

## *Falla, the Spanish Civil War, and America*

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It was June 2004, a winter evening in Alta Gracia, Argentina. There, Manuel de Falla spent his final years in the hope that the brisk air of the Sierra de Córdoba would help clear his respiratory ailments. The living room at the Museo Manuel de Falla, now on the edge of a golf course, was packed with visitors who came to hear a talk by a *gringa* scholar from the United States who had recently published a biography of the composer. (The title, *Sacred Passions: The Life and Work of Manuel de Falla*, was tantalizingly mistranslated in the local paper as “*Secret Passions*.”<sup>1</sup>) The formal presentation over, that scholar, still unused to Argentine Spanish, braced for the question period. All anxieties, however, swiftly dissolved in the face of the public’s sincerity and near-nostalgia for its famous adopted son. Several attendees, moreover, “remembered” 14 November 1946, the day the composer died, recalling how, over the course of the afternoon, residents of Alta Gracia quietly drew their blinds as the news trickled out. That is, the public of 2004 repeated to me—for I was that *gringa* scholar—the account of Falla’s death as told them by their parents and grandparents.

By 1946, Argentina and various other Latin American countries had already welcomed any number of Spanish expatriates. So, too, had the United States. But there is little doubt that we of the “Informal empire,” as Argentine historian Ricardo Salvatore calls our country, suffer from far greater ignorance of the Spanish Civil War than do our southern neighbors. The Civil War was hardly likely to figure in history curricula after World War II, when the United States considered Spain a pariah state for its ties to the Axis. Of course, this status eventually shifted when the US government decided to build military bases in Torrejón and in 1959, the alliance with Spain was celebrated with a ceremonial embrace between Eisenhower and Franco—to the strains of “The Yellow Rose of Texas”—moving the Spanish dictator to declare, “Now I have won the Civil War.” Nonetheless, anti-Hispanic and anti-Catholic sentiment in the United States insured that few high school students became familiar with the event once known as “the last great cause.” Also squelching interest in the Civil War was anticommunism. During the McCarthy period, the war was a litmus test and pro-Loyalist behavior could lead to the blacklist. Nowadays, as we bid farewell to the last members of the Lincoln Battalion, we can be grateful to the educational programs of organizations such as ALBA, founded by veterans, to redress this lacuna in our historical memory.

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<sup>1</sup> The bulk of the information presented in this talk is from this biography, the full citation for while is given in the chronology below.

For all the reasons just noted, the Civil War's impact on music has largely failed to attract US musicologists. Yet in the wake of the 1990s, when the notion that music occupied an antiseptic preserve free of worldly interests began to topple, a few scholars started examining the war in relation to music in the United States. To be sure, much research remains to be done. But as a basis for future investigations, some understanding of music in Spain during this period would seem to be essential. What sort of musical environment, exactly, were composers of the Americas seeking to defend in Spain? Many who helped shaped that environment, such as Adolfo Salazar or Rodolfo Halffter, are hardly household words in the United States. Manuel de Falla, by contrast, enjoys greater name recognition. As musicologists debate the legacy of German scholar Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht during World War II, it seems only logical to reexamine Falla in a similar light in this seventy-fifth anniversary of the outbreak of the war. As I will propose here, such an exercise can teach us not only about the twists and quirks of memory, a topic of extraordinary interest in Spain, but also about working within the limits of memory, which psychologist Daniel Schacter has explored in several studies, including his widely read *The Seven Sins of Memory: How the Mind Remembers and Forgets*.<sup>2</sup> In my discussion of Falla, I will suggest that memory, which Paul Ricoeur defines as "the struggle against forgetting," is best served when we examine ourselves as part of that struggle.<sup>3</sup> In doing so, we may acknowledge that there are things we don't know.

