (1995) *Text and Act*, Oxford University Press, p. 110.

²³⁰ Leech-Wilkinson, D. (2006) 'Portamento and Musical Meaning', in *Journal of Musicological Research*, Vol. 25, Nos. 3-4, p. 258, DOI: 10.1080/01411890600859412.

to be seen as 'self-indulgent, pathetically naïve'. 231 This distant epoch of performance is referred to as the 'golden age' of piano playing; catchy a label as it might be, it nevertheless forces the style it epitomises into a niche of our performing past. Kenneth Hamilton questions the very definition, framing it closely to a branding exercise: 'is there really any such thing as a unified and coherent Great Tradition [of piano playing]? Does it exist at all except as a picturesque shorthand for 'the past' and as a warm glow of respectful nostalgia?'.232 I will discuss the concept of 'golden age' further below in this chapter. What matters now is that in Spain the shift towards 'Urtext' interpretations, or as Leech-Wilkinson defines them, the '[change] from concern with its effect in performance towards concern with a piece's inherent nature', was supplemented by the preference and desire to celebrate the nation and its unique music;²³³ these styles combined have presented us with a stasis of creativity, as I started to demonstrate in previous audio examples. This artistic approach found encouragement as a just cause for the *nation*'s character to assume a unique standing within Western Art Music. It is unfortunate that Granados's recordings, which have been available on CD for around three decades, have yet to have a noticeable impact in questioning this, whether in performance, research or pedagogy.

A relevant argument about the continuation of performing traditions was raised by Leon Botstein, debating Artur Schnabel's pedagogic legacy: according to Botstein, Schnabel encouraged pupils to '[seek] to continue in his traditions, like many epigones, [managing] to carry forward form and procedure without necessarily doing justice to the substance. Sociologists call this process 'routinization.' The charismatic or spiritual becomes mechanical through codification'. ²³⁴ Under this premise, 'routinization' triggered the 'codified' approaches found in modern performances, as 'epigones' followed on the steps of authoritative figures of the Spanish pianistic landscape. Granados's recorded performances, then, prove that the style we consider *necessary* for a satisfactory performance of his pieces was in fact a later acquisition, distorted by the lens of nationalism. They are not just proof of his magnificent technique and musical sensitivity, but even more importantly they are a timely reminder that different ways of performing could still be conceivable. Conceivable, that is, if only the market

²³¹ Leech-Wilkinson, D. (2009) *The Changing Sound of Music: Approaches to Studying Recorded Musical Performance* (London: CHARM), chapter 7, paragraph 5,

https://www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/studies/chapters/chap7.html#par5. Last accessed 29/04/2020.

²³² Hamilton, K. (2008) *After the Golden Age: Romantic Pianism and Modern Performance*, Oxford University Press, p. 11.

²³³ Leech-Wilkinson, D., *op. cit.*, chapter 1.1, paragraph 3,

https://www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/studies/chapters/chap1.html#par3. Last accessed 29/04/2020.

²³⁴ Botstein, L. (2001) 'Artur Schnabel and the Ideology of Interpretation', in *The Musical Quarterly*, Volume 85, Issue 4, Winter 2001, p. 587–594, https://doi.org/10.1093/mq/85.4.587. Last accessed 13/05/2019.

and critics allowed for certain performing traits to reappear or be thought afresh, allowing them to be judged on their expressive merit rather than on contemporary expectation. With this in mind, historical recordings do not have to tell us *what* to do differently, but they can, and should, help us question *how* we may enlarge the realm of our creative possibilities. Expressive performance was achieved through means of a creative and improvisatory approach that little had in common with literal readings of the score, in line with the style of his European contemporaries.

3.2 The 'poetic' age

I laid out earlier some of the beliefs guiding my performance-as-research approach; while intensely fascinated by Granados's legacy, it is not a mere reconstruction of his playing and style that interests me. There is much that can be learned through the hugely informative practice of 'copying' his approach, exploring expressive possibilities and transmitting 'new' meanings in the practice room as well as on stage; but just as much that a modern musician can extract from the 'poetic' and 'impermanent' approach that defined his performance. ²³⁵ My work to bypass the tradition of folklorising and imposing a nationalistic flavour on all of his music would have been nigh impossible to demonstrate, had I been forced to rely only on secondary written sources or verbal accounts, however close to the composer, or on the examples set by his own lineage of pupils, or those of acclaimed performers of his pieces.

As I said in the previous chapter, there are two performance practices that need to be looked at: one has its focus on Granados's playing style, which should force us to rethink — or just think — about what we could do with a widened arsenal of possibilities. But Granados's recordings should also make clear that his playing was closely linked with that of other performers in other locations of the continent. While highly energetic and creative, it gives me no reason to consider it especially or significantly 'Spanish'; this is not to say that it was uncharacterised, or unremarkable, but rather that the focus of his artistry lay on those goals that we ascribe to the playing of his time. It was poetic, personal, and focused towards of-the-moment utterances, which happened to be captured by new technologies. Far from being mere curiosities, such recordings inform us about a way of making, and hearing, music that has become obsolete. In this context, Granados's legacy is surprising and unsettling, it questions

²³⁵ T. E. Hulme in: Taruskin, R. (1995) *Text and Act*, Oxford University Press, p. 110.

our *routinised* beliefs on how to bring a score to sound, while suggesting new ways in which we may transmit the emotional possibilities this affords each performer.

How helpful it is to conflate historical performing traditions within one overriding concept remains doubtful, remembering Hamilton's critique of a 'unified and coherent Great Tradition', unless this is considered as such for its 'warm glow of respectful nostalgia' towards the past. This 'unified and coherent' past contains under its umbrella musicians of 'the golden age' of performing tradition, referred interchangeably as 'romantic' performers. Throughout this enquiry, I will make it my style to avoid both of these labels. I have long been sceptical of the term 'romantic' applied to pianists and their performances — ever since I obtained a cherished copy of Vladimir Horowitz's recording that declared him the 'last' romantic, only to learn a few years later, with some disappointment, that his pupil Byron Janis was a 'true' romantic. As Hamilton cheekily points out in the opening pages of his book, the 'golden age' 'always is, or is just about to be, extinct'. 236 Robert Philip opens an article about the performance of Romantic and Late Romantic Music by stating that he remains 'not at all clear what a 'Romantic' performance might mean'; should we place in this category only those pianists who 'play very loud and fast, and very softly and slow (and for that matter very soft and fast and very loud and slow)'?²³⁷ A similar argument can be moved against the 'golden age' label itself, which inevitably contributes a gloss that sanctions the idea that such times were 'inhabited by giants, particularly of the keyboard'; Philip calls it the 'aura of the Great Man' that leads us to 'persuade ourselves that we are hearing it in the playing'. ²³⁸ Avoiding easy rhetoric, it would be useful to restrain ourselves from falling for the allure of the legendary individual, however thirsty we and today's market might be for such figures — past and present. Having said this, it is understandably difficult to separate the myth from the performance, intertwined as these are especially in today's multi-platform marketing. Hamilton makes this case as follows:

The idea of a golden age of pianism, which implicitly treats the performers of the time as musical heroes, sometimes underestimates the extramusical glamour of their personalities. The individualism of their performances is certainly recognized, but it is assumed to arise from (or at least go hand in hand with) genuine 'musical' or technical

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²³⁶ Hamilton, K. (2008) *After the Golden Age: Romantic Pianism and Modern Performance*, Oxford University Press, p. 4.

²³⁷ Philip, R. (2002) 'The Romantic and the Old-Fashioned', in Kjellberg, E., Lundkvist, E., Roström, J., (eds. 2002) *The Interpretation of Romantic and Late-Romantic Music*, Uppsala Universitet, Sweden, p. 11. ²³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19–20.

superiority. We accordingly abominate the dull routines of much music making today, the naked commercialism of modern marketing, and the frequent emphasis on peripheral advertising gimmicks (is the performer a young prodigy? a recent competition winner? pretty? battling with insanity? all of the above?). But things were always thus.²³⁹

Even if 'things were always thus', keeping in mind the exponential growth of the performing profession and its surrounding marketing, I prefer, if a single attribute must be applied, to use the word 'poetic' in order to highlight a precedence for the imaginative, the emotional and for the artistically pleasing. I use the word in the sense applied by Busoni as he readied himself to make a recording; the Italian musician felt that on such occasions 'how can there be any question of inspiration, freedom, swing, or poetry?'. 240 To Busoni, these were the aspects of performance worth projecting in the concert hall, and which seemed impossible to convey through the recording medium. I prefer the term 'poetic' also as opposed to that of prosaic readings, whether caused by literal/precise reliance on the score or by literal/accurate performances that have become more and more common as the twentieth century progressed. In making such distinctions I do not seek to generalise with superficial condemnations of recent performances; on the contrary, I remark the degree of rationalisation towards which we have steered in search of successful understandings and performances of a score. I have aimed, following these considerations, to address Granados's standing within the context of his contemporaries, his recordings and legacy as 'simply' belonging to the age of early historical recordings, and to define the *poetic* style of the period inhabited by these musicians composers, pianists, pioneers of the recording industry — which does not have to remain necessarily segregated in the past.

3.3 Differing aesthetic approaches

In my quest through Granados's style, it was inevitable to find myriads of performing characteristics in common with his contemporaries; one cannot escape that he was a man of his time, and therefore could not have contradicted greatly the style of other early-twentieth-century pianists. As I continue to detail his pianistic uniqueness, I shall follow Chiantore's

²³⁹ Hamilton, K., op. cit., p. 265.

²⁴⁰ Philip, R. (2002) 'The Romantic and the Old-Fashioned', in Kjellberg, E., Lundkvist, E., Roström, J. (eds. 2002) *The Interpretation of Romantic and Late-Romantic Music*, Uppsala Universitet, Sweden, p. 19–20.

suggestion (though not his use of the generic masculine), who in reporting a Busoni article published in 1905 for the German magazine *Die Musik* says that an artist 'instinctively follows the principle of 'diversity' amongst men', while 'the theorist, on the contrary, generally commits the mistake of departing from an idea of 'similarity' amongst men'. ²⁴¹ I will adopt this concern for 'diversity' to find the attributes distinctive of Granados's playing. Chiantore is also helpful in describing Granados's performing style: he quotes de Falla, who used the words 'sensibility', 'melancholy', 'elegance', 'spontaneity', and then adds in his own words, 'that magic formula which defines with such precision all of Granados's activity: 'always elegant' and, at the same time, 'evocative'. All his pianism is contained in these simple and intense words, which could hardly better express the character of his recordings.' ²⁴²

It is important to bring to light the fundamental elements characteristic of Granados's performing style, as reported through the eyes of colleagues, to highlight those that have shifted with our contemporary preferences. Chiantore provides a lengthy discussion of the 'practice of improvisation', with Granados as 'one of its last great representatives'. Granados was greatly respected and appreciated by his peers, including those whose names are more readily acknowledged within an international context. Following his first concert at the *Salle Pleyel* in Paris on March 31st, 1905, friends, colleagues and critics all shared enthusiastic comments: Ricardo Viñes wrote in his diary that 'Granados played very well, and had great success', while Edward Risler addressed Granados directly, saying: 'finally an artist, after many con artists and so many nullities'. 244 Jean Huré, writing for *Le Monde Musical*, allows more details to come through:

Enrique Granados, who is one of the most delectable composers to have existed [...] made himself heard, in the Salle Pleyel, as pianist. Unquestionably, he equals the greatest for an audacious and elegant virtuosism, always impeccable, at times

²⁴¹ 'Por lo tanto, el artista sigue instintivamente el principio de la 'diversidad' entre los hombres. El teórico, por el contrario, comete en general el error de partir de la idea de una 'semejanza' entre los hombres'. Chiantore, L. (2001) *Historia de la técnica pianística*, Alianza Editorial, S.A., Madrid, p. 17.

²⁴² 'Sensibilidad', 'melancolía', 'elegancia', 'espontaneidad' escribe Falla. Y luego esa mágica formula que define con tanta precisión toda la actividad de Granados: 'siempre distinguida' y, al mismo tiempo, 'evocadora'. Todo su pianismo está contenido en estas sencillas e intensas palabras, que no podrían expresar mejor el carácter de sus grabaciones.' Chiantore, L. (2001) *Historia de la técnica pianística*, Alianza Editorial, S.A., Madrid, p. 526.

²⁴³ '...el estilo de *Goyescas* nació de la práctica de la improvisación, una actividad entonces en declive que encontró en Granados a uno de sus últimos grandes representantes'. *Ibid*.

²⁴⁴ Viñes: 'Granados ha tocado muy bien y ha tenido un gran éxito'. Risler: 'Por fin un artista, después de tanto farandulero y de tantas nulidades'. Perandones Lozano, M. (2011) 'Enrique Granados en París. La construcción de un icono español en el ámbito musical internacional', in *Revista de Musicología*, Vol. 34, No. 1, Madrid, p. 211.

devilish...he surpasses almost all those I have heard for his extraordinary personality, however always respectful of the meaning of the work being interpreted. This distinguished and charming playing is particularly fitting to Chopin. [...] Granados extracts from his piano diverse sonorities, and switches with incredible ease from energetic accents, leaps of sound, to exquisite and embracing tenderness.²⁴⁵

Chiantore expands on Granados's pianistic qualities, in more specific terms: he highlights the 'transparent and elegant sonority' that was the result of 'a free attack with little depth; octaves are most agile, evidently performed with an extremely elastic wrist; double notes, always light, seem to be conceived as an ornament at the service of a measured and elegant utterance. The comparison with Chopin becomes inevitable.' ²⁴⁶ The crucial improvisatory aspect embedded in the writing of *Goyescas* is useful to bear in mind, as it can lead to a more fluid interaction between the score and our approach as performers. Indeed, if we could understand this compositional style as mirrored in Granados's 'unscripted' and freely creative performances, it could enable us to aim towards emancipation from formal and analytical strictures, without necessarily falling for an imitation of the historical pianist. And if we were willing to take this step with Granados's scores, we might even attempt it with different repertoire. Chiantore makes a poignant case about improvisation, when he says:

[t]he authentic protagonist of this peculiar 'tragedy', much beyond any technical problem, is improvisation. *Goyescas* narrates the final hours of this old and noble art that with Granados bids farewell to high-art music. The Spanish composer was the follower of a glorious tradition; Chopin, Liszt, and before them Beethoven, Mozart and likewise Bach: all had been great improvisers. But the art of improvisation was nearing its end, overruled by the tyranny of the written score and by the growing veneration towards the works of the past. In this sense, the pieces of *Goyescas*, so close to the

²⁴⁵ 'Enrique Granados, qui est l'un des plus délicieux compositeurs qui aient jamais existé [...] s'est fait entendre, à la Salle Pleyel, comme pianiste. Il égale incontestablement les plus grands par une virtuosité hardie, élégant, toujours impecable, parfois endiablée...il surpasse presque tous ceux que j'ai entendus par une personnalité extraordinaire et cependant toujours respectueuse du sens de l'oeuvre interprétée. Ce jeu distingué et charmeur convient particuliérement à Chopin. [...] Granados tire de son piano des sonorités variées et passe avec une simplicité incroyable des accents énergiques, des bondissements de sons, à des douceurs exquises, enlaçantes'. Huré, J. (1905) 'Concert Granados-Crickboom', in *Le Monde Musical*, April 15, 1905, n. 7, p. 98.

²⁴⁶ 'La sonoridad elegante y siempre transparente de Granados surgía, sin duda, de un ataque suelto y con poca profundidad; las octavas son agilísimas, realizadas evidentemente con la muñeca extremadamente elástica; las dobles notas, siempre ligeras, parecen concebidas como un ornamento al servicio de una pronunciación mesurada y elegante. La comparación con Chopin resulta inevitable.' Chiantore, L. (2001) *Historia de la técnica pianística*, Alianza Editorial, S.A., Madrid, p. 527.

world of extemporaneous execution, throw at us a challenge that transcends the horizon of Granados himself: to find in them the facility of gesture, the ease of performance that all improvisation takes advantage of and highlights. To recover the spontaneity of improvisation through the study of a written text seems contradictory, and partly it is. But let us not forget: the extraordinary art that is interpretation is based on a variation of this same utopia.²⁴⁷

Performance as extemporary creativity that draws the character and 'shapes' of the auditory result corroborates the 'impermanent' aspects remarked earlier and makes for stark contrast with the culture of our time. Sounded instances, today, ought to represent an artist's finest and ultimate 'interpretation', repeatable on stage as a familiar event, and as such preferably void of 'intrusive' personal features. This is a familiar result from the entrance into the scene of the recording apparatus. While we might be more readily aware of the changes this signified for performers, we have given less thought to those that occurred to listeners. The former is clarified by Leech-Wilkinson, who tells us:

across the recorded century it is generally the same points in a score that get emphasised, whatever the expressive means for giving emphasis may by at any one time. Phrase-ends, the highest notes, the metrically strongest beats, harmonic cruxes, new sections, tend in all recorded performance styles to be emphasised one way or another. So clearly there are aspects our response to musical structure that remain relatively stable across centuries. And that means that some of the things performers do performers have always done, while others differ from generation to generation, even while tending to occur in the same places in which performers did other things before.²⁴⁸

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²⁴⁷ 'El auténtico protagonista de esta peculiar 'tragedia', muy por encima de cualquier problema técnico, es la improvisación. *Goyescas* narra las últimas horas de este antiguo y noble arte que con Granados se despide de la música de alto nivel. El compositor español era el epígono de una gloriosa tradición; Chopin, Liszt, y antes de ellos Beethoven, Mozart y el mismo Bach: todos habían sido grandes improvisadores. Pero el arte de la improvisación se iba acabando, vencido por la tiranía de la partitura escrita y por la creciente veneración hacia las obras del pasado. En este sentido, las piezas de *Goyescas*, tan próximas al mundo de la ejecución extemporánea, nos lanzan un desafío que rebase el horizonte del proprio Granados: encontrar en ellas la naturalidad del gesto, la facilidad de ejecución que toda improvisación aprovecha y exalta. Recuperar la espontaneidad de la improvisación a través del estudio de un texto escrito podría parecer una contradicción, y en parte lo es. Pero no lo olvidemos: todo ese arte insólito que es la interpretación se basa en una variante de esta misma utopía.' Chiantore, L. (2001) *Historia de la técnica pianística*, Alianza Editorial, S.A., Madrid, p. 528.

²⁴⁸ Leech-Wilkinson, D. (2009) *The Changing Sound of Music: Approaches to Studying Recorded Musical Performance* (London: CHARM), chapter 7, paragraph 17,

These are concepts that show up regularly in commentaries to historical recordings. I would add to this that what was done before tended to have greater effect, it was plainly emphasised and given *a* meaning. Even if 'the things performers do performers have always done', the recordings I have so far brought forward should make clear the contrast with more recent performance practices. Compare, for example, the audio from Granados's bar 23 of *Quejas* with more recent versions; within a single bar it is possible to notice far less characterisation and more fluid, even, literal playing.

But the shifts in stylistic approaches are not just limited to performers' experiences; our role as listeners has also transformed, as Michael Hass points out: '[o]nce the experience could be repeated at will, music lovers became passive. Passive listening was never an option in a pre-recording age'.²⁴⁹ Hass goes on to specify that 'music was an *experience* and not a *thing*' and continues with the following vital comment:

the same recording will be played repeatedly, thus demanding a type of active listening unfamiliar to the pre-recording age. This type of listening instinctively seeks out even the tiniest differences with each repeated hearing. If this element of scrutiny is demanded, details need to be subtle and ever shifting.²⁵⁰

Another shift occurred for the ever more sensitive and indeed learned listener, who 'seeks out even the tiniest differences with each repeated hearing'. This method of listening, though, has impacted on the distinctive, changeable, and unnotated divergences from a score — now also readily available for such keen amateurs. And so, step-by-step, the listening experience has selected, down the years, performances that were *less* improvisatory, *less* of-the-moment and more *permanent*.

A further aspect that has influenced our reception of performance is that which supposes the ability to produce, and receive, the large-scale breadth of a piece. This concept places itself, by definition, in contrast with the view that music-making relied, as I have suggested, in the early years of the twentieth century, on the 'momentary gestures' and the prominence of features regardless of their analytical value. ²⁵¹ Jerome Levinson's

²⁴⁹ Haas, M. (2009) 'Broadening Horizons: 'Performance' in the Studio', in Cook, N., Clarke, E., Leech-Wilkinson, D., Rink, J. (eds. 2009) *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music*, Cambridge University Press, p. 60.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

²⁵¹ Leech-Wilkinson, D. (2009) *The Changing Sound of Music: Approaches to Studying Recorded Musical Performance* (London: CHARM), chapter 6, paragraph 57, https://www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/studies/chapters/chap6.html#par57. Last accessed 29/04/2020.

concatenational explanation of the listening experience is one that I favour, as he outlines it with the words of Edmund Gurney: 'Gurney maintains that large-scale form in music is, at most, of minor relevance to the appreciation and evaluation of music. The important thing in musical comprehension, he holds, is the grasping of individual parts as they occur, and the grasping of connections to immediately neighbouring parts for and aft.' ²⁵² This does not ultimately refute the fact that more 'expert' listening can indeed support multiple layers of awareness throughout a piece's hearing, both in small and large-scale. Levinson is open to admit as much, when he says that '[i]t is an implicit aim of this book to defend such listeners—ones who, though untutored, are experienced attentive, and passionate'; ²⁵³ he summarises this concept by concluding: '[s]o to concur with Gurney that the primary value of a musical composition is in its successively apprehendable parts is not at all to say that their connecting together is of no importance'. ²⁵⁴ Even with this final caveat, it is apparent to me that our desire to contain lengthy pieces within a single imaginary aural grasp can only follow from our, equally modern, structuralist desire to 'explain' in performance the piece's analytical dimension.