Of course we do *know* certain things about Falla and the war, even if scholars have not always seen fit to mention them. (See the end of this article for a list of Falla's activities as related to the Spanish politics from the advent of the Second Republic, which he initially supported.) Comparing "what we know" and what we might prefer to forget brings us to the simple fact that despite isolated attempts by the left during the Republic and the war, it was the right that ultimately appropriated Falla. After 1939, when he had left for America, the *franquista* censorship machine single-handedly laid the foundation for his legacy in Spain, taking as its rhetorical linchpin the composer's unswerving faith. Federico Sopena, for example, viewed Falla's "patriotic Catholicism" as evidence of his solidarity with Franco, along with the bizarre observation that the composer was a virgin when he died. Well before the war, tropes of saintly otherworldliness had informed criticism of the Harpsichord Concerto, for example, the "austerity" of which many critics linked to Catholic mysticism and, subsequently, to the regime. After Franco's death in 1975, Falla's abstemiousness took on other dimensions. US scholar Andrew Budwig, for example, painted the composer as "a poor liberal," implicitly linking Falla to the image of Christ as a liberal or even a radical. Others tag Falla as an exile, thus situating him in the exodus of anti-*franquista* Spanish artists and intellectuals. Thanks to Gemma Pérez-Zalduondo

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<sup>2</sup> Daniel L. Schacter, *The Seven Sins of Memory* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2001).

<sup>3</sup> Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 413.

we have a far more nuanced view of *franquismo* and its techniques of appropriation.<sup>4</sup> Yet we cannot deny that this individual, so meek as to apologize for killing a cockroach—to the cockroach itself, as noted by his former student the late Joaquín Nin-Culmell—ultimately accepted the Nationalist cause and the human costs of the war as a necessary for protecting the Church.

Falla's initial support for the Republic was surely rooted in his view of social justice. Not only did he give regularly to the poor, but he considered the artist—himself included—as a humble craftsman, a stance the Republican constitution echoed. Yet the government's inaction against the church vandalism that broke out almost immediately and often ill-chosen words by its leaders so distressed Falla that he embarked on a letter-writing campaign to government officials he knew personally. He grilled minister of justice Fernando de los Ríos on questions of policy, complaining when crucifixes were “pulled from the schools”; on a proposed institute for Arab Studies, he queried sarcastically: “Maybe in it . . . the study of the Koran will be prohibited?” Ever fearful of “deformation,” Falla agonized for days over whether to shake the minister's hand in a public ceremony. Later, he would appeal to Manuel Azaña, whose declaration of October 1931, “Spain has ceased to be a Catholic country,” surely filled the composer with despair.

Falla was hardly one to unthinkingly defend the Spanish Catholic Church. During World War I, he had parted company with it by supporting the Allies. He also lamented that some of its practices were contrary “to the example of Christ” and complained that its intellectual wing was overlooked. To be sure, those of us in a pluralistic society will look askance on Falla's displeasure over the removal of crucifixes in schools, which echoes present-day conflicts over Muslim headscarves or conspicuous displays of the Ten Commandments. Yet even as Falla argued that Spain “without the gospel” was “a deep wound . . . in the soul,” his views on religious liberty are less than clear. Despite his dim view of Protestantism or his personal misgivings about “freethinking” or “Robespierrean ideas,” I am unaware of any evidence suggesting that he would have wished to outlaw the practice of religions other than Catholicism. Moreover, because he befriended atheists, liberals, and homosexuals, some considered him a *rojillo*, that is, a less than full-fledged leftist but no friend of the right. When he clashed on matters of faith with these friends, he treated them with consummate respect, as in the case of Lorca, whose “Ode to the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar,” a poem replete with Dalí-esque religious imagery, was utterly repugnant to the composer, its dedicatee. Thus, to rely on a cliché, it can be argued that Falla hated the sin but loved the sinner. He tried to publicly articulate this thorny middle ground in March 1932 by rejecting an homage from the City Hall of Seville with the

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<sup>4</sup> Gemma Pérez Zalduondo, “El nacionalismo como eje de la política musical del primer gobierno regular de Franco (30 de enero de 1938-8 de agosto de 1939),” *Revista de Musicología* 18 (1995): 247-73.

eminently quotable words: “If God is now *officially* denied all recognition, how could I, His poor creature, accept it?” That is, without venturing an opinion on the question of religious freedom for society as a whole, Falla saw *himself* as incapable of accepting honors from a secular state.

Of course, he immediately became a hero to the political right. His picture appeared on the cover of the Catholic magazine *Hormiga de Oro* and hundreds signed a letter of support, whom the composer thanked in the *Diario de Cádiz* while also cautioning against “a possible political interpretation [of the incident].” Yet Falla also served the government whose honors he rejected. From November 1932, that is, *after* the Seville episode, he sat on the Madrid-based Junta Nacional de Música y Teatros. There was also his involvement with the magazine *Cruz y Raya*, established in 1933 as a middle ground between the extreme right and the rabid anti-clericalism of many on the left. After it published a Freudian reading of the famous “Crucifix” by Velásquez and speculated on links between Catholicism and communism, however, Falla severed ties with the magazine. He also ended his service to the Republic by resigning from the Junta Nacional, although not for political reasons, but rather due to a change of personnel in 1933.

Having resigned from *Cruz y Raya* for its excessive liberalism, on the eve of the war, Falla turned down poet Ramiro de Maeztu, who sought the composer’s support in forming a Spanish version of the anti-Semitic, anti-Republican, anti-Protestant Action Française. His health increasingly frail, Falla nonetheless argued to Maeztu not for “a conservative counter-revolution . . . but rather another deeper and more noble revolution, guided by the love of God, above all things. . . .” Ten days later, the war broke out. In Granada, Nationalist death squads and militias apprehended thousands suspected of Republican sympathies. On August 19, Falla found himself in the Civil Government with two young *falangistas* to plead Lorca’s case. As we know, he was too late. He also intervened on behalf of one of the Lorca family’s maids; the Lorca family itself would recall with gratitude Falla’s visits immediately after Federico’s death. Falla also questioned the vast numbers of executions in Granada by writing a friend from Cádiz, José María Pemán, on this point.

Yet even as Falla deplored acts of unbridled Nationalist violence, his letter to Pemán also reveals a very different perspective:

I well know that in these moments, given such numerous and horrendous crimes that determined the present movement for the salvation of Spain, serenity of judgment is incredibly difficult at times; but for this very reason I believe it a strict obligation for Christians that we convey our fears and our sorrows to those, who, due to a host of grave responsibilities and preoccupations, sometimes find themselves fatally obliged to resort to expedient procedures that in normal times they would certainly not put into

practice.<sup>5</sup>

The phrase “movement for the salvation of Spain” comes straight from Nationalist propaganda, as does Falla’s description (in another letter to Pemán) of the Nationalists’ taking of Málaga as a “felicísima ‘reconquista,’” an allusion to Christian Spain’s routing of the Moors in the fifteenth century. The same can be said for his warm words for General Gonzalo Queipo de Llano:

And I ask God that the sacred cry “Long Live Christ the King!” that so many martyrs cry out upon death will have fruitful effect in the convictions and in the works of those Spanish Christians still living.<sup>6</sup>

Having missed the deadline for a public homage to the general, Falla now greeted him, “with all [his] will placed in God and in Spain.” The slogan “Por Dios y España,” which can still be seen on some monuments, was a rallying cry for Nationalist Catholics, as was “¡Viva Cristo Rey!” which Falla also weaves into his prose.

Thus, only months into the war, Falla, always so fearful of “deformation,” was relying on all manner of Nationalist rhetoric. Was he trying out a bit of wartime bombast to solidify his bond with figures whose friendship might prove advantageous in an uncertain future? Was he sincere? That he failed to publicly acknowledge Queipo de Llano but hastened to do so privately, may well suggest a degree of sincerity. But it may also suggest a fear of doing otherwise. The same can be said for his composing “a marching song to be sung by our soldiers,” as requested General Luis Orgaz, who hounded Falla for over a month. Falla ultimately relented but tellingly—perhaps—did not use his own music but the “Canto de los Almogávares” from Pedrell’s *Los Pirineos*. Yet he never arrived at a definitive version and the project eventually fell into oblivion.