3.3.1 Aesthetics in Granados's context

This is the right time to place Granados, as performer, within the context of his European colleagues. I will attempt to inhabit his cultural and performing milieu to get to the core of his music making, by looking at artists of the same generation, who like him were composer/pianists or pioneers of the new profession of (non-composer) performers and who made an early contribution towards the recording medium, especially of piano rolls. Crucial amongst his colleagues who can give clues to the type of pianism that would have been familiar to Granados is Claude Debussy; not just because the two were practically contemporaries, but because both — even if briefly in Granados's case — inhabited the Parisian milieu, that of the Conservatoire, sharing a strong lifelong friendship with Ricardo Viñes, who famously premiered several of Debussy's works. Following studies with Pedrell in Barcelona, Granados and Viñes spent two years in adjacent rooms at the Hôtel de Cologne et d'Espagne: Viñes remembers 'practising each in our rooms, listening to each other, playing four-hands, in mine,

²⁵² Levinson, J. (1997) *Music in the Moment*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, p. 2. Author's emphasis.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

finally, talking endlessly [à batons rompu]'. 255 Viñes's playing sparked favourable critiques, which mention his ability to make the piano sound as though it was not a 'percussive instrument', but rather 'immaterial'; and when allowed to be on top pianistic form he was able to perform with a 'strong personality that he was able to imprint on the musical work. A type of special sensibility that permitted him to grasp precisely the meaning of the piece'. 256 We see that an 'immaterial' sound, 'personality' and the ability to grasp and convey the 'expression of meaning' of a piece seem to resonate as favourable characteristics, which we could hardly fail to recognise in Granados's recordings.

Debussy and Granados are also linked by their acceptance of the new technology of piano roll recording during the same years of the twentieth century. A few contextual words about Debussy should be helpful in order to support my claim that Granados would not have been foreign to similar musical thinking. It might make sense to view this briefly from the angle of the Frenchman, for whom there is an extensive literature.

3.3.2 Debussy's conflicting instructions

I have often been reminded by my teachers, or during shorter courses or masterclasses, that Debussy's generous notations meant that he wished for all those directions — and only those, mind — to be applied to performances. Marguerite Long, for example, worked with Debussy and stressed his 'insistence on steady tempi, with recourse when necessary to the metronome'; Pierre Monteux, even more strongly, said that '[Debussy] wanted everything exactly in time'. How are we to come to terms with this absolutism — and dreary advice — when the evidence at our disposal points towards a style that was much more expressive and free than those words would let us believe? As a starting point we should not forget Hamilton's warning that:

²⁵⁵ 'Ja estudiant cadascú a la seva habitació, escoltant-nos, tocant a quatre mans, a la meva, en fi, parlant à batons rompu...'. Bernadó, M. (ed. 2007) Ricard Viñes: el pianista de les avantguardes, Fundació Caixa Catalunya, Museu d'Art Jaume Morera, Spain, p. 59.

²⁵⁶ 'Amb Ricard Viñes, el piano ja no ès un 'instrument de martellets'. Passa a ser un element sensible, immaterial, ambiental, que Viñes posa en marxa amb la seva pròpia sensibilitat'. 'Si alguna cosa caracteritzava les seves lectures de les partitures era la forta personalitat que era capaç d'imprimir a l'obra musical. Una mena de sensibilitat especial que li permetia copsar de forma molt precisa el significat de l'obra.' Bernadó, M. (ed. 2007) *Ricard Viñes: el pianista de les avantguardes*, Fundació Caixa Catalunya, Museu d'Art Jaume Morera, Spain, p. 19.

²⁵⁷ Howat, R. (1997) 'Debussy's Piano Music: Sources and Performance', in Langham Smith, R. (ed. 1997) *Debussy Studies*, Cambridge University Press, p. 80.

[s]trict adherence to the letter of the score' likely meant something very much more flexible to a nineteenth-century (or earlier) musician and critic – even to the most literal-minded – than its broadly accepted meaning nowadays, and descriptions of performances, and performance practice, have to be evaluated with that in view.²⁵⁸

Equally direct sources tell us of Debussy's advice to Marcel Ciampi to keep the 'ostinato rhythm 'overdotted'' in both *La soirée dans Grenade* and *La puerta del vino*. ²⁵⁹ While Debussy's stepdaughter, Madame de Tinan, said that the composer would 'make a characteristic sarabande lift before the long chords in the Sarabande of *Pour le piano*...and in *Hommage a Rameau*...a nuance only partly implied by the notated *staccato* dots and tenuto dashes. ²⁶⁰ In his ever compelling writing, Howat discusses Debussy's playing in *Pagodes*, where a literal reading of the score's instructions would lead us to miss altogether the meaning of this sensual piece; in his words, '[o]ur western conditioning to subdue those [the repeated RH C# crotchets at bar 38] to the melody underneath has to be forgotten here, in a context where Debussy's emphasis is on the entirely different textural balance and colours of the gamelan'. ²⁶¹ As Debussy brings out the RH to give us the sensual flavour of the gamelan, so too Granados, in bars 46–54 of *Quejas*, gave us his version of *dolore* through a liberal and energetic melodic line, intimately supported by the accompaniment.

The frequent calls for literal interpretations contradict the open-mindedness shown by the composer towards performers who took different approaches. Following a performance of his *Reflets dans l'eau* by the American pianist George Copeland, Debussy proclaimed: 'I never dreamed that I would hear my music played like that in my lifetime'. He queried Copeland about the reasons behind some choices, going on to say that he should continue to play them his own way. ²⁶² Asked by the Poulet Quartet if their interpretation of his Quartet met with his intentions, Debussy replied: '[n]ot in the least. But on second thought...don't change anything; it would spoil the coherence, and the sincerity of your playing would lose its eloquence and its original colour.' ²⁶³ If reliance upon Debussy's four recordings as accompanist for the singer Mary Garden is not evidence of his playfulness and freedom at the piano, he was quite explicit

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²⁵⁸ Hamilton, K. (2008) *After the Golden Age: Romantic Pianism and Modern Performance*, Oxford University Press, p. 21–22.

²⁵⁹ Howat, R. (1997) 'Debussy's Piano Music: Sources and Performance', in Langham Smith, R. (ed. 1997) *Debussy Studies*, Cambridge University Press, p. 86.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

²⁶² Timbrell, C. (2003) 'Debussy in Performance', in Trezise, S. (ed. 2003) *The Cambridge Companion to Debussy*, Cambridge University Press, p. 264.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

when saying: 'you know what I think about metronome marks...they're right for a single bar...only there are 'those' who don't hear music and who take these marks as an authority to hear it still less? But do what you please.' This is hardly the attitude of someone who expected his scores to be performed literally, in a sense that we would understand.

The argument regarding the 'appropriate' performing style of Debussy's scores becomes, if not clarified in my favour, at least put in serious doubt. There seem to be too many unknowns, too many variables that were or are not taken into account by those who witnessed the composer professing, for example, strict *tempi*; could it have been a way of teaching students who were being aesthetically displeasing, inappropriate, or rhythmically careless? Could Monteux's orchestra simply have been carelessly unsynchronised, with Debussy aiming to bring some last-minute order and unity? This latter proposition is corroborated by a recount of a rehearsal of *Jeux*: he 'was rehearsing this work and Debussy leaned over and told him, 'Monteux, that is a forte, play forte!''.²⁶⁵

Before making any comments on Debussy's piano roll recordings, it is important to take into account the gap between seemingly unequivocal considerations and the evident shortcomings of the technological medium. Much debate continues to take place to ascertain the verifiability of what is heard in transfers to disc or tape — limitations range from playback speeds, sound distortions, or dynamic accuracy — and Denis Hall tells us that 'some facet of an artist's playing may be revealed even in the least successful'. A warning is in order about the faith we should place on the pedalling supposedly heard in Debussy's piano rolls — a particularly thorny issue for the medium — while we should not forget our very human tendency to hear in these transfers something that might objectively hardly be there. Yet, these recordings should at least put to rest the belief that strictness of time might have been a priority, whereas 'careful differentiation of sound levels, subtle pedalling and a caressing or sliding touch' are remarks found in all sources. The following comments by Charles Timbrell further support my argument:

²⁶⁴ Claude Debussy: The Composer as Pianist. Pierian Recording Society, Pierian 0001 (2000). Dunoyer, C. (1999) 'Debussy and Early Debussystes at the Piano', in Briscoe, J. (ed. 1999), *Debussy in Performance*, Yale University Press, p. 99.

²⁶⁵ Timbrell, C. (2003) 'Debussy in Performance', in Trezise, S. (ed. 2003) *Cambridge Companion to Debussy*, Cambridge University Press, p. 271.

²⁶⁶ Hall, D. (1989) 'The Player Piano on Record', in *The Pianola Journal – The Journal of the Pianola Institute*, No. 2, 1989, p. 24.

²⁶⁷ Timbrell, C., op. cit., p. 266.

In 'Danseuses de Delphes' the weightless chords seem to float in the air, and we hear the purposely blurred pedalling that some of his contemporaries described as characteristic. 'Le vent dans la plaine' and 'The Snow is Dancing' display quite a different aspect of his pianism, with fine control of the rapid, quiet semiquavers throughout. 'La danse de Puck' shows a similar command of fast, light figures together with surprisingly long pedals. The playing of some of the other pieces is less polished, but even in these Debussy often conveys a real sense of improvisation, a quality we know he valued in performance²⁶⁸

Debussy, from these accounts, resonates closely with Chiantore's words about Granados's performances, which brought together a 'facility of gesture, the ease of performance that all improvisation takes advantage of and highlights'. How can we, today, relax our grip on formal, static and geometrical renderings of scores, while searching for the 'immaterial' in sound production as a way of creating memorable performing instances? I am reminded, concerning 'facility' and 'ease' opposed to our somewhat strict and intellectual modern standards, of Hamilton's careful suggestions concerning the difference between what is *said* and *preached* to a student and what is actually *played*:

I would argue that Chopin's advice to his pupil Carl Mikuli that he ought to strike chords 'strictly simultaneously' and avoid unmarked arpeggiation should also be considered in this context, that is, as an injunction against abuse to a student performer, and not as a blanket ban intended to apply to mature artists. After all, Chopin sometimes told his students to imitate the sound of guitars in certain chordal passages (like the opening of the B-Major Mazurka, op. 41 no. 3), which certainly implies an arpeggiation that is unmarked in the text.²⁶⁹

It might be the case that we shall never know the extent of the possibilities in interpretation; but also, that we could gain remarkable insights should we allow ourselves, not without some timely and helpful 'injunctions' from enlightened teachers, renewed freedoms and the courage to express 'some meaning' of our own.

²⁶⁸ Timbrell, C., op. cit., p. 261.

²⁶⁹ Hamilton, K. (2008) *After the Golden Age: Romantic Pianism and Modern Performance*, Oxford University Press, p. 150–151.

3.3.3 Rubato

In chapter 2 I went into some detail in order to problematise the meaning and use of *rubato*, highlighting significant divergences between the style of the past and our understandings, with consequences that are felt in teaching and performing practices, each influencing the other. Under the umbrella term *rubato* there are several and different aspects to be considered, from the lengthening or shortening of beats, the large scale pushing and pulling, *rits*. and *accels*., hand displacement (dislocation of notes) and (unwritten) arpeggiation of chords. It should be self-evident that anything Granados did at the piano, whether we approve of it or not, would have been within the parameters of his day; I have given historical evidence that his approach was not only within these flexible parameters, but well received and admired. Therefore, following the evidence of what might have been a familiar aesthetic to Granados, I would like to go further in my exploration of what 'made' a performance viable and expressive in the early years of the twentieth century. In particular I want to focus on the 'time' variable of historical performance, which Leech-Wilkinson claims to have been supplanted by 'a modern tendency, switching attention from timing towards loudness as a dominant agent of expressivity'.²⁷⁰

I am particularly indebted to Dr Li-San Ting for her dissertation *Interpreting Tempo* and *Rubato in Chopin's Music: A Matter of Tradition or Individual Style?*, in which she brings together the work of several academics on matters of *tempo* and *rubato*, and enhances it with her own painstaking research. Although Ting's dissertation is centred exclusively around performances of Chopin's pieces by historical pianists, ²⁷¹ the distance to my own subject of interest must be relative, as both relate to performing gestures that have many points in common throughout the practical totality of so-called Romantic and post-Romantic scores. Ting's efforts have oriented me towards a desire to understand and challenge the old adage that a melody should soar freely, while the accompaniment be kept in strict time — how often I have scratched my head while working out the mathematics of this suggestion; the longer excerpt from *Quejas* discussed earlier exemplifies such a passage. Such seemingly impeccable sources as Chopin's own student Camille Dubois, née O'Méara, recounts that his music 'required simultaneously that the left hand, playing the accompaniment, should maintain strict

²⁷⁰ Leech-Wilkinson, D. (2009) *The Changing Sound of Music: Approaches to Studying Recorded Musical Performance* (London: CHARM), chapter 6, paragraph 58, https://www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/studies/chapters/chap6.html#par58. Last accessed 29/04/2020.

²⁷¹ From Michałowski (b. 1851), through Pugno (b. 1852), Paderewski (b. 1860), Rosenthal (b. 1862), to Cortot (b. 1877), Friedman (b. 1882), Koczalski (b. 1884), Turczynski (b. 1884), Łukasiewicz (b. 1890), Šmidowicz (b. 1888).

time, while the melodic line should enjoy freedom of expression with fluctuations of speed'; the composer's famous pupil Karol Mikuli similarly stated: '[the] metronome never left his piano [...] the hand responsible for the accompaniment would keep strict time, while the other hand, singing the melody, would free the essence of the musical thought from all rhythmic fetters, either by lingering hesitantly or by eagerly anticipating the movement with a certain impatient vehemence akin to passionate speech'. ²⁷² Annabelle Paetsch claims that 'fluctuations of the tempo in the accompaniment is contrary to what Chopin told his students', arriving at the conclusion that the use of *rubato* is *inappropriate* through the study of Louis Adam's 1805 keyboard treatise, Méthode de piano.²⁷³ Quoting Chopin's own words, Paetsch stresses that '[r]hythm and measure [...] are wholly and generally not to be touched. The left hand should be as a Kapellmeister; not for a moment should it waver or hesitate. It is a clock; with the right hand do what you like and are able'.274 As it has been seen before, we should firstly question our idea of what rubato is, tainted as it possibly is by recent understandings, and forgetting 'that rubato had a changing meaning in the nineteenth century'. ²⁷⁵ In spite of this strongly held belief that the left hand should be kept to 'strict time', there has been at least some degree of flexibility from performers and researchers more recently. Emmanuel Ax says that the idea that the left hand should not 'waver or hesitate' '[i]t's a nice thing to aspire to [...] take it as a broad concept rather than as a rigidly metronomic instruction [...] if you can feel a single pulse arising from the basic underlying movement and play your rubato off that pulse, that's certainly possible. I don't believe Chopin [...] wanted every note of the left hand to be an exact mathematical measurement', while John Rink commented that Chopin '...who was exacting in matters of interpretation tolerated a certain flexibility in performance. '276 Is Granados's playing in previous examples not conveying 'a single pulse'? There must be a way of addressing these diametrically opposed positions, of reconciling the 'Kapellmeister' with the human at the keyboard.

A distinction must be made between unmovable performance wishes (noting that even if we were miraculously made privy to those, we would still be left with the questions of what, where and how much to take on board) and words uttered to a younger performer honing his

²⁷² Ting, L. (2013) *Interpreting Tempo and Rubato in Chopin's Music: A Matter of Tradition or Individual Style?*, Doctoral thesis, University of New South Wales, Australia, p. 30.

²⁷³ Paetsch, A. (2009) *Performance Practices in Chopin's Piano Sonatas, Op. 35 and 58: A Critical Study of Nineteenth-Century Manuscript and Printed Sources*, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Western Ontario, London, Canada. Quoted in Ting, L. op. cit., p. 30.

²⁷⁴ Ting, L., op. cit., p. 32.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid*., p. 31.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

or her musical and performative sensibilities. How else are we to justify the more lenient statement made by Ting that '[e]ven if Chopin did use tempo fluctuation, he would have used it subtly, as he 'hated all lingering and dragging, misplaced rubatos, as well as exaggerated ritardandos''; ²⁷⁷ or Charles Hallé's recount of Chopin's playing, made remarkable for his 'entire freedom with which he treated the rhythm, but which appeared so natural that for years it had never struck me'. ²⁷⁸ There seems to be a call for *good* freedom, as opposed to that which might present misplaced and exaggerated emphasis; a different proposition altogether to that which suggests prohibiting such stylistic approaches.

At this point, I am forced to wonder how much of the latter paragraphs could just as easily apply to Granados; an aversion for dragging, misplaced *rubatos*, all the while treating the rhythm with freedom, seem principles easily understood in his playing. In sum, the picture that is becoming obvious is that of a lack of contextualisation of historical spoken statements, which can often be reinterpreted and passed on with new meaning in order to regulate and eventually justify our views and aesthetic preferences; a research in reverse, so to speak, whereby *some* of Chopin's words to pupils, perhaps decontextualised, have been taken as enforceable instructions for performance.

3.4 Quejas on Welte-Mignon and Hupfeld

The preceding three subchapters offered a glimpse of the divergences found between score notation, the composers' own 'allowances', the differing aesthetic values of the time, and the possibilities afforded to our performances; whichever way we look at the evidence, much is finally certified by one's authority as one's opinion.²⁷⁹ The audio examples that follow lay before us the creative possibilities heard in Granados's playing, in two sections from *Quejas*, o la maja y el ruiseñor. So far, I drew only on the more widespread version recorded by Welte-Mignon in May 1912. Issued on CD by Dal Segno for the *Masters of the Piano Roll* series, the recording is attributed to a session in Freiburg, Germany, in 1908; an important warning is presented as footnote of the disc's sleeve, which admits that this refers to 'the date the piano

²⁷⁷ Ting, L., *op. cit.*,, p. 33. Quote within quote by Frederick Niecks.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

²⁷⁹ I am reminded of the variety of opinions in interpretation by recent practice sessions on scores edited by esteemed, and authoritative, pianists such as Alfredo Casella (1919–20) and Artur Schnabel (1949). Looking closely at their comments on L. van Beethoven's Sonata op. 109, both decry (often deride) the misprints in previous editions, while offering widely contrasting solutions to practical or interpretative challenges; in search, presumably, of a performance that might have been closest to Beethoven's intentions. Considering the tone of their words, by definition both editors could not possibly be 'correct'; a well-informed performer would in any case have to choose whose advice to follow, or perhaps better, form his or her own 'opinion'.

roll was made, not the date of the recording'. ²⁸⁰ In fact there can be little doubt, as by 1908 the four pieces from Book 1 of *Goyescas* had not been composed; the first tangible proof of a composition date is 'Monday, December 1909', found in a sketch of the third piece, *Coloquio en la reja*, 'apparently the first piece he tackled' from the Suite. ²⁸¹ We know for certain, instead, that Granados travelled to Paris in May, 1912, where he wrote a note of appreciation for Welte-Mignon's recording technologies in the form of a testimonial, and that his acquaintance Joseph de Marliave wrote to Granados shortly after having been informed of the composer's presence in Paris and recording activity for Welte-Mignon. ²⁸²

In her thesis, Estrada Bascuñana takes as case study Granados's recording of his Valses *Poéticos*, catalogued for Welte-Mignon as roll number 2781. The four pieces from the first book of Goyescas have roll numbers 2783-4-5-6, from which we should assume they belong to the same recording session, which, she writes, took place ca. 1912. Nevertheless, in footnote 94 she references an exchange of emails with Peter Philip, who suggests that most of these Welte sessions might have been performed on 14 September 1913. The date in May of 1912 is substantiated by the composer's well-documented trip to Paris as jury member for the Diémer Prize and by his own note/testimonial about Welte-Mignon and personal correspondence referenced earlier. 283 The September, 1913, hypothesis, poses difficulties with further correspondence: Granados wrote from Barcelona a postcard to Pau Casals on 11 September 1913, in which he writes that he is 'immobile' due to illness; in a further postcard to the same recipient on 19 September and a letter dated 24 September to Ernest Schelling, he mentions his 'convalescence' from recent illness. 284 All this makes a recording session in Paris during September of 1913 most unlikely, as it would have involved travelling to Paris to record and returning to Barcelona, in poor health, in the space of a week.²⁸⁵ The Welte-Mignon sessions pose further issues in a paper published in 2017 by Roquer, Monasterio and Ródenas of the Universitat Autónoma de Barcelona. While the authors date the rolls vaguely (1912-1913), the recording location is listed as Freiburg, Germany, perhaps because this was the location for the

²⁸⁰ Granados, E. (ca. 1908-1916, reissued 2005) *Masters of the Piano Roll: Granados plays Granados – New digital recording*, Dal Segno.