All the while, the Nationalists courted Falla, sometimes with little more than routine press propaganda over which he, of course, had no control. In May 1938, for example, one *franquista* critic considered *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* to reflect “the soul and energy of Spain that leads Franco through the spiritual empire towards God.” Less frequently, the left spoke up. In 1937, the Barcelona-based Republican daily *El Diluvio* expressed surprise (prematurely, as it turned out) over Falla’s apparent solidarity with the Nationalists. The Nationalist daily *El Ideal* responded by dredging up the Seville homage, which, it reported, Falla had rejected because of its links with Freemasonry. Immediately, Falla wrote an open letter to *El Ideal*:

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<sup>5</sup> Letter, Falla to Pemán, September 18, 1936.

<sup>6</sup> Letter, Falla to Queipo de Llano, October 20, 1936.

It's absolutely true that, before as well as now, God . . . is for me above all things, and that I did have to decline the [Seville] homage (in any case undeserved) . . . although neither the intention nor its origins were precisely those assigned it by *El Ideal*. But, I repeat it, the fact is correct and it will return to reinstate itself on any occasion that may require it.<sup>7</sup>

Essentially, Falla argued that loyalty to God—not to the political right—had motivated his action. Once again, he managed to publicly affirm his religious convictions without explicitly throwing in his lot with the Nationalists. He did so, moreover, by offering an explanation with which no Nationalist could quarrel.

But none of this was enough for the Nationalists. One day in January 1938, Falla opened his daily newspaper to discover that he had been named president of the newly established Instituto de España. Seeking to counter “Bolshevik barbarism,” the Institute would lend intellectual luster to the regime, as the title of an article by Pemán, “The Best are with Us” smugly suggested. Corresponding members included Paul Claudel, historian Karl Burckhardt, and Stravinsky; at the helm, however, was “President, don Manuel de Falla.” Had Falla participated in the inauguration ceremonies, which took place on January 6, 1938 (Epiphany), at the University of Salamanca, he would have been expected to swear loyalty to Franco, “Savior of our people.” For someone who insisted that his students call him Don Manuel rather than “Maestro” on the premise that “there is only one Maestro,” Falla would hardly have been willing to call Franco or any other human being his savior. But he by no means broke with the Instituto, as is sometimes suggested. Irked by the manner in which the nomination had been publicized without his prior consent, Falla now assaulted Pemán with a flurry of correspondence, pleading frail health and lack of expertise. All the while, he reiterated his “complete respect for and loyalty to his Excellency the Generalísimo.” Ultimately, the matter was referred to Pedro Sainz Rodrigo. But it was not until June that the composer was exempted from “all executive functions related to the post of president of the Institute of Spain,” and for reasons of health. The key term here is “*executive* functions.” For in a letter of July 18, 1938, to Sainz Rodrigo, Falla requested the following:

I only have to request of you . . . that when it is necessary that my name appear linked to the position, the status of “elect” or “without function” be added to the title, or whatever form you find appropriate, since the contrary would leave neither one of us in peace.<sup>8</sup>

In other words, he *accepted* the qualifications of “elect” or “without function.” Indeed, another portion of his letter hardly reflects the composer’s oft-stated

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<sup>7</sup> Letter, Falla to *El Ideal*, November 4, 1937.

<sup>8</sup> Falla, letter to Pedro Sainz Rodrigo, July 18, 1938.

desire to remain “above the workings of politics”:

In these days of anniversary, full of deep significance for all true Spaniards and also because of the elevation—never more justified—of our undefeated Generalísimo to the highest rank of the Army and of the Navy, receive and convey to His Excellency my repeated support, along with my most respectful and devoted greeting.<sup>9</sup>

Thus, whereas previously Falla had gone to great lengths to avoid “deformation,” by 1938 he accepted affiliation, albeit a tenuous one.

It was also in 1938 that Falla gave the Nationalists what they really wanted. His public statement of support appeared in *Spain*, an English-language magazine published by the Spanish Press Services, a London-based entity directed by Nationalist interests. Falla’s declaration of solidarity appeared twice therein, first on February 1, 1938, under the title “My Hope” and then more prominently as a cover story with a photo in the March issue. As always, he took pains to couch his views in Christian terms:

Although I am not concerned with politics and every war causes me intense pain, I hail the National Rising in the hope that we shall no longer hear blasphemies shouted in our streets, see our churches and our cemeteries profaned and wrecked, our libraries looted, our treasures of art collected in the course of centuries rifled, and the ministers and servants of God subjected to martyrdom, all of which deeds have been committed with the satanic aim of eradicating from the conscience of man the eternal essence of his divine origin.<sup>10</sup>