²⁸¹ Clark, W. A. (2006) Enrique Granados: Poet of the Piano, Oxford University Press, p. 121.

²⁸² Perandones Lozano, M. (2016) *Correspondencia epistolar de Enrique Granados (1892-1916)*, Editorial Boileau, Barcelona, letter 358, p. 375. Monsieur de Marliave was Marguerite Long's husband.

²⁸³ Invitation from Gabriel Fauré, director of the Conservatoire, in a letter from March 1, 1912. Perandones Lozano, M., *op. cit.*, p. 365.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 406–407.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid*.

company's building; be that as it may, I was unable to find any evidence that Granados ever visited the German city, in that period.²⁸⁶

In the following audio analyses I also present the lesser-known recording for Hupfeld, the details of which are no less challenging to piece together. 287 Estrada Bascuñana, again, helps to clarify the complex dating and the system that might have been used on the occasion; she says that 'the piano rolls recorded by Granados with Hupfeld might have been Phonola, Phonolis[z]t or Dea rolls converted to Animatic', although she cautiously adds that Granados might have 'recorded genuine Animatic rolls'. 288 This matters due to the different capabilities of each model to capture dynamics: from Phonola's lack of dynamic coding in the roll, Phonoliszt's three dynamic levels, arriving at DEA's six dynamic levels, in 1907, with the possibility of incorporating increases and decreases in loudness.²⁸⁹ The ANIMATIC system was introduced in 1912, enlarged from the earlier 73- and 85-note to the standardised 88-note format, and 'included holes for automatic sustained pedal'. ²⁹⁰ The date and location of these sessions posed a further element of controversy, until the recent publication of Rebès's Granados: crónica y desenlace. We can now definitively confirm, for the first time with any degree of certainty, that:

...in August [1912] the composer visited the German city of Leipzig. It is documented that he gave a concert in the Hupfeld company's hall. It would be logical to suppose that this is when he recorded the pianola rolls for that same company. Absolutely nothing else is known about that trip, of how it was organised, if he went alone or with others (he did not speak German), nor which might have been intermediate and subsequent stops. He might have gone through Brussels or Berlin, according to the musical critic Rogelio Villar, but the last name Granados does not appear in the main

Pedagogical Method and Pianistic Tradition, PhD Thesis, University of Sydney, Australia, p. 25.

²⁸⁶ Roquer, J., Monasterio, À., Ródenas, J. (2017) Granados a Través de la Pianola: Una Radiografía Transversal de su Producción para Autopiano y Piano Reproductor, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, Spain, p. 12.

²⁸⁷ Available in their entirety at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cXEHx9dTSu0. Last accessed 25/09/2019. ²⁸⁸ Estrada Bascuñana, C. (2015) Echoes of the Master: a Multi-Dimensional Mapping of Enrique Granados'

²⁸⁹ The Pianola Institute, *The Reproducing Piano, Hupfeld DEA*, Pianola.org,

http://www.pianola.org/reproducing/reproducing dea.cfm. ²⁹⁰ Estrada Bascuñana, C., op. cit., p. 25.

Although some details remain hazy, and are perhaps destined to remain so, bar further documental evidence coming to light, it transpires that the rolls of the four pieces from *Goyescas* numbered as Hupfeld 51118-19-20-21 were undoubtedly recorded a short period of time after the Welte-Mignon, as little as a couple of months, making it an enticing prospect to hear these performances of *Quejas* side by side.²⁹²

A good audio extract to start with is the section from bars 46–54, which leads to the coda reminiscent of the title's nightingale song. The Hupfeld recording, perhaps less popular due to a lower quality of sound, shows similar stylistic principles and performing characteristics; Granados focuses his attention on the momentary gestures of the RH material, pushing and pulling, letting the melodic shape guide the *rubato*, with a LH accompaniment far from showing what we would understand as a 'metronomic' or 'conductor-like' approach. Although the Hupfeld performance appears to be at times more 'under control' than that heard on Welte-Mignon, the style is nevertheless coherent between the two. The comparison between these two performances throws into question one of the more securely held positions for editors of his music, even those 'reformed' by an interest in the recorded evidence. Douglas Riva, in an article for The Pianola Journal, says that the composer's recorded legacy informs us of 'the very notes the composer wanted future interpreters to play'. ²⁹³ But if the composer's intentions are indeed demonstrably different to those in the printed sources, they also show an approach that is much more liberal than most performers would feel comfortable accepting, and one that would move the problem only one step down the road: which performance ought we use as reference for a revised and performance-informed edition? If we were to aim for a new Urtext edition (such as has been admirably done by Howat in his critical editions of Debussy) we would still need to pick just one of these recordings as reference, and come to terms with the changes, often not minute, in the performance habits within parallel passages of the piece.

²⁹¹ 'Lo cierto es que en agosto [1912] el compositor visitó la ciudad alemana de Leipzig. Está documentado que dio un concierto allí en la sala de la casa Hupfeld. Parece lógico pensar que fue entonces cuando grabó los rollos de pianola de esa marca. No se sabe absolutamente nada más de ese viaje, ni como se gestó, ni si fue solo o acompañado (él no hablaba alemán), ni cuáles fueron sus etapas intermedias o posteriores. Podría haber pasado per Bruselas o Berlín, según el crítico musical Rogelio Villar, pero el apellido Granados no aparece en los diarios principales de aquella época y aquellas ciudades.' Rebés, J. M. (2019) *Granados: crónica y desenlace*, Libargo, Granada, p. 116.

²⁹² Estrada Bascuñana, C., op. cit., p. 25.

²⁹³ Riva, D. (2003) 'Enrique Granados' Recordings – Verification of the Granados Performance Tradition', in *The Pianola Journal – The Journal of the Pianola Institute*, No. 15, 2003, p. 23.

I should like to focus on more relevant aspects of performance now, particularly those relating to Granados's approach to *tempo* and *rubato*, and — briefly — how these compare with the performing traditions of modern pianists.



Quejas, o la maja y el ruiseñor, bars 46-54, G. Henle Verlag²⁹⁴

If one were to believe that an accompaniment should follow near-precise metronome regularity, becoming a steady paced background on which the RH's melody should magically spring to freedom, we would have a prime example in the notation of bars 46–54. Nothing, it could be argued, should distract from a melancholic sentiment, bringing out with evenly paced fluency the more sensuous embellishments and harmonies. This is the proposition supported by most recent performances; the soon-to-appear improvisatory *ruiseñor* (nightingale) of the concluding page is contrasted here by the languorous return of fragments of the piece's main

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 $^{^{294}}$ Henle Verlag, $Goyescas-Los\ majos\ enamorados,$ HN 582.

melodic material. Keeping this modern approach in mind, it would prove rather interesting to put to the test our perception of Granados's performance for Welte-Mignon through a blind listening test, not disclosing the fact that it was the composer performing his own piece (please refer to Ex. 3.1.1A). We might easily receive it with scepticism, thinking that the 'unknown' performer should revise such a liberal approach. If instead we were to set aside our preconceptions, we would notice how, and question why, the accompaniment is conducted in a downright 'anarchic' manner, which leads it to become wholly subservient to the melody's fancies; in so doing, our judgement would not criticise the LH for its unpredictability, but rather lead us to realise how wholly the focus is placed on liberating the RH. Leech-Wilkinson described such an attitude for highlighting a melody's contour as 'the succession of ideas and evocative gestures playing along the musical surface'; a melody that, through *tempo* elasticity, sudden dynamic surges, and unnotated embellishments or desynchronisation, can become 'as arresting and as touching as possible'. ²⁹⁵ We can hear *espressione* and *dolore* conveyed by accelerating and decelerating motions alongside growing and subduing energy, rather than restrained gloomy suffering.

Apart from additions and subtractions from the printed score — pencilled in the above example at bars 46-52-54, together with the embellishment added in bar 51 — the lengthening and shortening of the accompaniment can seem quite extreme and viewed negatively out of its context. But we could rejoice in our listening to Granados, and taking on board, in our practices, a conduct of the RH's melody that far from subjugated to a laid-back sadness, is energetic, passionate and highly expressive, both in dynamic contrasts and *rubato*. A pattern can be heard in the rising quavers groups at bars 46-47-49-52-53 (indicated with arrows), which create temporal and dynamic momentum that is released in the following descents (indicated by *portato* dashes in the example). This phrasing is not forgone in modern performances; its expression continues to 'make sense' to our ears, but we will see how differently it is transmitted. I find most interesting to note the treatment of the shorter phrasing *legato*, usually of four consecutive quavers, which consistently opens up both dynamic and tempo, rather than being used to present brief self-contained phrases. As we would expect, instead, the longer slurs at bars 48 and 50 that end in dotted-crotchet chords preceded by embellishments are used to close the larger surge-and-fade phrases.

²⁹⁵ Leech-Wilkinson, D. (2006) 'Portamento and Musical Meaning', in *Journal of Musicological Research*, Vol. 25, Nos. 3-4, p. 258, DOI: 10.1080/01411890600859412.

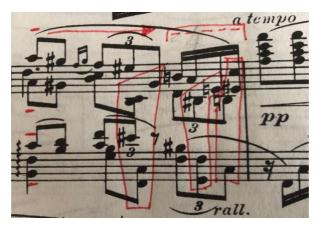
But how does Granados approach these passages in the Hupfeld roll (refer to Ex. 3.1.1B), keeping in mind the possibility they might have been recorded within a short space of time? Some material is dealt with differently: he avoids the LH's 'chopped' notation in bar 46, but liberally arpeggiates the first chord of 49; he forgoes the embellishment in bar 51, but seems to make more of the sudden *pp* at the end of 50, while avoiding the doubling of octaves at 52. If this performance seems to have a more intimate feel, one thing remains common to both; the role of the accompaniment continues to support and follow the melody, taking flight as it speeds up or holding back when it subsides. The treatment of the sequences of quavers in the melody, in the second and third beats of bars 47-49-51-52-53-54, reflects the very contour of the score; it pushes forward in the step-by-step motion and holds back noticeably the wider ascending intervals towards the new bars. In this way, the RH's melody is allowed the elasticity it might require for the performer to convey the emotion of a particular gesture, while this is counterbalanced before and after by an opposite hurrying of the material. The LH, in any case, continues to support these gestures, adjusting accordingly.

The score's directions, when put side by side with Granados's playing, also cause a degree of surprise: the *poco lento* of bar 46 seems to acquire a meaning closer to 'little slowness', rather than the sense we would customarily attribute to it, that is 'a little slow'. The *poco rall*. in bars 48–50 constitute another occasion where our understanding is in disconnect with the composer's example: while we take this direction to mean that the slowing down should carry on until the *in tempo* of the following bars, it is obvious from his playing that the suggestion is to indeed hold back (considerably) the first two quavers of the bar (exactly where the words *poco rall*. are located), but without continuing with this pace for a further two beats. We could avoid a recurring relaxation and drop of energy that divides the whole section into small, self-contained, phrases, thereby missing on the whirling motion that allows the whole page to be conveyed in one grand gesture.

The mere fact that this piece's emotional climax had been, in at least two occasions, performed by Granados with such freedoms — as they sound to us — must be a telling factor. It bears considerable significance that Granados adopts this style of left-hand accompaniment in other passages with similar material, when it is entrusted with sequences of arpeggiated figurations, even if not always to the same extent. The issue at hand, then, concerns what we *could* do with the score, rather than what we *should not*; it becomes difficult to avoid reaching the conclusion that our aversion for such performing characteristics says more about us, modern performers and listeners, than it does about the pianist, and style, in question.

3.4.1 Granados's undoing of polyrhythms, quavers, and the *ruiseñor*

Our interest in text fidelity would benefit, at least *prima facie*, from being corroborated by the composer's own performance; or on the contrary, it should force us to reconsider our position about this assumption. But matters are not quite as simple when we question the notation-versus-performance divergences in a case such as bar 23 of *Quejas*.



Extract from Quejas, o la maja y el ruiseñor, bar 23.296

In both the Welte-Mignon and Hupfeld recordings (found in Ex. 3.2.1A and 3.2.1B), Granados 'performs' an overhaul of the notation. In the Hupfeld performance, the second and third beats are transformed by aligning a chordal accompaniment to each of the melodic notes (highlighted in red in the example above), with the exception of the semiquaver A4 in the third beat, which stands unaccompanied. The quaver triplet and semiquaver quadruplet of the top line are not rhythmically juxtaposed with the quaver duplets and triplets of the other voices; it could be said that the notation was intended to suggest that the melodic line is to be played as if written out in vertically aligned, but unsynchronised, chords. The notation could have been purposefully unaligned to convey the suggestion of slight dislocation, rather than a wish for intricate polyrhythms somewhat uncomfortable to perform 'correctly'. In the Welte-Mignon recording this approach remains: no effort is made to 'abide' by and perform the polyrhythmic figurations as written, whilst the passage is played as if vertically aligned (the semiquaver A4 in the third beat again the exception) with slight desynchronisation. What is notably different in this second performance is the energy that emerges from the first two beats, contrasted by a remarkably held back final beat of the bar. As was discussed in previous examples, Granados

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²⁹⁶ Granados, E. (1991) Goyescas: Los majos enamorados, Union Musical Ediciones, S.L., Madrid.

tends to mark important moments with out-of-time, almost immobile, slowdowns. The Hupfeld version is, by comparison, less vigorous in the *tempo* push and pull, and dynamically considerably more subdued, whereas the Welte-Mignon creates a wider range of contrast within the bar. In both recordings Granados consistently adds in the LH a repetition of the chord found in the first quaver triplet of the second beat, thus sounding a C# dominant seventh under the E# triplet of the second beat; the result is a fully chordal triplet figuration. Like before, I have marked the score with a horizontal square bracket sign, over the third beat, to indicate the unit that Granados plays with a sudden stop of 'coherent' regular motion; what is important to him, it seems, is the lengthening of the cadential gesture leading to the new bar, so much beyond rhythmical recognition as to feel as if the pace had come to a halt. I have stopped short of notating precisely Granados's habits in this bar into a program that would allow a visually clearer example; while there is much to discuss and perhaps adopt in his of-the-moment fluidity, I could not encourage the literal adoption of his way of playing, lest it became the only one desirable, or even allowed.

Once of-the-moment freedoms are established as occurring widely and regularly in Granados's performances, and presuming that these 'divergences' would be nearly impossible to notate viably in a conventional score, how are we to make sense of them and lay them out as *possibilities* in the imagination of modern performers? I would like to think that for us all there is plenty of room for experimentation; not an 'anything goes' attitude, as I continue to believe that 'there has to be discrimination on grounds of competence', as Leech-Wilkinson might put it, but instead a widening of acceptance for renewed aesthetic choices. ²⁹⁷ Our experimentation should not simply become a case-by-case blind adoption of historical performance characteristics, though; Slåttebrekk and Harrison suggest that relying solely on what is written down is a roadblock to more 'tasty' performances, when they say:

Grieg in his own performances contradicts almost everything his own written page seems to reinforce. He forms long, flexible lines, creating wonderfully dynamic frameworks totally unrestricted by the solid written shapes so clearly visible on the page, which seems so short-breathed by comparison. It is rather like an incomplete list of ingredients on the one hand and a superbly prepared gourmet meal on the other.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁷ Leech-Wilkinson, D. (2009) *The Changing Sound of Music: Approaches to Studying Recorded Musical Performance* (London: CHARM), chapter 1.3, paragraph 40, https://www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/studies/chapters/chap1.html#par40. Last accessed 29/04/2020.

²⁹⁸ Slåttebrekk, S., Harrison, T. (2010) 'Grieg Performs Grieg', in *Chasing the Butterfly – Recreating Grieg's 1930s Recordings and Beyond...*, http://www.chasingthebutterfly.no/?page_id=87. Last accessed 07/03/2019.

Granados's performances become all the more 'irreverent' and allow to evidence, once again, the elements of discussion that converge from previous chapters. I think that a further, if brief, comparative analysis with more recent performers might be useful. As can be witnessed in Ex. 3.3.1–3.3.2, the main divergence with de Larrocha's playing is found in the choice of mood, when compared with the emotional urgency heard in Granados's playing. De Larrocha has taken advantage of an overall sense of linear melancholy with some wide dynamic surges, while maintaining a mostly regular and steady pace, both in the right and left hands. In the shorter excerpt, she steers slightly away from the score's notation, thus not fully complying with the printed polyrhythms at bar 23. I must wonder, though, whether this was done as stylistic and aesthetic choice, or in order to avoid the wide RH stretch B\(\text{\text{\text{-}E\(\text{\text{-}}\)}/\text{C\(\text{\text{\text{-}}\)}\) another explanation could be the desire to bring out the E\(\text{\text{\text{-}}}\) melodic note of the last chord of the bar. Pedalling must also have been at the forefront of her performative decisions in this passage.

Torres Pardo (Ex. 3.4.1–3.4.2) takes a completely different approach. Bar 23 is performed following precisely the polyrhythms of the score, with a sizeable *rall*. at the end of the bar, not dissimilar to Granados's; nevertheless, there seems to be a lack of forward movement in the second beat, which I believe to be beneficial to counterbalance the following slow down, and therefore avoid a likely feeling of loss of direction. Granados's extreme propulsions emphasise the unity of the whole bar, so that even when he executes extreme pull backs of the pace, there still seem to be traces of the previous energetic push forward. From bar 46 onwards of the longer excerpt, Torres Pardo succumbs to a steady and literal reading of the section; particularly notable is the LH accompaniment's style, which duly performs the role of 'Kapellmeister' beneath the evenly paced melody.

Han's performance (Ex. 3.5.1–3.5.2) is similar to Torres Pardo's in many ways, particularly in the longer section's approach to the LH accompaniment; although Han makes efforts to give energetic impulse to important musical gestures in the melody, such as the arrival at high points, due to the generally static pace and tranquil accompaniment they sound somewhat out of place and laboured. A correct, if slightly less than imaginative, reading of the dynamics and other score directions have, in modern performers evidently replaced what Granados treated as successive melodic gestures that mirror their contour with vivid dynamics and *rubato*.

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²⁹⁹ De Larrocha's hands are the protagonists of a whole sub-gallery of pictures on her website, including some myth-busting responses, as well as a state- and regionally-funded television documentary: https://www.aliciadelarrocha.com/en/content/her-hands. Last accessed 12/05/2019.

As final audios I have included those by Grosvenor (Ex. 3.6.1–3.6.2), who in recent years has acquired a particular affinity for this repertoire. I think it can be said, though, that the details pointed out in previous performances by modern pianists are confirmed, in that there seems to have been an arrival at the 'accepted' standard that favours undisturbed melancholy, paced accompaniments and steady melodies, whatever the overall speeds chosen, within a mood that aims to convey dolore with straightforward sorrow.

A contemporary concertgoer can, in a wide range of repertoire, experience at least a degree of variety in approaches towards much repertoire (I am thinking of an extreme case, such as a virtuosic but steady-paced Chopin that could be heard one evening, followed the next by a more freely and temporally liberal performance); modern performance practices of pieces by Granados, I suggest, have instead homogenised much of our creative imaginations. It is clear to me that the onus is upon us to make sense of his example, to accept some of its consequences onto our aesthetics, as we have with other performers (and performer/composers) of the time. By the standards of his day, Granados's style must not have been significantly controversial, nor particularly 'liberal'; it is our perception and modern bias that have rendered such a style, or one even mildly resembling it, wholly inappropriate, especially to teachers and critics. De Larrocha warned us that 'a constantly free treatment of every phrase group leads to sentimentality', adding that we should tread 'the fine line of tasteful recreation'. 300 This warning rings louder than ever as a veto slowly constraining the spectrum of possibilities for performers, binding them to a score to be faithfully interpreted and, crucially, duly sacrificed at the altar of 'Spanish' tradition.

Slåttebrekk and Harrison pinpoint the newly favoured aesthetic of the twentieth century from the point of view of performers:

We have as musicians collectively become more logical, reduced the level of disturbance in our music making, brought into balance tendencies that were before in conflict. If today we are perhaps now more in harmony with Newton's Law, then the greatest performers of the first half century of recorded history (very roughly up until the 1940s say) might have modified it a little to great effect – 'every action has an unequal and opposite reaction'.³⁰¹

Quantrill, P. (2017) 'Rubato according to Granados', in *Pianist*, Issue 96, June/July 2017.

https://www.pianistmagazine.com/news/rubato-according-to-granados/. Last accessed 22/08/2020.

³⁰¹ Slåttebrekk, S., Harrison, T. (2010) 'Grieg Performs Grieg', in Chasing the Butterfly – Recreating Grieg's 1930s Recordings and Beyond..., http://www.chasingthebutterfly.no/?page_id=87.

What is important about the tensions in the performances by 'them' — in the past — and 'us', is that how 'they' used to play until little less than a century ago diverges by more than a few details of little consequence; it is not a case of some performance characteristic, or clever expressive gimmicks, having gone missing. Slåttebrekk and Harrison state that these 'are not at all decoration and interesting detail, but fundamental elements, essential to the way we perceive the music itself'. Their disappearance has also signified a slow but fundamental shift in our auditive experiences and expectations. That is not to say that performances of the last half-century have lacked expression, or that remarkable artistry has stopped occurring on stage; it is the largely predictable, mainstream approach that I denounce as having 'brought into balance tendencies that were before in conflict'. And what would be left of art without conflict?

In Granados's recordings this 'conflict' can be heard clearly in two further passages from *Quejas*. It is worth remembering that this piece has received special attention from pianists, as a happy compromise between niche repertoire and popularity amongst audiences. ³⁰³ Performed usually with crafted regularity aiming to portray a suave and peaceful, if somewhat dark, expression of love and longing (the dedication to Granados's wife Amparo being the foremost clue), Granados proves, in comparison, all the more shocking. In the opening meandering section, we hear an array of well-known characteristics of the playing of his time, such as displacement of the hands and arpeggiation of chords. These are only surface characteristics, whereas the most interesting features lie in the continuous 'swinging' and everchanging pace of the even quavers printed on the page. In bar 14, Granados demonstrates the extemporaneous creativity of his approach, with the addition of a charming embellishment in the RH, which to my knowledge has never been adopted by any modern performer — a detail that can be heard only in the Welte-Mignon roll, not in the Hupfeld recording, strongly hinting at a momentary fancy.

Two habits are outstanding and worth underlining for their consistent appearances. The first is the relatively widespread use of what I like to call 'out of context *ritardando*'; sometimes heard in conjunction with the score's *ralls*., they are also used, unmarked, at predictable structural junctures, stretching note values well beyond the surrounding average pace. For example, in bar 10, two consecutive trills in each hand are prolonged freely without triggering a balancing accelerando of the following material, and thus making it an altogether

³⁰² *Ibid.*, http://www.chasingthebutterfly.no/?page_id=288. Last accessed 07/03/2019.

³⁰³ Alongside *El amor y la muerte*, which has also seen a renaissance of interest from younger pianists.

local and self-contained expressive device. In bar 13, again, three chords forming a perfect cadence are extended beyond any reasonable understanding of the score's notation, effectively halting the flow of the music.³⁰⁴



Extract from Quejas, o la maja y el ruiseñor, bars 9-14 (including added embellishment). 305

The second element worth highlighting is Granados's systematic avoidance of straightforward playing, which is particularly striking in a piece expected to sound as the most sentimental of the Suite. This might be a defining feature differentiating today's practice, whereby the idea of 'beautiful' and 'romantic' largely results in smooth and mellow playing. In Granados we hear efforts being directed at *not* making this introduction linear, predictable, and merely lovely. While modern performances prize regularity and predictability, under his hands the melancholy suggested in the tempo marking stems from emphasising local elements and the prolonging or shortening of values, bringing charisma to the performance.

Equally surprising is the signature passage of the piece, which depicts the nightingale of the title; after only one hearing, it is easy to spot where Granados departs from the score in some significant details (please refer to Ex. 3.7A–3.7B and the score below). The two sequences of repeated broken chords, written out four times in the score, are instead repeated six and five times in the Welte-Mignon roll, and six times each in the Hupfeld — a freedom in the *cadenza ad lib*. apparently forgotten (or still thought dangerous) in our days. The dynamic

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³⁰⁴ Please refer to Sound Ex. 1.1.1 in Appendix A.

³⁰⁵ Granados, E. (2015) Goyescas – Los majos enamorados, Henle Verlag, HN 582.

levels, just as unpredictably, are generally far less *ppp*, creating a considerably less serene mood than we have come to expect; also, the trills are performed with a speed and energy that are technically brilliant and musically exhilarating, up to the last sequence of demisemiquavers leading to the final chords. Only here we find a resolution to this hair-raising finale. Granados performs the whole closing section as a vigorous *cadenza*, an unforeseeable change of character from the preceding complaints of the *maja* to near pianistic violence, contrary to the cheerful and melodious nightingale songs of mainstream portrayals. The approach heard in the Welte-Mignon roll seems uncompromising, while the Hupfeld would appear to offer further shadings of colour (though, as I mentioned earlier in regard to Debussy's roll transfers, the shortcomings of even these best mechanisms are bound to limit what was recorded); neither approach, in any case, bears resemblance to our adoption of controlled speeds, subdued dynamics and scorebound understandings. Our duty, I feel, is not just to reconsider the piece out of reverence to a historical recording, but rather to ask ourselves what our priorities should be in performance. Why should we resign ourselves to a 'fine line of tasteful recreation', when we could contemplate playing (something) like that again?



Extract from Quejas, o la maja y el ruiseñor, cadenza to end. 306

3.5 'Expression of meaning' in performance

A chapter that deals at its core with historical performances should aim to state valid reasons for these to be seen as more than historical curiosities, or lessons in historical performance, at either end of the spectrum. I want to clarify why it should matter to analyse closely an old recording, consider its artistic value, and suggest how this venture into yesterday's sound can inform different ways to perform *Goyescas* today. Has the past anything to tell us in the present, and should we listen? Philip made a valid point when he said that 'one of the main ways in which the experience of music has changed over this century is that a hundred years ago music was not just an aural experience. It was also a matter of physical presence, and direct

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³⁰⁶ Granados, E. (2015) *Goyescas – Los majos enamorados*, Henle Verlag, HN 582.

communication between musicians and audience'. 307 I would wish to add that, perhaps, the 'experience of music' (and we should here differentiate the receivers of the aural experience and the suppliers who decide who is to be offering it) is nowadays still less concerned with the aural events than it is with the outward, often visual, and social networking presence of the artist; the balance between myth and performance, between glossy marketing and aesthetic preoccupation, has certainly tipped heavily towards the former in recent years. It might not be too impolite to suggest that often an artist's commercial success and popularity have become one and the same with the parameters by which their artistry is valued. 308 Be that as it may, Philip proceeds to explore in more depth how we can view and deal with the legacy of earlyrecorded pianists. He asks: '[i]f the styles of the recent past are too embarrassing to re-use, what good are they to us except as part of the nostalgia industry?'; his suggestion is that one should refrain from re-presenting such styles today, and '[r]ather than worrying about what we think of the performers of the early twentieth century, consider what they have to tell us about our way of performing.'309 Having considered this question for a while, I am further convinced they should continue to cast a shadow over our literal obsessions; that, to me, should be a good enough reason to allow them to throw light on our explorations of artistic creativity. A theoretically simple reframing of the performer's role within the 'experience of music' could have interesting implications, ones that I have aimed to highlight and get close to in my own practice. Having discussed in chapter 2 my position on fidelity to the score, there should be no doubt where I stand when it comes to my 'relationship' with the score, beyond an early tool for learning.

In what ways, then, did the communication of the aural experience shift? What was the focus of a pianist's attention in the past and how did he or she see this relationship between self and audience? Philip says that 'a musician's prime task was not the perfect rendering of a score, which automatically restricts the options, but putting over to the audience what is happening in the music'; in other words, not 'performing' a score, but offering a viable aural experience of the score's emotional affordances. ³¹⁰ The relationship with the score is an intimate one, sometimes obsessive, but we should 'allow' ourselves to be persuaded that it does not contain in notation all the variables we can *perform* of the work. In the end, what must

³⁰⁷ Philip, R. (2002) 'The Romantic and the Old-Fashioned', in Kjellberg, E., Lundkvist, E., Roström, J., (eds. 2002) *The Interpretation of Romantic and Late-Romantic Music*, Uppsala Universitet, Sweden, p. 13.

³⁰⁸ Philip's writings, and I suppose his views, without at all meaning to be disrespectful, are from 'another age', which could not take into account social networking.

³⁰⁹ Philip, R., op. cit., p. 29.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

matter is what goes on in our mind's ear. Alfred Brendel articulated this process in stages: '[t]he player before the public must do four things at the same time: he must imagine the performance, play it, project it and listen to it'. To me the third stage of this description is somewhat fuzzy — not that I intend to diminish a pianist's role in *knowing how* to project a sound, but that seems more a honed technical ability than a mental process on stage — although I might add a branching for the first, with the step that makes the connection from the sound that has come before to that which is yet to be played; a circular process rather than a sequence of steps. The creativity and spontaneity found in the examples of historical recordings are supreme instances of what can be transmitted, and experienced, if we treat the score as a necessary departure point; an *object* that an artist should put aside in order to allow her personality to permeate and dominate freely towards a successful and pleasing 'experience'. The content of the process in stages in stages.

Many in the musicological world and in the realm of performance (with all the shades within these categories) still value the *performance* and the audible experiences on-stage or onrecord, but face strong opposition from several sides, not least music critics — and audiences, for that matter — who expect an 'experience of music' that surreptitiously drives away the desire and appetite for poetic personalities and performing liberties. I was reminded of this at a concert at London's Southbank Centre, which included Beethoven's Fourth Piano Concerto, with Radu Lupu as the soloist. Upon listening I asked myself whether Beethoven would have recognised that performance as being of his piano concerto, as much as I would have while following the score. I had no doubt in my mind, though, that these were all secondary elements to what I perceived as a moving, sensitive, quasi-impressionistic rendition. And yet, coming across a review by Ateş Orga, one could easily have imagined the performance had been a fiasco. 'What exactly was [Lupu] trying to say, where had his articulation gone, why so many missed notes, approximations and uneven scales?', Orga wondered. Looking back I could not find it in myself to have wished for those technical imprecisions to have been substituted by a more defined, precise and even approach — many pianists today could have delivered such a performance — but lacking perhaps '[w]hat Lupu gave us most [...] a fireside sketch of the work, sitting at his piano, ruminating, improvising, etching in the outline of harmonies and melodies, stopping, starting'. These words were not meant, clearly, as compliments. But what could have been more precious than witnessing the experience and musical command of the

³¹¹ Davies, S. (2001) *Musical Works and Performances*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, p. 309.

³¹² I am aware of exceptions; the example of Nobuyuki Tsujii is remarkable, in that as a blind pianist he must learn 'the score' in a completely different way, either through Braille or relying solely on the aural result and on the mechanical aspects of every passage of each piece.

74 year-old pianist, away from the artificial perfection of recordings, allowing us a glimpse of his private, minimalist 'ruminating' and 'improvising' — in a capacity-filled hall — which Orga interpreted as '[Lupu] confin[ing] himself to pretty much a mezzoforte dynamic range, with little obvious attention to colour or register'?³¹³ Leech-Wilkinson makes a powerful case in the opening paragraphs of *The Changing Sound of Music*, when he states that '[a] piece became less a sequence of sounds that pleased the ear'. 314 Shifting the focus from what pleases, even surprises, the ear to the expectation that all runs and scales must be perfectly produced by every pianist, lest they be perceived as 'puzzl[ing]' and 'at worst distress[ing]', is the inevitable consequence of expectations caused by the clinical precision offered by modern recording methods, transferred into modern audiences' expectations. Musicality, by which I mean the approach to a piece at a given place and time by a given performer, loses out against the expectation of correctness; but Leech-Wilkinson points to the breadth of these possible musical approaches, when he accepts the possibility of 'different instances of the work as equally valid', even if 'there has to be discrimination on grounds of competence...but one has to recognise that much is a matter of taste'. 315 Besides the emphasis on the HIP validity of a performance, on the absolute technical success of the latter, and remaining within the realm of a pleasing aesthetic result — or why not, inspiring — I prefer to focus on the musical transmission occurring during the live event; in Leech-Wilkinson's words: '[f]undamentally, musicality is the ability to make a convincing relationship (convincingly expressive of some meaning), expressed in notes composed or played, between notes and performance'. 316

What I have just laid out may lead to suspicion that I intend to create my own rules and boundaries on how it would be advisable, even permissible, to play, or that I wish to police the approaches of other musicians. I ought to clarify that I believe there to be ample room for creativity and for personal exploration towards the expression 'of some meaning', even beyond what I would, personally, consider tasteful or 'appropriate'. It is perhaps of some importance that the 'discrimination on grounds of competence' mentioned by Leech-Wilkinson should be moved by someone knowing, or believing to know, a better alternative, a more pleasing — therefore, perhaps, appropriate — musical or technical approach. Much can be done when

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³¹³ Orga, A. (2019) 'Radu Lupu plays Beethoven', in *Classical Source*, Sunday February 03, 2019, http://www.classicalsource.com/db control/db concert review.php?id=16144. Last accessed 06/02/2019.

³¹⁴ Leech-Wilkinson, D. (2009) *The Changing Sound of Music: Approaches to Studying Recorded Musical Performance* (London: CHARM), chapter 1.1, paragraph 3,

https://www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/studies/chapters/chap1.html#par3. Last accessed 29/04/2020.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, chapter 1.3, paragraph 40, https://www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/studies/chapters/chap1.html#par40. Last accessed 29/04/2020.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, chapter 2.2, paragraph 51, https://www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/studies/chapters/chap2.html#par51. Last accessed 29/04/2020.

technique (both physical and mental) is finely tuned and when the aesthetic desire is one that is not driven by musical arrogance and self-interest. I do, however, realise that these are, very much, 'a matter of taste', with the latter of my suggestions being an important element of my own modus of 'discrimination'. Whatever our learned take on this, there might as well be a different personal taste and set of preferences for each person present in a hall or listening to a record. Each patron will have their opinions on the performer's sound production choice, the overall speed of a piece, its sections and its constituent movements, alongside the overall musical experience offered; taking Leech-Wilkinson's thought that '[people who are not musically trained] listen to each moment as it happens and respond to it through feeling, not through conscious analysis', 317 they will have to, consciously or otherwise, make up their minds on whether these elements were chosen to display prosaically the analytical structure of a given work — the untrained person might very well adopt the word 'boring', I suspect — or if instead they were a medium for the performer's personality and understanding of a piece's journey to transmit a vivid aural experience. In any case, judgment on a performance will be made on the most diverse grounds but following a person's 'response' to what is happening on stage.

Slåttebrekk and Harrison emphasise our bias towards past performing aesthetics: on the modern side of the spectrum we have '[a] very literal approach to the score and its apparent demands, an overriding attention to orderliness, togetherness, clarity and rhythmic steadiness', while those at the historical end are judged by their style and often viewed as inherently inadequate as performers: '[f]eatures like the rushing towards a point of emphasis, the lightened of short notes, non-synchronized hands or chords in keyboard playing, and the much greater level of tempo modification and rhythmic variation often indicate to a modern listener a lack of control and disorderliness. These indeed are regarded as grave sins in the twenty first century'. ³¹⁸ Unless I wished to target the core of the business behind music (I dislike calling it the business *of* music), which possesses its own rules and requirements far from mere artistic ideals, we shall accept, or continue to learn to accept, the tensions that these tastes produce, and understand how to deal with them in the most productive way possible.

I feel I must speak out, not least because of my role and experience as educator, although perhaps admitting my own antique thinking, by saying that in order to make

³¹⁷ Leech-Wilkinson, D. (2009) *The Changing Sound of Music: Approaches to Studying Recorded Musical Performance* (London: CHARM), 1.1, paragraph 12, https://charm.kcl.ac.uk/studies/chapters/chap1.html#par12. Last accessed 29/04/2020.

³¹⁸ Slåttebrekk, S., Harrison, T. (2010) 'Ambiguity and Multi-layeredness', in *Chasing the Butterfly – Recreating Grieg's 1930s Recordings and Beyond...*, http://www.chasingthebutterfly.no/?page_id=87.

something musically different with one's abilities, it would be good to first master the basics and the 'textbook'. Scales and arpeggios, and progressively — though not only, of course — Czerny, Chopin and Liszt's études are a good, 'basic' preparation for any other repertoire one aims to grasp fully. Attempting Rachmaninov's Third Piano Concerto having skipped previous technical steps that train fingers, wrist and arm actions, sonority, pedalling could be possible; it would not be my preferred suggestion for a young musician to mistake, in such an instance, the technically possible for the artistically desirable. As a consequence, I have a preference for the word performance in its most creative, and cryptic, definition; not just 'the action of performing a play, piece of music, ceremony, etc.; execution, interpretation', 319 but rather with the connotations that this receives in Japanese. Music performance, the result of our staged efforts, is *ongaku o ensō*, which can be literally translated as 'sound enjoy/fun perform'. With this in mind, I continue stating my aim, in this complicated and erudite matter, to learn, explore aesthetic possibilities, imagine personal 'visions' of a piece, and ultimately enjoying performing the sound, for the pleasure of others and possibly mine along the way. Hamilton hits upon a similar concept: '[w]hatever disadvantages early-romantic concerts had, they were often more informal and sound simply like a lot more fun, for both performers and audiences. A little less reverence and a bit more entertainment would do us no harm today'. 320

3.6 Conclusion

Debussy's approach to performance, in the words of Chiantore, is one that makes the audible experience more a 'sonorous blur' rather than a 'percussion'; in visual terms, it aims at 'horizontality rather than verticality'. 321 However distant his performances may be from our aesthetic standards and what we may still learn from them in the future, they seem to be no longer altogether scandalous to our ears. I would say that Granados's performances, on the other hand, still feel further removed from us and our rendition of his scores: his playing inhabiting a different universe to that of pianists of later generations who have given us more 'appropriate' versions. A quick listen to the opening of *Quejas* demonstrates Granados's heavy reliance on hand desynchronisation, on lengthening or shortening of beats, on of-the-moment

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 $^{^{319}}$ 'n., n. 4'. OED Online. December 2018. Oxford University Press.

http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/140783?redirectedFrom=performance#eid. Last accessed 07/02/2019.

³²⁰ Hamilton, K. (2008) *After the Golden Age: Romantic Pianism and Modern Performance*, Oxford University Press, p. 31.

³²¹ Chiantore, L. (2001) *Historia de la técnica pianística*, Alianza Editorial, S.A., Madrid, p. 207.

details, which would be inconceivable through a literal reliance on the text; his declamation of musical gestures, their characterization, creates the biggest difference with today's *routinised* performances. Not for these reasons, though, should we ignore and relegate him to the status of historical curiosity from which no relevant artistry can be extracted.

As we learn more about the way in which music was *made* in the past, about how far performers took their personal creativities, we should re-evaluate our stylistic intentions; it is my hope that our attitudes might evolve, and our horizons widen. If we were genuinely interested in opening doors to individual imagination, it would not be inappropriate to remember to have some *ongaku* — or 'sound fun'. Academic research could help achieve this through a deeper understanding of the *performances* of historical musicians, accepting the viability of focusing on 'moment', 'gesture', and 'impermanence' to express meaning; an expression of meaning that was changed, in the intervening century, by the advent of seismically transformative cultural forces leading us to an altogether different aesthetic of performance and listening.

Chapter Four

Research for Performance

4.1 My research-practice

The final two chapters afford me the opportunity to link my academic and performance research. Each of these had a scope of interest that progressively narrowed towards practical applications: from arguments on the political genesis and identity of conceptions of Granados's scores, through the resulting pianistic approaches, finally arching backwards to a study of the performance practices of Granados himself. I will move on to demonstrate my own practices, the ways in which new stylistic choices can be imagined, and how they can be implemented through performance or teaching. As the title of this chapter reveals, my aim all along was to pursue a research, academic as well as auditory — comparative of Granados's practice, that of other pianists, and my own — whose goal was to re-evaluate and explore different ways of approaching a score, that of Goyescas in particular. I hope to have already convinced the reader of the superfluous and dangerous nature of the aesthetics that highlight elements of 'Spanishness', as legacy of half a century of ideological pressures felt in most recent performances. As we have seen, this is mostly a mid-twentieth-century acquisition that has little in common with Granados's own performances, nor is it an absolute aesthetic value that can be fully defended. Furthermore, pianistic styles from the 1920s onwards started to embrace and routinise concerns with precision and verticality, putting the score on the proverbial pedestal. To discredit both these instances, Granados's legacy has proven essential; if historicity is what we are interested in — and I claim that it is not unimportant in the case of Granados as it allows us to take the dictator out of the score, literally and metaphorically then proof for my thesis should be abundant and clear. I also discussed the characteristics of historical performance practices; not as a wish for these to be blindly reintroduced, but rather as suggestions for different approaches that are possible if we forego collapsing our creativity into performances that 'mirror' the score and a piece's form and analytical aspects. As Leech-Wilkinson puts it in his latest book (and self-declared polemic) Challenging Performance, when talking about the likelihood of being able to 'show' the structure of a score in performance, '...music is controlled and perceived from moment to moment: long-term structures are theoretical, useful for composers, an invitation from analysts to imagine music

in a particular way, but apparently not perceptible (save in the vaguest outline via memory)'. 322 The consequences stemming from such theoretical approaches have been, in my view, enormous in directing the focus of performers away from aural creativity and towards analytical *correctness*.

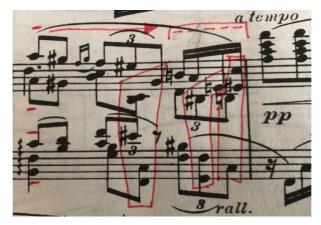
I want to evidence a practice methodology that counters this approach, and which I adopted early on in my research. It could be described as the ultimate exercise in HIP; but as I pointed out in the previous chapter, HIP has at no time been a goal in itself for me, rather a means for exploration of sounding possibilities and further understanding. The path, method and results of this practice were worth the effort, even considering its artistic drawbacks (about which I will speak later), in order to liberate my playing from mainstream constraints.

4.2 Copying Granados's Quejas

The results of this practice derived from my efforts to recreate Granados's performance of *Quejas* for Welte-Mignon in 1912, in all the countless details that are so foreign to today's range of performing choices. I set out to explore the pianistic style I could achieve by abandoning the habits that I had, understandably, internalised following a traditional musical education. However high-level the latter might have been, it was one that so often *prohibited* anything even closely resembling Granados's approach, and which relied mainly on standardised notions of performance practices acquired throughout the course of the previous century. Shadowing Granados's playing, getting close to his style, was informative not only of how he played and what he practically did to sound his score, but rather of how I *could* play differently today: it became the means to an unknown end.

The first issue resulting from this exercise was, not for the first time and only more compellingly, that of faithfulness to the score. Why should I be expected to play the notes and directions as they are printed, missing out on the opportunity to ask myself questions around *how* I could find my own creative divergences? Could I not, potentially, imagine a different rendition of *Quejas* from what is customary nowadays?

³²² Leech-Wilkinson, D. (2020) *Challenging Performance: Classical Music Performance Norms and How to Escape Them*, chapter 6.3, quoting Leech-Wilkinson (2012), 4.10, https://challengingperformance.com/the-book-6-3/. Last accessed 02/05/2020.



Extract from Quejas, o la maja y el ruiseñor, bar 23.323

To return to the example at bar 23 of *Quejas*,³²⁴ we could perhaps imagine it in ways that diverge from Granados's approach, but especially from modern examples. For instance, we could consider stretching the downward triplet gesture between the RH's E# and G# in the second beat, balancing it out by a forward drive of the ascending shape of the third beat; while avoiding a predictable closing-down *diminuendo*, we could nevertheless extract from the instrument a sound that resolved fleetly into the following bar. This represents just one possibility, perhaps out of many more that could be sounded, with the necessary precondition that pianists should allow themselves, and be encouraged in their formative years, to add into their practice routines such moments of creativity; practising and learning, in this scenario, would not be limited to the aim of correct note-playing and repetitive technique-building, but be complemented by an intensely detailed creative work targeted at finding different possible solutions; in this passage as in countless others.

Looking back at the diary I kept during the intensive period of copying-practice, I was reminded of the amount of detailed information collected from listening to Granados's playing; I gathered proof of the unnotated potential within the score, which from our point of view remains dangerously *improper*. I noted down the shortened or lengthened rhythms, the unmarked dynamics, arpeggiated chords and unsynchronised playing, alongside the 'atemporal' *ralls*., those which Granados seemed to favour at particular junctures — where the uniform progress of time, moulded flexibly with relatively small slow-downs resolving and leading into new sections, becomes utterly disrupted. I also paid attention to the extemporaneous note additions, which made the composer's performance even further removed from what the score would suggest to our eyes. One comment in particular, though,

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³²³ Granados, E. (1991) Goyescas: Los majos enamorados, Union Musical Ediciones, S.L., Madrid.

³²⁴ See chapter 3.4.1, p. 108.

returned in my diary time and again in relation to the treatment of structural junctures: while analytically the score would suggest the end of a phrase, leading into a new section or new material, Granados rarely performed these in ways that would easily make sense to us. Whether endings are pushed through into the new material or slowed down so much as to almost lose structural coherence, much of his creativity allowed such moments to display a variety of approaches that are particularly interesting, unpredictable and, regrettably, distasteful to modern ears.³²⁵

Sigurd Slåttebrekk fully anticipated my own conclusions in his descriptions of Grieg's playing: he established that Grieg 'contradicts almost everything his own written page seems to reinforce. He forms long, flexible lines, creating wonderfully dynamic frameworks totally unrestricted by the solid written shapes so clearly visible on the page, which seems so shortbreathed by comparison'; Slåttebrekk also says that the analytical structure of the score affords his playing with 'not a hint of square rigidity when one looks even a fraction below the surface'.326 Seen under this light, Granados too 'contradicts' his own score and dwells in 'frameworks totally unrestricted by the solid written shapes'. As we experience his ralls., the creative treatments of junctures, the sequences of swung quavers or unnotated rhythmic flexibilities, 'not a hint of square rigidity' easily applies to Granados's performances. Just as performers today understand tempo flexibility differently, it is also the case that historical figures diverged in their approaches; but as Slåttebrekk concludes, this was true 'on a quite different level than today, [as] it was normal procedure for performers to introduce their own tempo modifications in a musical narrative, to separate the important from the less important in their interpretation, and to create a musical relief through internal tempo relations'.327 It is difficult, today, to imagine playing with such freedoms, or foresee an impact on one's conception of temporal flexibility, without undergoing the slow and repetitive practice of copying these details in performance and allowing such approaches to become part of our performing vocabulary.

Together with the successful consequences of this copying process, it is important to note that as I attempted to faithfully reproduce a whole 'copied' performance of the piece, I added two sentences to my diary that, with hindsight, formed the basis for the next section of this chapter. I wrote down: 'I could follow exactly my [diary] notes and 'be' like him, but I

³²⁵ Please see Appendix A, chapter 4 for a sample of pages from my practice diary.

³²⁶ Slåttebrekk, S., Harrison, T. (2010) 'Grieg Performs Grieg', in *Chasing the Butterfly – Recreating Grieg's* 1930s Recordings and Beyond..., http://www.chasingthebutterfly.no/?page_id=288.

³²⁷ Ibid. My emphasis.

find my playing to take different turns every time, even if with his style in mind' and '[s]eem unable to duplicate exactly!'. ³²⁸ As much as I tried to slowly incorporate Granados's mannerisms into a whole performance, I could not settle into a perfect replication each time. I did not just unwarily revert to my own, contemporary, *safer* playing, but rather felt the *need* to allow my own time stretches, my own slightly different accents and dynamic variations to prevail. I was unable and unwilling to faithfully mirror Granados's one-off; more precisely, mirror his recording on that day in May of 1912. Both at the time and now, it seemed a limiting exercise to lock my performances into what Granados demonstrated to be only one of the ways in which he might have performed *Quejas*.

To demonstrate this achievement, it might be worth listening to my performance of Quejas from 2017, listed as audio 4.1 in Appendix A. 329 If copying and reconstructing Granados's performance was my main objective during practice, I soon realised that I could not sustain it for an extended period of time; I ultimately refused — intellectually and physically — to eliminate my own self from a performance. Instead, I aimed to make mine a foreign style, to make it convincingly my own. This intensive exercise in imitating Granados required me to forget almost everything I (thought I) knew about the piece and about expression in performance, while proving invaluable to detach myself from those very modern preconceptions that have brought about the performances we expect, and hear, today. The result of this exercise was one that I could hardly repeat faithfully after a length of time before slipping back into known customs, or without desiring to restore my artistic self; but what could and did linger from this practice-based research in my public performances was a strong sense of the possibilities that it opened up, and of the viability of an approach that gives precedence to aural creativity and fantasy. Putting all these encouraging performance transformations aside for a moment, it is also important to highlight some concerns that this copy-practice method evidenced.

4.2.1 Drawbacks of the copying practice

Since undertaking the copying practice, I have begun to question its value as a method that could be sustained over an extended period of time. Are the results merely going to pave the way for a new branch of performance-based musicological research? And if so, what will we

³²⁸ See diary entry, p. 181.

³²⁹ Available also at https://vimeo.com/224370209.

do with the progressive build-up of 'copied performances' by different researchers? Will they eventually exhaust our research needs, satisfy our creativity, in that we will have reached an ultimate HIP? I want to make the case that this prospect would be remarkably tricky, even if it were advisable. The time-consuming aspect of the process is not unproblematic; as Leech-Wilkinson says, 'you have to copy at first mind-numbingly slowly and repetitively; and then as you begin to embody the whole approach to performance style, so that it becomes part of the way your body makes music, you at the same time inevitably give up much of the musicality you've spent so many years building up for yourself'. 330 The issues are quite apparent already: for all the flaws one can find in the business of music performance, one that is least likely to change is that of being a fast-paced affair. Nowadays, artists would hardly be allowed, even if they were so inclined, such time-consuming style changes — we are easily dealing with months if not years; let alone students, loaded as they are with endless requirements. Both professional performers and students have already so much on their plates, without adding the effort of attempting to copy this or that historical figure on record. Even more fundamentally, though, for me, is the possibility — likelihood even — that this process might simply create a new branch of HIP; a historically and aurally informed practice, which would in turn create new sets of rules and regulations that eventually *prohibit* different approaches. Leech-Wilkinson, in a talk at Stanford University (2012), called it Recording Informed Performance (RIP), the acronym for which would seem to spell its own self-fulfilling demise.

Yet, the merits of this practice are not to be doubted; discrediting many well-established HIP convictions in contemporary performance, outing them as modernist creations, and throwing a spotlight on forgotten and nearly forbidden performance mannerisms, represent encouraging results to be celebrated. The argument for caution I bring forward is that once this incredibly 'demanding' process of learning has achieved its fundamental aim, what will it leave behind? If the idea that 'early recordings can be an embarrassment for HIP', ³³¹ is it the case that for most practitioners the temptation will be that of replacing an old set of performing beliefs (in this case HIP as we have known it for decades) with a newer one, however more historically truthful it may be? Will it just move the goalpost a further step back? It is the very fact that as a practice it is essentially based on history that might just create a new following, a new wave of fundamentalist historicity, which could easily result in yet more sanctifications of the past. I am not free from guilt; while teaching, I once found myself exclaiming 'that's

³³⁰ Leech-Wilkinson, D. (2020) *Challenging Performance: Classical Music Performance Norms and How to Escape Them*, chapter 6.8, https://challengingperformance.com/the-book-6-8/. Last accessed 02/05/2020. https://challengingperformance.com/the-book-6-8/. Last accessed 02/05/2020. https://challengingperformance.com/the-book-6-8/. Last accessed 02/05/2020.

how Granados played it!', implying that it must have been a better, more advisable style. All I was doing, practically, was to give myself a historical backing in order to be more persuasive and authoritative, suggesting a performance model that Granados might (or might not) have adopted. Leech-Wilkinson condemns our performing beliefs as having become 'obligations to the dead';³³² in the case of RIP, the danger lies in that it could direct us towards *the* final HIP, if it becomes a widespread practice done without the care and time-consuming research that has characterised it so far. Imagine, for a moment, adding the requirement to re-create historical performances in the education of a young musician, grounded as this already is on 'the belief in composers' sanctity, their judgement being beyond human criticism...so deeply embedded since first lessons that it feels blasphemous to question it' without factoring in the humanist view that the composers themselves '...were people, musicians like us interested in creating musical experiences, and particularly in imagining new ones'.333 For all its wonderful and liberating possibilities, we are in the presence of a double-edged sword that needs to be handled carefully in order to add to performers' experiences, rather than subtract from their creativities; sounding the historical sources could signify a better, more invested, exploration of our range of aesthetic possibilities; they should prompt us to 'listen and think', as Leech-Wilkinson put it.334

Anna Scott and the already mentioned Slåttebrekk undertook this time-consuming process in their ground-breaking researches reconstructing performances that closely copied Brahms and Grieg; they achieved stimulating results, especially opening our minds and ears to renewed approaches and to question, or rather place in doubt, most of our HIP beliefs. Leech-Wilkinson, describing the difficulties of this copying work, says that one obstacle resides in having to '…inevitably give up much of the musicality you've spent so many years building up for yourself. It's generous, self-effacing, and psychologically challenging, potentially even damaging unless you're wholly convinced that you have gained as a musician'. To this I would add my words of caution and say that giving up one's musicality is an obstacle which might not be easily overcome by many — I was finally unable, or unwilling, to do so completely — nor would it be desirable to for large numbers of pianists and musicians. This remains a difficult work and a challenging practice, indeed carried out with a 'generous, self-

³³² Leech-Wilkinson, D. (2020) *Challenging Performance: Classical Music Performance Norms and How to Escape Them*, chapter 6.12, https://challengingperformance.com/the-book-6-12/. Last accessed 02/05/2020. https://challengingperformance.com/the-book-6-12/. Last accessed 02/05/2020. 333 Ibid.

³³⁴ Leech-Wilkinson, D. (2012) 'RIP (&) the Composer', in *Reactions to the Record*, 12/04/2012, Stanford University, CA, U.S.A..

³³⁵ Leech-Wilkinson, D. (2020), *op. cit.*, chapter 6.8, https://challengingperformance.com/the-book-6-8/. Last accessed 02/05/2020.

effacing' spirit, which should be attempted in the practice room by the brave, given enough time, as a *means* to further exploration rather than as an end in itself.

In the process of copying Granados's performance of *Quejas*, I became aware that I could not go as far as allowing a direct challenge to 'much of the musicality [I]'ve spent so many years building up for [my]self'.³³⁶ I was not concerned about going against what Leech-Wilkinson defines the 'question of period taste' — the contemporary mainstream — nor of lacking 'a large audience willing to pay to hear' truly HIP approaches;³³⁷ after having played *Quejas* in such a 'copycat' style in concert, sometimes with a brief verbal introduction, at other times with a post-performance 'revelation', I could not shake off the feeling that I 'only' truly attempted to *embody* Granados for a few minutes, staging the results of an exercise, of a relearning process, within a full recital setting.³³⁸ Regardless of the enjoyment by audiences and the benefits I might have drawn from the information I had learned 'from' Granados, ultimately I felt on the verge of becoming a vicarious performer. This proved an uncomfortable position for me to adopt for too long.

In conclusion, I am not intending to demolish or even diminish the merits of the RIP method; I am indeed indebted to the path opened up by others, who have challenged beliefs and adopted it to re-create generously imaginative performances that are both physically and intellectually liberated from mainstream rules. Having said this, in order to be useful also to those who have not at their disposal the time required to go through the academic and practice-based steps, it must be seen as a *path* to a goal, an avenue to follow that can help liberate from decades of established norms, rather than the goal itself. If breaking rules — dare we go that far? — is to bear fruits in our way of performing music, it should enable performers to feel empowered to come up with some differently personal and original approaches.

4.3 Applications to teaching practice

As a consequence of my research and the stylistic changes afforded by the copy-practice efforts, my teaching method has also evolved. During a masterclass I held in Tokyo, Japan, on

³³⁶ Leech-Wilkinson, D., op. cit., chapter 6.8, https://challengingperformance.com/the-book-6-8/.

³³⁷ Ibid.

³³⁸ Following a performance of *Quejas* in Lleida, Granados's hometown, attended by a well-known Spanish musicologist, I was greeted with the comment: 'Here comes Granados!'. This sat uncomfortably with me, however positively the comment must have been meant; at the same time reminding me of Georgia Volioti's comment about Slåttebrekk's 2010 recordings reconstructing Grieg's own, which 'boast a mimetic likeness of their own earlier selves'. Volioti, G. (2015) 'Reminiscing Grieg: A Study of Technostalgia and Modulating Identities', in *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 98, No. 3, p. 184, https://doi.org/10.1093/musqtl/gdv005.

6 April 2019, I wanted to start conveying a different set of priorities to students; not least, spending some time underlining those elements discussed previously in chapter 3.5, such as improvisation and of-the-moment creativity 'away' from the score, which can be used as an important part of the practising processes. In order to achieve this, I planned to make my experience useful on the day by concerning most of my comments with the sounding result, rather than how a performance should mirror the score's parameters. Particularly interesting in Granados is to engage with brief passages, analyse the way in which they might have been 'improvised', and use the contours of the sounds as a hint to their possible physical performance — the *physicality* of a passage in this way can tell us how we can best sound it, notwithstanding the score's bare information. In sections where this approach would have been appropriate, I also wanted to divert the student's attention from metronomic concerns suggesting hand dislocation or arpeggiations, the swinging of quavers, or other similar techniques to venture into different timing possibilities. Just adopting one of those features with some frequency should allow our performance to violate the verticality of a steady pace. What interesting moments of tension and relaxation might we uncover trying this out for a few minutes?

As I conducted these sessions aimed at pianists ranging from post-Diploma to Postgraduate level, I was wary of my obligation to first and foremost deal with each performer's needs — helping to solve technical issues with useful fingerings, hand redistribution of some challenging passages, different approaches to sound production and voicing etc.; I must point this out to highlight that it would not have been appropriate for me to focus exclusively on 'instructing' pianists from my own perspective as researcher, nor to have avoided spending time on certain issues in favour of my research aims. Another obstacle resided in the fact that these lessons might well have been one-offs, rather than regular teacher/student relationships that would continue over a period of time; even with all this in mind, some conclusions were possible and encouraging. In particular, I returned often to considerations of how one might benefit from distancing the score as a conclusive source for all that can be expressed through the act of performance; a suggestion that was largely accepted, although perhaps more out of respect and reverence than true conviction. 339

³³⁹ Inevitably, due to time constraints, I was not able to go into as much detail as I would have liked. It was important for me, too, to experience the novelty of this teaching approach, which in the future might require me to devise improved ways in which to express and demonstrate such difficult, even aleatory, arguments in favour of a wholly unusual and unorthodox teaching method.

4.3.1 Lesson on El amor y la muerte

The lesson with Ms Narita, who performed *El amor y la muerte*, was the most relevant to this research. My aims while teaching this piece could be subdivided into two broad categories: on the one hand the technical issues that needed addressing and careful working out, so as to ease the practical challenges of performance; of these, I shall not speak any further, as they are irrelevant at the moment. On the other hand, many of my interpretative suggestions related mostly to finding ways of avoiding reliance on 'showing' predictable structural junctures, giving them the importance experienced in standard execution — in a piece that has plenty of momentary arrival points, considering its free-flowing compositional style; at the same time I wanted to help Ms Narita to extrapolate meanings from the score, whether this turned out to be faithful or divergent to the notation. I will discuss some of the more relevant moments of the lesson, which are exemplified in video extracts. He more relevant moments of the lesson, which are exemplified in video extracts.



Extract from El amor y la muerte, bars 1-12.342

https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLfhNv9AwQpny89sZDz2L uR-M2i0Cu8di.

³⁴⁰ Special thanks to Ms Narita for allowing me to name her and use video extracts from her lesson as examples in this dissertation. The Consent Form, approved by King's College Research Ethics Committee under Ref: MRS-18/19-11200, can be found in Appendix C.

³⁴¹ The video examples are available at:

³⁴² Granados, E. (2015) Goyescas – Los majos enamorados, Henle Verlag, HN 582.

In the improvisatory eleven bars of the opening, in Ex. 4.2.1, I proposed that the analytical structure, where slurs would suggest the need to group the quaver sequences into three descending figurations, need not be played predictably, leading to the fermatas as single gestures. I also attempted to change Ms Narita's attitude to the first two bars, which she played in a 'conventional' way, resulting in holding back the first two or three quavers — both solutions are common nowadays — rushing through the demisemiquaver group, and again pulling back to the long F# minim. Taking the clue from Granados's performances of similar passages, it could be argued that he might have played the demisemiquaver group with a long first note, almost a quaver, followed by four quicker notes. In a case like this, historical recordings indeed prove beneficial not just to copy (Granados did not in fact record this piece), but rather as guides towards different possibilities available to us, which we might quite simply be too afraid to dare attempting. In this case, I believe that the result is one that, as in the examples of similar figurations in *Quejas*, allows a different, stronger kind of rhythmic energy. Importantly, this change is one that requires some flexibility of conception — a degree of separation from the 'letter of the score'; it is not merely based on speeding up or slowing down in a different way, but rather it urges us to reconsider the way in which we can convey the opening material. In Ex. 4.2.2 I tried to demonstrate that in the opening section we could read the score so as to afford us the possibility of different, unexpected and contrasting moods being communicated.

In a piece such as *El amor*, the compositional style itself can give clues to the composer's thinking at the keyboard, almost allowing us to witness his own technical gestures; not due to particular reverence towards him, I propose it rather as an interesting thought process that can allow an approach that is less literal.



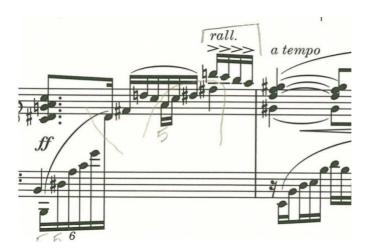
Extract from El amor y la muerte, bars 16-21.343

In bars 19–20, therefore, I suggested that the nature of the writing lends itself to being played more freely, without placing particular weight on the downbeats of each slurred group of three semiquavers, but rather to think of the physical gestures that must be involved, ultimately helping to propel the passage forward. The aims of our own lengthy practices in such a passage can determine whether we end up making it sound as a technically managed passage, or instead as a free and of-the-moment figuration. I tried to demonstrate this in video 4.2.3.

The juncture at bar 28, similarly to the previous, lends itself to being played bearing in mind its improvisatory feel, where a decision must be taken on how to connect to the following material: with a standard *rall*., or as I suggested in 4.2.4 with a slowing down that nevertheless leads and propels forward.

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³⁴³ *Op. cit.*



Extract from El amor y la muerte, bar 28.344

Analytical reading would encourage us to conceive the two sections as distinct, creating a sense of ending and restarting of the motion; while it is true that the ascending gesture suggests an arrival at the melodic peak, reaching the top semiquaver D natural, and also that the four descending accented semiquavers could be conceived with a typical mix of *dim.* and *rall.*, I proposed incorporating a sense of urgency by not exhausting the rhythmic energy with a slowing and quietening down. My suggestion was instead to reach the high note, and while the following notes could *dim.* into the downbeat of bar 29, they might not necessarily have to feel too held back, but instead drive towards the following chord, thus avoiding a break between the two units. As a performing idea it reverts back to Granados's example at bar 23 of *Quejas*, where he significantly slows down the pace without lacking direction, while creating highly differentiated tone qualities.

As a last example I want to offer the nine-bar section in the last page of the piece starting at bar 165, in Ex. 4.2.5. This represents a parallel passage to bars 46–54 of *Quejas*, in which Granados's own example, coupled with my experience of copy-practice, allowed me to put forward a wholly different conception of the passage.

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³⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*



Extract from El amor y la muerte, bars 163-171.345

In the same way as the semiquavers accompanying the passage in *Quejas* can be played without following strict time, this passage affords the opportunity to follow our personal will in the directions taken by the melodic RH; should we hold back at every interesting harmony, towards every melodic low point and in the following leaping intervals towards the highest note of the phrase? Or instead, make a choice to push through some of those and hold back in others? Should we take time to softly articulate the embellishments? And, for that matter, the fundamental question: should the LH be played predictably as notated? Assuming it is clear my answer to all the previous questions is 'not necessarily', perhaps the general mood could be less energetic here than Granados showed in *Quejas*, as an almost otherworldly sonority would benefit this passage, creating a contrast with the previous section's material. Granados himself approaches the passage in *Quejas* in a way that is wholly contradictory, far from the subdued *pp* notated in the score. Both passages are also marked with references to *dolore* or *sentimento doloroso*; it might not be inappropriate attempting to perform this passage staying clear of a LH that reproduces the syncopated rhythms appropriately and steadily, but that

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³⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*

instead sustains the RH's long phrases, stretching or hastening the pace. Some LH chords could be arpeggiated to soften the vertical impact of the sound, or to blend with a following downbeat, such as the last chord in bar 170. The RH could also mirror the treatment of the parallel passage in *Quejas*, which saw phrases effectively elongated further than the printed slurs lead us to think, extending beyond the highest pitches and driving forward energetically — whatever the chosen dynamic, which could also offer further personal variation — through the embellishments, in order to finally release the phrase's tension at the dotted crotchets of the second beats of bars 167 and 169.

Although I felt more discussions could have been useful in this passage alone, and a greater degree of experimentation could have taken place, the allocated lesson time was fast running out. Had we not been pressed for time, there might have been ample opportunity to include broken octaves or arpeggiated chords, as well as hand de-synchronisation in the performance, with the aim of making the whole passage a more fluent unit with a single forward-moving direction. As I pointed out during the lesson, we run the risk of creating small self-contained phrases with predictably geometrical push-and-pulls at obvious harmonic junctures.

It is clear to me, at this point, that both the copy-practice approach I undertook and its consequent applications in my own playing or teaching are processes impossible to be fully conveyed in a single lesson, let alone absorbed and internalised by students. Notwithstanding, the potential is there to foster experimentation in the practice room, trying slightly different versions of passages day after day, and during lessons, which could become more engaging and further 'off the beaten track'.

4.4 Conversation and conclusions

After the lesson I had the opportunity to have a conversation with Ms Narita; I thought it would be interesting to gauge her thoughts on some stylistic choices, while at the same time flagging my surprise that at no time the subjects of Spanishness and folklore entered the discourse of our musical explorations. On this occasion at least, Ms Narita did not hope to improve or highlight this aspect of her performance. I asked Ms Narita if she had considered adopting a more folkloric approach to her playing; she answered that 'while the Japanese tend to idolise something they do not have, with Granados's music I find a closer relation with [Goya's] paintings, the opera and the score'. She also mentioned that she feels a particular affinity for Granados due to the fact that as a composer he is still considered niche. Particularly telling of

In the days that followed I wondered what Ms Narita's reaction might have been if during the lesson I had suggested making of a folkloric approach a key to a better performance of the piece, or if I had insisted this were a necessary style to be adopted, especially considering the reverence towards me as the teaching figure. Could it be that teachers' own expectations and demands for more 'Spanishness' have led younger, obliging, pianists to accept this style, without being offered an alternative? Together with those few performers marketed as experts or foremost interpreters of Spanish music, it would seem that the hegemony of professors forcing such approaches onto students' performances led to the stylistic deviations I discussed at length in previous chapters.

The results from the copying-practice I have brought forward demonstrate changes in my own performance as well as in my teaching practice, which with further experience will grow to become more effective and persuasive. I have also spent some words of warning on the possibility of relying too heavily on superficial copying practices, lest we allow RIP to command what is *allowed* and further restrict performers' creativity. The session with Ms Narita has strengthened my conviction that as long as there is an audible, exciting, creative transformation in our playing style following a teacher's suggestions, one that lays responsibility onto our music-making procedures and our aural imagination, rather than merely on our score-reading abilities, the desire for creative exploration can be cultivated. The examples from the more distant past, and the copying-practice that can be undertaken, are undeniably informative of the expressive means that are still at our disposal. Listening to a

³⁴⁶ Italics provided to underscore the power of our beliefs resulting in unwritten rules and regulations.

³⁴⁷ Leikin, A. (2011) The Performing Style of Alexander Scriabin, Ashgate, Farnham, Surrey, p. 273.

piece, or a section of it *before* the notes are played, as a horizontally sounding flux rather than vertical exemplifications of the score, is a choice that rests upon us; equally ours is the choice to invest practice time wisely enough to enable our aural imagination to investigate the vast range of different performing possibilities that can be afforded by a piece.

Chapter Five

Performance

This final chapter introduces the performances I have developed in light of the research summarised above. In the interest of space, I shall focus on two pieces from *Goyescas* that can serve as examples of my practice across the videos and recital pieces in Appendix B.³⁴⁸ My study on Albéniz's *Iberia* will be discussed separately, further below in the chapter. In my interpretative choices, I perhaps aimed less for a revolution than a re-evaluation of my viewpoint; where possible, I wanted to adopt some of Granados's performing habits, and of pianists of the same period, in order to reimagine how I *could* sound the notes away from recent tradition. The result in both pieces, I think, is distinctly different, and strays from standard readings of the score; I hope that these performances will cause some degree of controversy for their novelty, but also spark the ingenuity of pianists keen to abandon well-trodden practices.

Passages that have been generally played slowly, or even very slowly, in my playing have picked up pace and rhythmical freedom; this was achieved not just with an increased speed, but with energetic flexibility in mind and by using early-twentieth-century devices that shape both time and sound production. This resulted in performances that sound much more in constant flux; slower sections aim for the following episode, while in faster passages I focused on the physical gesture without feeling constrained by precise *tempo* keeping. Nothing seems wholly revolutionary, although most passages, when singled out, are starkly different in conception from what we are used to hearing; in both pieces I have tried to avoid a steady pace, even when the score would suggest this as an *appropriate* way forward. I attempted to ask different questions during practice, searching for what I *could* play persuasively. In the writing that follows I will discuss the more salient aspects from my performance of *El amor*, available in Ex. 5.1, and *Epílogo*, in Ex. 5.2.³⁴⁹ It might be useful to compare my performances with other recent ones, although on this occasion I will direct the reader to complete videos, so as

³⁴⁸ Recordings of *El amor y la muerte* and *Epílogo: Serenata del espectro*, recorded live in Tokyo, Japan, on 10/01/2020, respectively available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OD60MWDMFoM and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ae1dGcL7PXA.

³⁴⁹ Copies of my practice scores for *El amor y la muerte* and *Epílogo: Serenata del espectro* are available in Appendix A, chapter 5, at: https://bit.ly/3cSceEA and https://bit.ly/3cSceEA and https://bit.ly/3cSceEA and https://bit.ly/3cSceEA and https://bit.ly/3cSceEA and https://bit.ly/3cSceEA and https://bit.ly/

to allow hearings of the entire piece, if desired, rather than presenting shorter examples within the text.

5.1 El amor y la muerte

There seems to be, in *El amor* as in much of *Goyescas*, a trend to adopt widely contrasting speeds and dynamics, with sudden surges between these opposites: very fast and very loud passages are often opposed to very slow and evenly paced melodic sections. The former can frequently be exemplified in the number of pianists choosing to play unnotated doublings of bass notes, presumably to add gravitas and power — or, in my view, weight and a suggestion of improvisation (although I am certainly not altogether against either of these practices) while the latter is most clearly understood in the stretched pace of the Adagio section, starting at bar 94. In this discussion I could not avoid commenting on the opening bars with a few words, although they have been discussed already in the previous chapter's masterclass section. It is important to underscore that the majority of performers adopt here a homogeneous approach that favours heavy, solemn, and dragged-out deliveries of the parallel material and consequent broken chords, in anticipation of the first melodic material at bar 12. I have a preference for a beginning that indeed transmits a sense of drama, but without broad note-bynote stretches. A random sample of pianists, representative of different generations, nationalities, and performing traditions, set the following timings for the opening eleven bars: Pérez stops the clock at 0'46", de Larrocha at 0'47", Achúcarro at 0'48", Domenico Codispoti and Torres-Pardo at 0'51" (the latter a case in point as far as the doubling of octaves for reasons that are not easily understood), and Jean-Marc Luisada at a remarkable 1'08". 350 My recording arrives at the new material at 0'35", without, in my opinion, leaving behind any of the majestic impact that such an opening can provide. I am not suggesting that speed alone is a factor that makes my performance preferable to any of the others; it is, though, worth noting and pointing out that with the passing of time pianists have only gone in one direction by dragging this passage towards the slower end of the spectrum, mostly with little scope for rhythmic freedom, in order to convey the *drammatico* and *con dolore* in the score.

In bars 15–21 (at 0'47" in the video) I made a choice that would become characteristic in sequences of semiquavers; the arabesques in the RH for two bars, before switching to the

These can be heard, respectively, at the following YouTube addresses: https://youtu.be/Tfahl4dkec8, https://youtu.be/QXfD73CblwY, https://youtu.be/2b3TPk56c1s, https://youtu.be/uHGvMF5 830, https://youtu.be/uHGvMF5 830, https://youtu.be/uHGvMF5 830, https://youtu.be/uHGvMF5 830, <a href="https://youtu.b

LH, are traditionally played as even accompanying material against the sweeping melodic gestures. I attempted to make these follow the leading hand's *rubato*, which is shaped according to its ascending and descending arches, thus forcing the arabesques to speed up or slow down accordingly.

Granados's example was essential to reconsider my views in bars 22–29 (1'06"), with material borrowed from *Coloquio*. As I have already discussed, we can reimagine such passages without being tied to a metronomic rendition of the rhythms printed in the score or being bound to playing chords vertically and synchronised between the hands. Having avoided both these aspects, it seems that the *ben calmato amoroso* can become less a self-contained section between tumultuous material than a serene, flexibly shaped episode within the same passionate mood. Just as importantly, though, by this measure my performance becomes *a* possible perspective on this passage; other pianists would ideally research and find their own *rubato*, notes or chords to highlight, and preferred phrasing, with the enticing prospect that their imaginations might differ in more varied ways.

Further semiquaver sequences in the LH, written out in a regular pattern, occur in the *Andante* section at bars 45–50 (2'25"), with a return of the *fandango* theme. As is the case for similar passages, it has become customary to play these steadily. But we have seen how performances can become more interesting and unsettling when such accompaniments are allowed the rhythmical freedom to support the melody's nuances of dynamics and speed. We could, therefore, avoid treating the three appearances of the melodic cell as separate events, or the chords being played strictly vertically above a steady accompaniment. I aimed to push the movement forward in each of these bars, as the LH rises, arpeggiating the RH's chords, and using each bar's third count as an arrival point; nevertheless, I thrust forward the LH's last three semiquavers into the new bar's downbeat, especially in the last episode in D Major at bar 47. This leads into two extemporaneous bars, where I escaped a precise rendition of the intricate rhythmic figurations; as we heard in Granados's performance of *Quejas*, ³⁵¹ such complex figurations with intricate rhythms and syncopations can sound less predictable if imagined as free-flowing gestures.

The brief passage at bars 65–66 (3'03") offers another example in which executing the score's rhythms faithfully poses an unnecessary headache; once again, Granados's example made me search for a viable alternative. As can be seen in the score, the LH's crotchet octaves of bar 65 are placed under semiquaver sextuplets, in the first two beats, and quaver triplets in

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 $^{^{351}}$ Previously discussed in chapter 3, Ex. 3.2.1A and 3.2.1B, <u>p. 108</u>.

the final two beats of the RH's arabesque figurations. But playing this passage evenly and precisely signifies a somewhat curious halting of the pace — descending gears in a vehicle while maintaining the same speed seems an accurate analogy. I imagined this passage, instead, as closely linked to the opening bar of *Quejas*, as well as bars 20–21, 31–32, 37–38; in these, a push forward towards the high note of the melodic gesture (on the downbeats of the second bars) and a relaxation of the downward curve allow for the passage to feel as if grouped into a larger unit. In the specific case of *El amor*, the third and fourth beats of bar 65 could see a speeding up of the LH's octaves, resulting in forward movement of the accompanying quaver triplets. The arrival at the LH's A in the first beat of bar 66 could therefore be elongated, before the second beat's semiquavers allowed to drive forward towards the *Lento* in bar 67.

As the signature passage of *El amor*, bars 81–93 (4'05") deserve detailed attention. Through seven bars we find a step-by-step descending sequence; as the RH plays tender melodic material — returning from fandango — the LH, once again, features a succession of distinctive semiquavers. These could be treated, following current custom, as an uneventful accompaniment, or allowed to support the melody's push forwards and pull backs, as we heard in Granados's playing. Particularly interesting is the sequence's midpoint in D Major at bar 84, which is generally played with a dynamic surge coupled with a temporal expansion of the rising arpeggio into the new harmony at bar 85; I decided to use this, instead, as a propulsive element, not only in terms of dynamic but also speed. In this way, it successfully leads into the second set of sequences with renewed energy. The following appassionato at bar 89 seemed to benefit from a more creative rhythmical conduct, unbound by the equal semiquavers found up to the G diminished seventh in the second half of the last beat. This harmony, preceding the resolution in the new bar, could be understood as a written-out arpeggiated chord, rather than being precisely timed in the way the score suggests. With my approach, the two sets of sequences and the appassionato bars allow for an arrival at bar 90 with unusual urgency, which can be released, in speed and dynamic, through the descending pattern until the double bar at 94 that concludes the section. To summarise my approach to this extended passage, I have avoided the standardised idea of holding back the tempo noticeably at each arrival to high melodic notes and ends of bars, while also staying clear of a steady LH accompaniment bound by bar-by-bar harmonic changes.

The central *Adagio* at bars 94–129 (4'41") should offer pianists room for widely contrasting approaches, as the expressive core of the piece, placed as it is between the rhapsodic outer sections. The recurring syncopations in the LH, a downbeat quaver followed by one crotchet and three quavers, or by two crotchets and a further quaver, give to these pages an

apparently unavoidable predictability and uniformity. But could we conceive it in a different way? Must we adhere to this unflinching rhythm, at the slower end of the direction *Adagio*? Or to the synchronicity of chords, the predictable slowdowns at high points in the melody and in the descending junctures that follow, while also obeying the score's short-spanned phrasing? Could it be conceivable to bear in mind the treatment we witnessed in previous examples, in which Granados hardly performed such material in a way that would seem logical to us? To avoid the aspects I just pointed out, I started out by nearing a speed that would more easily allow me to perform the whole passage with momentum, which in turn would make for more easily supple fluency. Listeners will notice my use of arpeggiation in LH chords, especially when these helped to propel material forward, as well as asynchrony of the hands in order to highlight the melodic line and, again, allow for the *rubato* to act on multiple levels. Like before, the timing for this passage contrasts the trends of the last decades: whereas I perform this *Adagio* section in 1'59", the previously mentioned pianists take anywhere between 2'11" (de Larrocha) and 3'00" (Luisada), with an average approximating the 2'40" mark.

Similar concerns guided me in bars 144–147 (7'16"), as I envisaged this brief episode having energy and spontaneous freedom, both in terms of localised and overall *rubato*. I chose to take a view on the meaning of the score's direction, *Risoluto appassionato*, that is opposed to what has become standardised, that is a metronomic and precise rendition of the intricate groups of quintuplets, both semi and demisemiquavers. Following from earlier discussions on the evidence of how Granados played such material without the rhythmic accuracy that we have come to expect, I was drawn to experiment with faster and slower groupings, adding to this arpeggiated chords and a passionate *rubato*.

As a last point of discussion, beyond the importance of drawing the reader's attention to the dead-slow pace typically heard in the final page, bars 165–177 (8'19") present an enticing case for divergence from current approaches, as its material is parallel to bars 46–54 of *Quejas*: my takeaway in chapter 3 was that a different performance is possible, if we set out to free ourselves from the rhythmic prescriptions of the score. The argument for adopting a LH that is supportive of the RH's gestures through its syncopations, rather than being merely kept in strict time, is similar, even if we wanted to search for a different sound world than in the other piece's occurrence. As we change our overall aim for the passage, we can overlook the score's short-spanned slurring, instead bearing in mind the two-bar long melodic gestures, in both tempo and dynamic. One way of achieving an expressive 'happiness in pain' would be

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³⁵² Molto espressivo e come una felicità nel dolore is the direction in the score.

to phrase the melody with long arching rubato, while using the accompanying syncopated chords to push forward or pull back; timing the chords of the LH closer to the previous or the following beats allows for the rhythm to feel more swung, creating a type of freedom that can be moulded to each performer's taste. I particularly enjoyed adopting this approach in the LH's final chord at bar 170; I rolled this chord quickly, almost allowing it to melt into the new harmony at the downbeat of 171, arriving at a slightly softer dynamic in the RH's spread chord. From the transitory section at bar 172 (8'49") until the Recitativo drammatico, the writing in the score, if taken at face value, should suggest a constraint on our possibilities for creativity; instead, this is a moment that can allow us to imagine progressing with some forward motion or *rubato*, while maintaining the obviously concluding mood suggested by the *mancando*, *rall*. and più rall. Even bearing in mind the inherently chordal nature of the passage, prominent throughout the final bars of the piece, I decided not to succumb to a languishing pace. Just as Granados's doloroso and concluding cadenza in Quejas might have seemed fanciful and out of step with our understandings, similarly the direction muerte del majo³⁵³ (9'11") and the closing moments of the piece might still be understood as a desolate mourning, without necessarily forcing us into the static approach that the rarefied writing might at first suggest.

5.2 Epílogo: Serenata del espectro

Although *Epílogo* has been recorded multiple times as part of the whole *Goyescas*, I have only witnessed it performed live as part of the whole Suite, rather than as a standalone selection; in any case, my memory of it is that it lived up to its name, an epilogue, an afterthought of lesser importance, rather than a jewel in its own right. Be that as it may, I remain fascinated by the rhapsodic and contrasting nature of this piece and believe that many well-accepted performance customs might be responsible for this less than caring attitude. My live performance of *Epílogo* can be found in Ex. 5.2.

The first concern for any performer must be to consider how to approach the opening eight bars; these will, most likely, affect each reappearance of the passacaglia-like progression throughout the piece. When played steadily at first, mirroring the score's plain notation in *staccato* quavers and with only a *cresc*. from *pp* to *f*, it is likely that much of the performance will continue with a similar attitude. Certain exceptions can be heard on record, although a quick overview of any number of pianists will reveal the homogeneous preference for a stable

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³⁵³ Death of the majo, direction in the score at bar 181.

approach. It is as though pianists of recent times agreed that the returning *espectro* of the title should be passive, and therefore void of excessive — or any — *rubato*. A survey of the videos by familiar pianists suggests that many might have found in de Larrocha's approach an ideal blueprint to follow.³⁵⁴ Of the pianists I considered, only Menor applies a significant *rubato* in the opening; at the same time, his uncommon flexibility is quickly reined in, returning to a steadier execution by the third appearance of the material and in the *Dies Irae* and *Copla* sections, which I will discuss shortly. As for other performers, it is usually only the chosen initial speed that differentiates them in a meaningful way, ranging from the flowing pace of Achúcarro to the almost six-in-a-bar feel of Luisada.

In my *Epílogo* I attempted to portray a playful, energetic, but also contrasting Spectre; in this way, I hear it freed from the rhythmical straitjacket it is often confined to through chordal sections majestically inflated to the point of immobility. It is an inevitable consequence of performers aiming to remain 'close' to the score that leaves them with little room for originality, considering how the writing is often sparse. My *Epílogo* feels, at least on the surface, much faster and more capricious, although I hope also more entertaining and varied, both when played as the conclusion to a complete performance of *Goyescas*, or as a standalone piece, as was the case in my recital.

A defining section of the piece arrives at bars 143–168 (3'12" in the video), as the *Dies Irae* motif is presented by the LH in the central register of the piano, supported by uneasily wide-ranging basses and accompanied by quick demisemiquaver octave flourishes. Presenting effectively these contrasting materials was my main preoccupation: the sombre, almost exclusively step-by-step *Dies Irae* melody, against the fickle intervals of the high-pitched RH. In a standard approach we would often hear a slow and paced melody, opposed to regular figurations in the RH — the speed of the demisemiquavers more or less tightened: strictly timed, as printed, or as written out ornaments, but nonetheless precisely maintaining even beats. I decided, instead, to follow two different paths, which made it possible to sidestep this uniformity: I treated the four-bar episodes of LH melody with rhythmical freedom, pushing quavers and semiquavers towards the following counts, or at times holding them back. Over this melodic material, I wanted the RH to assist closely, while maintaining some autonomy, thus shaping the speed of the intervals according to the rising and descending patterns. The accompanying flourishes can both inhabit the background as much as gain relevance when the

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³⁵⁴ A. De Larrocha: https://youtu.be/G7LLY_qSBq8, J. Menor: https://youtu.be/tPdD9Lonn7s, A.-M. Vera: https://youtu.be/SCVW4taL8F8, Torres-Pardo: https://youtu.be/TVBoSePi2bM, J. Achúcarro: https://youtu.be/HfKcv6DmGR4, J.-M. Luisada: https://youtu.be/HfKcv6DmGR4, J.-M. Luisada: https://youtu.be/w-rStaOVnQ.

melody subsides at bars 151–154. During performance, I found particular enjoyment in accentuating the antagonistic characters of the solemn melody and the bright demisemiquavers, each free to expand and contract at will.

A particularly emotional climax is reached at bar 204, as the Copla theme from Coloquio returns (4'47") as a unifying passage for the whole Suite. 355 On this occasion not in the high register of the piano, but more subtly in a cello-like utterance; not supported by delicately intricate chordal accompaniment, but by linear semiquavers gently embracing it. The question I was keen to ask myself was whether it would be possible and advisable to avoid performing the sequences of semiquavers as they are printed, evenly and strictly in time. As this legitimate, but seemingly unquestioned, approach clearly renders the passage static, I preferred to explore alternatives by using some refined *rubato* alongside subtle differences in touch. The melody can then be more easily shaped in longer phrases with forward fluency or hold backs at particularly interesting junctures; this helps to outline the accompanying material with more freedom, and in my performance with a touch and pedalling that searches subtle harmonic effects. Were this accompaniment to be kept pragmatically idle it would only allow for one type of sound that remains unvaried throughout the passage. 356 My sonorous approach to the semiquavers allows them to serve the melody more effectively, by becoming submissive to give-and-take in speed, but also, counterintuitively, to gain relevance by cooperating closely and gelling with the events in the melody.

In *Epílogo* it becomes clear how recorded performances of the last half century have aimed to reflect closely the score's notation; an obvious example of how this becomes *exemplified* is found in the paced quavers of the opening and their equivalent variants dotted through the piece. The only unnotated freedom that some pianists frequently allow themselves is the doubling of octaves in the bass, which more often than not achieve little more than an increase in volume and weighing down of the passage. This occurs, for example, in the *energico* section that precedes the return of the *Copla* (4'19"), where pianists mostly inflate the volume to obtain power, while keeping the pace fairly steady;³⁵⁷ in this instance, I opted to achieve an *energico* that indeed was loud, but also nimble, and focused on the fluency of the technical gestures leading through the bar-long harmonic progressions. But it is in the last six

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³⁵⁵ Previously discussed in chapter 2, Ex. 2.1.1–2.1.8, p. 52.

The same pianists can be heard in this passage in the following videos: A. De Larrocha: https://youtu.be/G7LLY_qSBq8, at 5'11", J. Menor: https://youtu.be/tPdD9Lonn7s, at 5'00",

A.-M. Vera: https://youtu.be/sCVW4taL8F8, at 5'15", R. Torres-Pardo: https://youtu.be/TVBoSePi2bM, at 5'31", J. Achúcarro: https://youtu.be/HfKcv6DmGR4, at 5'09", J.-M. Luisada: https://youtu.be/w-rStaOVnQ, at 5'47".

³⁵⁷ It is interesting to notice the subtle wait at bar 188 in Achúcarro's recording, in view of de Larrocha's advice on *rubato*, as needing 'a very strongly presented instant followed by a long breath of relaxation'.

bars (6'40") that we find a final opportunity for challenging our imaginations, in a score that reveals few of the possibilities available to performers. An unusual and enigmatic ending, it can be conceived, potentially, with any degree and combination of *accel*. or *rit*., complemented by either *cresc*. or *dim.*, or with an altogether plainer approach that almost entirely avoids these; the point being that each of us should find their own way to portray the departing Spectre, 'plucking the strings of his guitar'.³⁵⁸ In my experience, this can sound wildly different in consecutive performances, according to a number of premeditated choices, external factors, and the mood and physical impression one wishes to leave on the audience. A concluding utterance in *Goyescas* that could hardly signify a more concise paradigm of what Granados's notes can — and should — allow us to imagine.

5.3 Albéniz's *Iberia*

I mentioned above that an aim of my research was to provide elements for a rethink in different repertoire. After challenging the canon in *Goyescas*, mostly through examples of the early-recorded evidence, I will explore the possibility of re-evaluating folkloric approaches in Albéniz's First Book of *Iberia*. In *Goyescas*, I have suggested ways in which performances can be cleansed of traditions accumulated throughout the twentieth century: not least, an unnecessary (as I have concluded) reliance on the score's directions, on pianistic habits trusted to stand the modern desire for repeatable performances, as well as the influential propaganda of the Francoist regime pervading artists' aims. Similarly, I seek to challenge modern performances of *Iberia*, showing that little should be lost by softening the edges of our sonorous visions of Spain, or indeed, considering them less critical towards a successful rendition. In the final video of this dissertation, ³⁵⁹ I recorded a selection of excerpts and edited them to create a vlog; beyond showing my own performance approaches, it should be an easy-to-use aid to hear the slight, but significant, differences I suggest are worth considering. Alongside my playing in velfie mode (video + selfie), I placed the score in full or split view when useful, added captions for clarity, as well as a voice-over commentary functioning as guide.

In the three pieces from *Iberia*'s First Book, I wished to conduct, on the surface, a more straightforward task: that is, to free these pieces from an exaggerated folklore of Spain and suggest ways in which our creativity can help supplant this seemingly compulsory style. It

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³⁵⁸ In the score: *Le spectre disparaît pinçant les cordes de sa guitare*.

³⁵⁹ Available at: https://youtu.be/CDkKW3YsWGE. Score used: Albéniz, I. (ca. 1915) *Iberia — 12 Nouvelles 'Impressions' en quatre cahiers*, Union Musical Española, Madrid.

represents, within the larger scale of this research, another attempt at reviewing stylistic assumptions standardised over the last century. It should prove interesting to witness which questions this process of extrapolation will raise and where eventual answers might lead, in my ongoing effort to liberate our playing from the dictator.

Conclusion

This dissertation started from the significant premise that musicological research and performance practices have constructed an incomplete, *post hoc* picture of Granados, both as composer and as performer in historical recordings. Although plenty of biographical examinations have been carried out, Granados's activities seldom received genuine interest within performance-related or performance-as-research frameworks. Posing questions unsympathetic to the historical and performance contexts produced almost exclusively critical views on his playing, as well as dubious — politically motivated — meanings of his compositional output. These are some of the fundamental factors confining Granados in a niche of easy stylistic preconceptions and aesthetic assumptions. With this dissertation I have aimed to clarify some of these issues, furthering the scope of research, while making the case for placing it as a companion to those of more commonly celebrated composer/pianists of the same period. Granados's piano roll recordings give us a precious, as much as under-studied, snapshot of how music was sounded.

If we can accept that music-making was of a different kind over a hundred years ago, ³⁶⁰ it could signify accepting that the performing traditions that have acquired unquestioned status throughout the last century might be equally provisional and open to being queried by courageous performers interested in a rediscovery of, supposedly, all but obsolete pianistic techniques. At no time did I intend to pursue a merely revivalist approach, nor simply to challenge views about correctness and respect for the historical sources; instead, I took to heart Peres da Costa's warning of the loss of 'originality and freedom of expression', which occurred with the aesthetic shifts taking place from the 1920s. ³⁶¹ This investigation also aimed to explore what could be gained by listening to Granados's playing without the historical and cultural baggage accumulated through the course of the twentieth century.

It is all the more ironic, concerning the almost exclusively biographical attention afforded to Granados, that at the time of writing these final words I should obtain copies of two publications offering new insights. The first is an early evidence of writing on Granados, from a pianist who knew him and was the dedicatee of *El amor y la muerte*. In his memoirs Harold

³⁶⁰ Recall Hudson's (1994) words 'faulty', 'old maid mannerisms' and 'anathema to the modern listener', found in: Leikin, A. (2002) 'Piano-roll Recordings of Enrique Granados: A Study of a Transcription of the Composer's Performance', in *Journal of Musicological Research*, Vol. 21, Nos. 1-2, p. 17, DOI:10.1080/01411890208574796.

³⁶¹ Peres da Costa, N. (2012) *Off the Record: Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing*, p. 9, Oxford Scholarship Online: May 2012, DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195386912.001.0001.

Bauer speaks of a meeting with the composer while touring Spain with Pablo Casals, in which he candidly recalls this delightful episode:

I enjoyed every moment that I ever spent with him, and I liked his music as much as I liked every one of his incalculably changeable moods, for he was melancholy or gay, serious or trivial, credulous or skeptical in turn, always humorous or completely irresponsible as, for example, when once dining at a restaurant with some less lively friends, he attempted to break down the formality of the occasion by balancing a fried sardine on the tip of his nose. And succeeded. Don't tell me that this was not funny. It would only prove that you cannot conceive the effect of this performance by the great artist, the refined, melancholy and witty gentleman that was Enrique Granados. ³⁶²

This is a charming event that in many ways can evidence the 'spirit' that characterised Granados; even if trivial, it might not be of such negligible importance if we remember how much we, as musicians, often rely on small, even banal narratives influencing our conception of a composer or a piece. It seems to me no crime to say that in listening to Granados's playing one can feel such refinement, wit, and the 'changeable moods' depicted in Bauer's words.

The second source I referred to is the latest bio-bibliographical monograph by Rebés. Its contents are welcome and set a new benchmark, clarifying some historical details of the life of Granados; yet, even keeping in mind the rigorous and verifiable evidence that characterizes Rebés's writing, it is symptomatic of the lack of 'music' in contemporary Spanish musicology. As Carreira asserts in the book's Prologue, most previous publications had been '...written by believers to be read by believers with the aim of creating a moral and political myth, marked by fire with the iron of nationalist essentialism'. ³⁶³ Carreira goes on to praise Rebés and his work for the '...tireless bibliographical search in areas apparently away from music and an exhaustive archival, diplomatic, documental and journalistic investigation'. ³⁶⁴ This nevertheless praiseworthy publication, which admits to having no strictly musicological objectives, remains within safe boundaries when it comes to discussing today's performances, especially as these are plainly contradicting and diverging with respect to Granados's own

³⁶² Bauer, H. (1948) *Harold Bauer – His Book*, W. W. Norton & Company Inc., New York, p. 106.

³⁶³ 'Se trata, obviamente, de libros escritos por creyentes para ser leídos por creyentes con el objetivo de consumir un mito moral y político, marcado a fuego con el hierro del esencialismo nacionalista.' Rebés, J. M. (2019) *Granados: crónica y desenlace*, Libargo, Granada, p. 8.

³⁶⁴ 'El libro de Rebés es el fruto de una incansable búsqueda bibliográfica sobre las áreas aparentemente más ajenas a la música y una exhaustiva investigación archivística, diplomática, documental y hemerográfica...'. *Ibid.*

style. The audio examples I have offered should have highlighted the multifaceted morphing that took place in performance practices following Granados's death; yet the author suggests that in today's Acadèmia Marshall '[t]he teaching methods, transmitted by Frank Marshall and then by Alicia de Larrocha, form the central core of a pianistic conception that goes beyond a playing style. The methodology followed pervades the musical art of a deep love towards the interpreted music, faithful to Granados's conception'. It remains to be clarified, in my opinion, which exactly is the 'pianistic conception' that is heard today and that should be faithful to Granados; it is not one that aims to propose an understanding of *Goyescas* away from superimposed nationalistic and geometric aesthetics. I sense here, instead, more a case of convenient celebratory and hagiographic respect for a pianistic tradition that has successfully branded this repertoire, but which objectively has little to tell us about the validity of these 'transmitted methods'. In fact, much of what these have done is narrow performers' imaginations to a one-dimensional approach, which is encapsulated in the words of Peter Quantrill, when he advised that for Granados's pieces '[t]he ultimate authority is the late Alicia de Larrocha'. 366

I questioned and challenged throughout the stylistic customs that collapsed any work by Granados into a clichéd vision of Spain, which have little or no grounding in the historical performed evidence. On this matter, it is important to stress that Granados had indeed an *idea* of Spain that he was envisioning, which we could suppose he would have wanted mirrored in performances of his scores; but listening carefully to his renditions should immediately dispel *our* vision of Spain. Granados said to a Madrid newspaper: 'I wrote [Goyescas] thinking of Spain, its soul, so different to that of other countries, filtering in those notes that movement and life which we can see in the work of the immortal Goya. The *majos* of that time! The loves of the painter! The fights, the passion, the life of the eighteenth-century!'. ³⁶⁷ We could

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³⁶⁵ 'Los métodos de enseñanza, transmitidos por Frank Marshall y después por Alicia de Larrocha, forman el eje central de una concepción pianística que va más allá de la manera de tocar. La metodología seguida inunda el arte de un profundo amor hacia la música interpretada, fiel a la concepción de Granados.' Rebés, J. M. (2019) *Granados: crónica y desenlace*, Libargo, Granada, p. 13. Acadèmia Marshall is the modern and current name for the original Acadèmia Granados founded in Barcelona in 1901.

³⁶⁶ Quantrill, P. (2017) 'Rubato according to Granados', in *Pianist*, Issue 96, June/July 2017. https://www.pianistmagazine.com/news/rubato-according-to-granados/. Last accessed 22/08/2020.

³⁶⁷ 'El 25 de abril de 1912 Granados declaró a un diario madrileño: 'he escrito eso [Goyescas] pensando en España, en su alma, tan distinta de la de los demás países, infiltrando en sus notas aquel movimiento y vida que se ven en las obras del inmortal Goya. ¡Los majos de entonces! ¡Los amores del pintor! ¡Las luchas, la pasión, la vida del siglo XVIII! Estoy trabajando en la composición de otra segunda [parte] y que constará de tres fragmentos: *La calesa*, *El amor y la muerte*, y *Epílogo*.' Rebés, J. M. (2019) *Granados: crónica y desenlace*, Libargo, Granada, p. 144. In this newspaper fragment, Granados also said that he was working on three new pieces for a second book of Goyescas; beyond the finally published *El amor y la muerte* and *Epílogo*, we learn of a projected opening piece titled *La calesa*, for which only five sketched bars remain documented.

therefore modify our understandings, shift our views towards a Spain of melancholy, of aristocratic and poetic inspiration. From my bibliographical investigation it is possible to appreciate my need to delve into a criticism of Spain's musicological trends throughout the twentieth century, and in turn to explore the socio-political events that induced them. I argued that artists and practitioners accepted, consciously or otherwise, the role of 'specialists' of 'Spanish music'; *nationalistic* approaches based on *Hispanidad* became the means opposed to ubiquitous Internationalists, as deprecated by the Francoist regime. The self-styled authorities of the repertoire, in effect, manufactured an endemic style that *routinised* and *standardised* performance practices.

Early on in my research I was faced with two challenges, one strictly musical, the other ethical, as I looked into the shifts in our contemporary views and performances of Goyescas. Studying these parallel social and performance practice histories, my research gained relevance as it became clear, and to me inevitable, that many of my arguments could be moved to other contexts and different composers. In other words, the example of Granados and its viable consequences for performers could be transferred as a blueprint to the way in which pianists and musicians at large question their aesthetic choices and consider allowing themselves the time for different practice methods and performance goals. I challenged and reconsidered my position within the HIP movement and the necessity to 'stay true' to a composer's wishes at this point simply allowing the possibility this was even possible — or to his or her directions in the score. I have since become aware of the quasi-religious attachment that professional musicians have for passed-down knowledge and the difficulty of detaching our performing selves from the years of methodical instruction during our education and professional career. Many of my points in chapter 2 evidence my belonging, inescapably, to this category; nevertheless, I attempted to make the case for a different approach to practice and performance. This should be a viable position to be in; shifting pianistic styles with a strong background of technical and expressive tools, even if acquired through a well-established performance studies culture, is not impossible. What one can hope to achieve is a practice that becomes exciting and challenging, in that it requires, but also allows, a sizeable change in mindset. I suggested a step towards a voluntary alignment with the style of the historical recorded legacy that heightens our awareness and ability to make informed decisions within a widened field of possibilities, which will create constructive frictions with modern HIP commandments and werktreue constraints. I wished to reconnect with the 'effect[s] in performance' rather than

burden myself with any idea of the 'piece[s'] inherent nature', as Leech-Wilkinson clearly differentiates.³⁶⁸

As far as the ethical shift is concerned, I advanced by examining the tensions created by the Civil War and subsequent regime, which affected the way in which performers were drawn towards a standardised aesthetic approach. I exposed how historical criticism and the singularly 'Spanish' performers found validation in each other and fed off concepts of Hispanidad. I pointed out the widespread use of terms such as 'spirit' and 'energy' of Spain, which resulted in 'very strongly presented instant[s]', followed by quick and athletic resolutions of rhythmic cells; following this, I highlighted the strongly tribal teacher-pupil lineages ensuring such customs would have been passed down unchanged. Modern recorded evidence has led me to query also the transnational developments of pianistic performance styles, as they occurred over the last hundred years, which the medium of editable and professionally produced digital recordings further accentuated. In order to support my case that Granados's Goyescas have been infiltrated with these two distinct but interwoven attitudes, I continued to place the composer's roll recordings at the core of my investigation. The unequivocal evidence must lead us to consider what lessons can be learned from Granados's playing, and what consequences these might spur in our performing intentions towards Goyescas and other repertoire. While untangling the socio-cultural events of the century and proposing to embrace the 'foreign' pianistic vocabulary of the recorded past, I have suggested some ways in which players and teachers could entertain a freer and more creative practice. Allowing artists' agencies to permeate more integrally in the performed choices brought onto the stage was also the conclusion of my debate over general musicological questions on supposed faithfulness to the score and respect for authorities, be these the composer's directions in the score, later specialists and educators, or the communities concerned with the profits of the music industry. By no means I suggested that going back to Granados's example should be the only way around these issues, but I grew convinced that we could appreciate how it can be useful to us without making it a simple example of what should be done; it would indeed be a success of this research if it meant that others would approach Goyescas with renewed interest, searching for their own meanings.

Retracing the performance angles of my research, I began by analyzing Granados's historical recordings at first with careful but unaided listening, then with the support of Sonic

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³⁶⁸ Leech-Wilkinson, D. (2009) *The Changing Sound of Music: Approaches to Studying Recorded Musical Performance* (London: CHARM), chapter 1.1, paragraph 3, http://www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/studies/chapters/chap1.html. Last accessed 02/05/2020.

Visualiser in order to capture the finer, mostly temporal, characteristics of his style; in turn, I made an important point of placing these sources alongside an extensive range of examples from modern and contemporary pianists. Recollecting Granados's abundant *rubatos*, the lengthening and shortening of beats, the 'out-of-context *rits*.', the characteristic hand dislocations and arpeggiations, they continue to present us with stark contrasts with the latter.

Informative of what we have left behind due to those technical shifts and recent 'impositions' has been the time I spent engaging in the extreme practice method of closecopying Granados's playing: a tangible result was the live video recording of *Quejas*, o la maja y el ruiseñor. This represented a performance that was not only artistically pleasing, in fact well-received by audiences (whether they were made aware or not of my copying work), but that, even more importantly, signified a shift of my own alerting me to all-too-easily assumed and accepted rules of performance. As I elucidated in chapter 4, I did not wish to go 'all the way' in this copying process, that is to say, as far as actively wishing to set aside my own tastes and preferences. I wanted to become deeply acquainted with those technical characteristics of early-twentieth-century playing, allowing them to become a part of my own range of possible choices, and accepting the possibility that *spontaneity* — even if planned in the practice room, as must be and is the case for most of a performer's decisions — could take again an important role in my performances. The more I thought and imagined my playing through this prism, the more it became unsustainable to hold true the many assumptions we as pianists abide by uncritically. The examples I used in chapter 3 about Debussy's (on the surface) contradictory words of advice, and our widely variable understandings of Chopin's *rubato* (when we consider the full range of sources) could not be expanded fully — entire dissertations would be required to fully delve into those matters — but the essence remains that our positions as seekers and holders of performing truths have never felt more unstable. Our preoccupations with 'correct' performance and proper aesthetics have been placed on severely shaky grounds by the example found in historical recordings.

Although I have spent many words proposing caution as far as the copying-practice process is concerned, it is undeniable that when applied with caution, it becomes a beneficial method with which to allow some techniques to enter one's arsenal of expressive possibilities. Far from implying that I will subscribe to an all-out acceptance of any performative choice, but also from making myself the judge of values brought to the stage, I claim that the scope is vast for creativity to allow persuasive performances, within a background of high professional

competence, and to explore a more personal approach.³⁶⁹ I would say that one's point should not be to aim for a copied performance of the past, nor at its opposite end to set out to be outlandish *a priori*, but instead to consider the prospect of engaging in a practice that fosters self-evaluation, creative decision-making, and intense listening. I mentioned that the Japanese characters for music, namely *ongaku*, or sound fun, have given me much to think about as far as allowing a fuller aural experience in my approach to performance. The most direct consequence would be in thinking (even on the concert stage or in the recording studio) about the 'moment' of performance and the 'gesture' that creates or results from sound production, finding a 'facility of gesture, the ease of performance' that could be my own.

As a litmus test for my theories, I was grateful to have the opportunity to conduct a number of masterclasses in Tokyo, Japan, towards the end of this research; on those occasions I began applying some of the concepts I have discussed into my own pedagogical work. My appreciation goes to Ms Narita who, unaware of my research, wished to work on Granados's *El amor y la muerte*. In that lesson in particular, I showed some methods with which pedagogues can cultivate their students' imaginations and creativities, without relying simply on the score's notation or on preconceived stylistic notions.

While my research journey proved a useful and informative experiment, I could have truly valued it only if it brought benefits and innovations to my way of working on other pieces, for which no historical recording was available; proof of the efficacy of my research would depend on whether I could replicate this *different* approach — away from folkloric traditions — by practicing, repeating, experimenting and devising valid performed solutions independently from historical legacy and recent custom. The results of this endeavor form part of the practical output for this dissertation, discussed in chapter 5, which aimed to 'reprogram' my performances of Granados's *El amor y la muerte* and *Epílogo* from *Goyescas*, and Albéniz's First Book from *Iberia*; a task that would, beyond presenting the creative challenges discussed, set me up to confront my own stylistic past.

I started this project envisioning a process that should have as primary function that of informing practical outputs; through the strands of socio-political history, performance history, questioning of HIP, I set out to evaluate Granados's sounded example in *Goyescas*, curious as

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³⁶⁹ One of my earliest clear memories of a performance must have been in the early 1990s, in the small seaside resort of Riccione, Italy, where a notable pianist – fresh winner of a major international competition – came to play Rachmaninov's Second Piano Concerto. His opening eight bars were the talk of the after-concert reception, having people debating the validity — in my case I remember discussing the 'beauty' — of that passage being performed upside down: that is, the *cresc*. into the main orchestral theme inverted and performed from a *ff* opening chord, to a *pp* of the last, and a sudden one-bar *cresc*.. The debate had all of us remaining on our positions, whether it was considered a gimmick or an inspired moment of musical freedom.

to what it would challenge, what could be extracted and learned, and what significances it might hold for me. The conclusions I reached will be followed up in my own practice as performer, pedagogue and academic; perhaps they will also encourage others in similar fields to explore some of its implications. It proved a slow but emancipating process; ridding oneself of much of the ideological baggage gathered through years of professional activity is far from a comfortable shift, yet it afforded me a chance to re-evaluate and question my earlier self. The evidence suggests that a significantly different musical imagination and pianist sit at the keyboard, following technical discoveries and familiarity with early-twentieth-century examples of music making. The pianist in me has overcome his youthful awe towards the identity aesthetics of the dictator. I wish, then, that my efforts would be useful to others in emancipating their imaginations. Music, alongside its staged manifestations, remains after all an ephemeral pleasure, often enjoyed in private, to which we should all bring something personal; the time is ripe to allow ourselves, and others, a fuller enjoyment of this enigmatic experience.

Abstract

Granados's recordings of his own compositions and, in particular, of the First Book of Goyescas (ca. 1908-1916) offer us a style of performance that is surprisingly different from that which we have become used to in recent decades. As well as being much more flexible, as we would expect from a player of his generation, they lack the highly articulated ornamental inflexions that we have come to expect as authentic features of stylish Spanish pianism. Tracing these shifting performance approaches, emerging in Spanish pianists of the generation following Granados, reveals how a universally accepted folkloric style evolved in parallel with the cultural propaganda of the Civil War and the Franco dictatorship, epitomised in the identity narratives of *Hispanidad*. That this approach has survived intact and unchallenged to the present day itself raises worrying questions. The main aim of this thesis, alongside the artistic output that accompanies it, is to offer new perspectives on the performance of Spanish scores, drawing upon Granados's roll performances without copying them slavishly. This will offer an opportunity to demonstrate how these scores may afford less rigid and predictable (and arguably less politically toxic) expressivity at the piano. My practical submissions are presented as video materials, including performances of scores Granados did and did not record himself, masterclass teaching in which some of these ideas are offered to others, and a lecturedemonstration which examines key moments for performance decisions in scores from the same cultural orbit (Albéniz's First Book of *Iberia*). The project thus challenges orthodox approaches and offers practical and effective alternatives, at all times aiming to widen the options available to musicians in the future.

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Appendix A

Audio Examples available at:

 $\underline{https://www.dropbox.com/sh/vwwr96jrogpho4m/AABINGvmjbvfo6lyxj9pOg8Ra?dl=0}.$

Sound Example 1.1: *Quejas, o la maja y el ruiseñor*.

Sound Ex. 1.1.1: Granados, E. (ca. 1908-1916, reissued 2005) *Masters of the Piano Roll: Granados plays Granados – New digital recording*, Dal Segno.

Sound Ex. 1.1.2: Iturbi, A. (1950) Granados: Goyescas, HMV, ALP 1320, 1956.

Sound Ex. 1.1.3: De Larrocha, A. (1976) Granados: Goyescas, El pelele, Decca 411-958-2.

Sound Ex. 1.1.4: Han, Y. (2017) Granados: Goyescas, Steinway and Sons, STNS30067.

Sound Ex. 1.1.5: Magaloff, N. (1952) *Granados: Goyescas, El pelele*, Eloquence, ELO4804116, rel. 2012.

Sound Ex. 1.1.6 Zabaleta, M. (2016) *Granados: Goyescas, o los majos enamorados, El pelele*, La Ma de Guido, LMG2143.

Sound Example 1.2: El fandango de candil, bars 1-13.

Sound Ex. 1.2.1 Granados, E. (ca. 1908-1916, reissued 2005) *Masters of the Piano Roll: Granados plays Granados – New digital recording*, Dal Segno.

Sound Ex. 1.2.2: De Larrocha, A. (1976) Granados: Goyescas, El pelele, Decca 411-958-2.

Sound Ex. 1.2.3: Torres-Pardo, R. (original recording date unknown, remastered and issued 2015) *Enrique Granados: Goyescas*, Deutsche Grammophon.

Sound Ex. 1.2.4: Zabaleta, M. (2016) *Granados: Goyescas, o los majos enamorados, El pelele*, La Ma de Guido, LMG2143.

Sound Example 2.1: *Coloquio en la reja*, *Copla* section.

Sound Ex. 2.1.1: Granados, E. (ca. 1908-1916, reissued 2005) *Masters of the Piano Roll: Granados plays Granados – New digital recording*, Dal Segno.

Sound Ex. 2.1.2: Iturbi, A. (1950) Granados: Goyescas, HMV, ALP 1320, 1956.

Sound Ex. 2.1.3: Magaloff, N. (1952) *Granados: Goyescas, El pelele*, Eloquence, ELQ4804116, rel. 2012.

Sound Ex. 2.1.4: De Larrocha, A. (1976) Granados: Goyescas, El pelele, Decca 411-958-2.

Sound Ex. 2.1.5: Achúcarro, J. (1972, reissued 2014) *Goyescas, Sony Classical*, G010003110771M.

Sound Ex. 2.1.6: Zabaleta, M. (2016) *Goyescas, o Los majos enamorados – El Pelele*, La Ma de Guido, LMG 2143.

Sound Ex. 2.1.7: Torres Pardo, R. (original recording date unknown, remastered and issued 2015) *Enrique Granados: Goyescas*, Deutsche Grammophon, 4812317.

Sound Ex. 2.1.8: Menor, J. (2017) Goyescas: Enrique Granados, IBS Classical, IBS82017.

Sound Example 2.2: *Los requiebros*, bars 1-23.

Sound Ex. 2.2.1: Granados, E. (ca. 1908-1916, reissued 2005) *Masters of the Piano Roll: Granados plays Granados – New digital recording*, Dal Segno.

Sound Ex. 2.2.2: Iturbi, A. (1950) Granados: Goyescas, HMV, ALP 1320, 1956.

Sound Ex. 2.2.3: Magaloff, N. (1952) *Granados: Goyescas, El pelele*, Eloquence, ELO4804116, rel. 2012.

Sound Ex. 2.2.4: De Larrocha, A. (1976) Granados: Goyescas, El pelele, Decca 411-958-2.

Sound Ex. 2.2.5: Han, Y. (2017) Granados: Goyescas, Steinway and Sons, STNS30067.

Sound Example 2.3: Los requiebros, bars 5-16.

Sound Ex. 2.3.1: Granados, E. (ca. 1908-1916, reissued 2005) Masters of the Piano Roll:

Granados plays Granados - New digital recording, Dal Segno.

Sound Ex. 2.3.2: Iturbi, A. (1950) Granados: Goyescas, HMV, ALP 1320, 1956.

Sound Ex. 2.3 3: De Larrocha, A. (1976) Granados: Goyescas, El pelele, Decca 411-958-2.

Sound Ex. 2.3.4: Han, Y. (2017) Granados: Goyescas, Steinway and Sons, STNS30067.

Sound Ex. 2.3.5: Torres Pardo, R. (original recording date unknown, remastered and issued

2015) Enrique Granados: Goyescas, Deutsche Grammophon, 4812317.

Sound Example 2.4: Los requiebros, bars 22-23.

Sound Ex. 2.4.1: Granados, E. (ca. 1908-1916, reissued 2005) Masters of the Piano Roll:

Granados plays Granados – New digital recording, Dal Segno.

Sound Ex. 2.4.2: Iturbi, A. (1950) Granados: Goyescas, HMV, ALP 1320, 1956.

Sound Ex. 2.4.3: Magaloff, N. (1952) Granados: Goyescas, El pelele, Eloquence,

ELQ4804116, rel. 2012.

Sound Ex. 2.4.4: De Larrocha, A. (1976) Granados: Goyescas, El pelele, Decca 411-958-2.

Sound Ex. 2.4.5: Zabaleta, M. (2016) *Goyescas, o Los majos enamorados – El Pelele*, La Ma de Guido, LMG 2143.

Sound Ex. 2.4.6: Torres Pardo, R. (original recording date unknown, remastered and issued 2015) *Enrique Granados: Goyescas*, Deutsche Grammophon, 4812317.

Sound Ex. 2.4.7: Han, Y. (2017) Granados: Goyescas, Steinway and Sons, STNS30067.

Sound Example 2.5: Danza española n. 5, bars 1-15.

Sound Ex. 2.5.1: Granados, E. (ca. 1908-1916, reissued 2005) Masters of the Piano Roll:

Granados plays Granados - New digital recording, Dal Segno.

Sound Ex. 2.5.2: A. De Larrocha, live recording available at:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KoQgLyZTVr4.

Sound Ex. 2.5.3: Torres Pardo, R. (1998) *Enrique Granados (1886-1916): 12 Danzas españolas*, NAXOS, 8.554313.

Sound Ex. 2.5.4: Pérez, L. F. (2012) Live performance available at:

http://luisfernandoperez.com/video/enrique-granados-danza-espanola-no5-andaluza/.

Sound Example 2.6: *Danza española* n. 5, transcription for solo guitar.

2.6.1: Segovia, A. (1959), live performance available at:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Intre7nqn-Q.

Sound Example 3.1: Quejas, o la maja y el ruiseñor, bars 46-54.

Sound Ex. 3.1.1A: Granados, E. (ca. 1908-1916, reissued 2005) Masters of the Piano Roll:

Granados plays Granados – New digital recording, Dal Segno.

Sound Ex. 3.1.1.B: Hupfeld rolls 51118-19-20-21, available at

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cXEHx9dTSu0.

Sound Example 3.2: Quejas, o la maja y el ruiseñor, bar 23.

Sound Ex. 3.2.1A: Granados, E. (ca. 1908-1916, reissued 2005) Masters of the Piano Roll:

Granados plays Granados – New digital recording, Dal Segno.

Sound Ex. 3.2.1B: Hupfeld rolls 51118-19-20-21, available at

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cXEHx9dTSu0.

Sound Example 3.3: *Quejas, o la maja y el ruiseñor*, bar 23 and 46-54.

Sound Ex. 3.3.1: De Larrocha, A. (1976) Granados: Goyescas, El Pelele, Decca 411-958-2.

Sound Ex. 3.3.2: De Larrocha, A. (1976) Granados: Goyescas, El Pelele, Decca 411-958-2.

Sound Ex. 3.4.1: Torres Pardo, R. (original recording date unknown, remastered and issued 2015) *Enrique Granados: Goyescas*, Deutsche Grammophon, 4812317.

Sound Ex. 3.4.2: Torres Pardo, R. (original recording date unknown, remastered and issued 2015) *Enrique Granados: Goyescas*, Deutsche Grammophon, 4812317.

Sound Ex. 3.5.1: Han, Y. (2017) Granados: Goyescas, Steinway and Sons, STNS30067.

Sound Ex. 3.5.2: Han, Y. (2017) Granados: Goyescas, Steinway and Sons, STNS30067.

Sound Ex. 3.6.1: Grosvenor, B. (2016), live performance available at:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QaRaAV5fnW4.

Sound Ex. 3.6.2: Grosvenor, B. (2016), live performance available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QaRaAV5fnW4.

Sound Example 3.7: Quejas, o la maja y el ruiseñor, cadenza.

Sound Ex. 3.7A: Granados, E. (ca. 1908-1916, reissued 2005) Masters of the Piano Roll:

Granados plays Granados - New digital recording, Dal Segno.

Sound Ex. 3.7B: Hupfeld rolls 51118-19-20-21, available at

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cXEHx9dTSu0.

Sound Example 4.1: *Quejas, o la maja y el ruiseñor*, copy practice. Sound Ex. 4.1: Fatichenti, M. (2017) live performance available at https://vimeo.com/224370209.

Sound Examples 5.1.2–5.2.2: *El amor y la muerte* and *Epílogo: Serenata del espectro*, from Fatichenti, M. (2014) *Empire of Sound*, Fly on the Wall, FOTW0001, London.

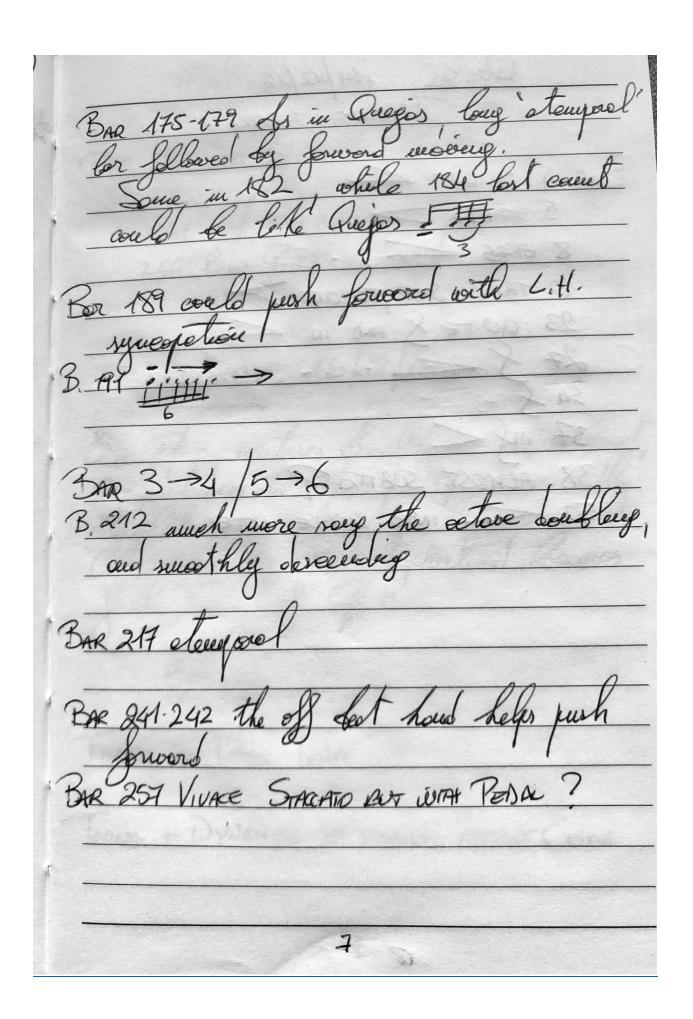
https://bit.ly/35iRIe2 https://bit.ly/2SftMCO

Scores of *El amor y la muerte* and *Epílogo: Serenata del espectro*: Henle Verlag, *Goyescas – Los majos enamorados*, HN 582.

https://bit.ly/3cSceEA
https://bit.ly/2YhcI31

Diary kept during copy practice of *Quejas*, o la maja y el ruiseñor and *Epílogo: Serenata del espectro*, pages 5-6-7-13-14:

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Appendix B

Submitted Performance Materials on Video

Video Examples 4.1–4.5: masterclass with Ms Narita on *El amor y la muerte*, held in Tokyo, Japan, on 06/04/2019.

https://youtu.be/NEJHayrwyTI https://youtu.be/VWanrEr6518 https://youtu.be/DE7ovabIJnI https://youtu.be/koyLuQbC06g https://youtu.be/V5B04YLYsR4.

Video Examples 5.1–5.2: live performances of *El amor y la muerte* and *Epílogo: Serenata del espectro*, at Persimmon Hall, Tokyo, Japan, on 10/01/2020.

https://youtu.be/OD60MWDMFoMhttps://youtu.be/ae1dGcL7PXA

Video Example 5.3: vlog of I. Albéniz's *Iberia*, First Book. Recorded at Shibuya Hall, Tokyo, Japan, on 25/03 and 17/04/2020.

https://youtu.be/CDkKW3YsWGE

Appendix C

Version Number - DD/MM/YY

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.



Title of Study: Doctor of Philosophy

King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref: MRS-18/19-11200

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

I confirm that I understand that by ticking/initialling each box I am consenting to this element of the study. I understand that it will be assumed that unticked/initialled boxes mean that I DO NOT consent to that part of the study. I understand that by not giving consent for any one element I may be deemed ineligible for the study.

Please tic or initial



 *I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated [INSERT DATE AND VERSION NUMBER] for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information and asked questions which have been answered to my satisfaction.



- I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study and understand that I can refuse to answer questions and I can withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason, up until [INSERT DATE SPECIFIED ON INFORMATION SHEET]
- *I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me in the Information Sheet. I understand that such information will be handled in accordance with the terms of the General Data Protection Regulation.



 *I understand that my information may be subject to review by responsible individuals from the College for monitoring and audit purposes.



5. [Delete as appropriate:]



I understand that confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained and it will not be possible to identify me in any research outputs

I agree to be fully identified in any research outputs, as explained in the Information Sheet

Signature

I agree to be partially identified in any research outputs, as explained in the Information Sheet

	of Participant	Date	Signature	
Eri	- Varita	06 04 2019	Eri Narita	
16.	I understand that confid group/team work/interve	lentiality cannot be guaranteed dention/]	uring the [focus	EW
15.	15. I agree to maintain the confidentiality of focus group discussions			
14.	I have informed the resinvolved or have been i	earcher of any other research in nvolved in during the past 12 mc	which I am currently onths	EN
13.	I agree that my GP may relation to my health.	y be contacted if any unexpected	I results are found in	EN
12	I understand that I mus detailed in the information	t not take part if I fall under the e ion sheet and explained to me by	exclusion criteria as y the researcher.	EN
11	.I consent to my intervie	w being audio/video recorded.		EN
10	I understand that the in report and I wish to rec	formation I have submitted will be eive a copy of it.	e published as a	EN
9.	approved by a research	ch team may use my data for fut ich use of identifiable data would h ethics committee. (In such cas be identifiable in any report).	be reviewed and	EN
8.	I agree that the research medical records for the	ch team may access my academ purposes of this research proje	nic/membership/ ct.	EN
7.	I agree to be contacted who would like to invite in future studies of a si	d in the future by King's College e me to participate in follow up st milar nature.	London researchers udies to this project, or	EN
6.	I consent to my data b the EU (delete as appr	eing shared with third parties wh opriate) as outlined in the partici	ich are within/outside pant information sheet.	EN

Name of Researcher