We know that Falla’s statement was sincere. He shared it with Roland-Manuel and also discussed his views with a young Gilbert Chase who, unlike the vast majority of U.S. intellectuals, supported the Nationalists, echoing Falla’s own hope for “a united and Catholic Spain” and confiding in the composer his frustration that “hardly anyone” in the United States understood “the real truth about Spain.” Yet Falla’s support is muted. He “hail[ed] the Nationalist uprising” not because of its political policies, institutions, or leaders, but because it offered at least “hope” that religion would be protected, a point on which the Republic had failed. To be sure, Falla could have remained silent rather than confide his “hope” to the international audience. But he may have felt that he could avoid further pressure with a few carefully chosen words. What he failed to avoid was bitterness and bewilderment in Republican circles. Insisting that Falla had “fallen into the trap,” composer Enrique Casal Chapí condemned the declaration as

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, continued.

<sup>10</sup> “My Hope,” *Spain* [Great Britain], March 1, 1938, p. 1.

nothing short of a betrayal of the Spanish people to whom, after all, “Falla owes his magnificent *oeuvre*”:

Listening to [Falla’s music] will no longer be anything to us but an aesthetic pleasure. In the perfection and in the character of that music there will always be the indication of the position, false at the very least, that the one who wrote it takes today . . . but at the same time an exaltation of our ideal, never a faltering in our struggle.<sup>11</sup>

As Falla’s creative light continued to dim and his health persisted in its slow decline, the Civil War ground to a close. On April 1, the day Franco proclaimed victory, Falla accepted an invitation from the Institución Cultural Española of Buenos Aires to conduct several concerts there. It was in that capacity that he left for Argentina just weeks after Hitler invaded Poland. Once in America, Falla found himself increasingly disinclined to return to war-ravaged Europe. In Alta Gracia, he believed, he could finish *Atlántida* and remove himself from an ever more hostile world.

It was also in America that Falla’s affiliation with the Nationalists took a new turn. While still aboard ship, he was offered a lifetime pension by the Franco government. In November 1939, a decree named him a member of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Other honors, listed in your handouts, followed. But as far as we can tell, Falla barely reacted to these appointments: he seems neither to have sought clarification on their nature nor to have officially rejected them, behavior surely exacerbated by ill health and distance. If his apathy toward worldly honors was predictable, however, his indifference to the promise of a lifetime pension is far more significant, given his bleak financial circumstances. He had not composed an income-generating work in years and in the aftermath of the war, the Sociedad General de Autores Españoles failed to send him his royalties, as did his principal publishers, Chester and Eschig, now tied up in the European war. As if all this were not enough, he was also getting swindled by the US music industry. Had he accepted the Franco government’s offer, all could have been different.

Again, it is not clear that politics influenced his decision. (He did briefly consider returning in 1944.) But he was certainly becoming aware of Franco’s sinister retributive campaign and, from Argentine, advocated on behalf of ex-Republican friends and colleagues. Through the Spanish Consul General, he succeeded in reducing the death sentence of composer Miguel Salvador to thirty years’ imprisonment. In addition, his lifelong habit of giving to the poor can be said to have assumed a political dimension at this time in that he began contributing to one of the many Republican refugee camps in France. We will

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<sup>11</sup> Enrique Casal Chapí, “Música en la guerra,” *Hora de España* 3, nos. 11-15 (1938): 491-92.



never know the extent of Falla's charity—certainly he could afford to give very little—for he kept such things secret.

In 1944, the Franco government once more stepped up its efforts to court Falla. The Spanish Ambassador to Argentina, wrote him with additional enticements, including a performance of *Atlántida* in Barcelona, travel expenses, and a pension, which he turned down. In summer 1946, Francisco Cambó reiterated the offer of a pension. Again, Falla refused, citing ill health. Whatever lay behind this courteous and by now routine explanation, the exchange of 1946, the last year of his life, was Falla's final interaction with the victors in the Spanish Civil War.

So how *do* we evaluate Falla's behavior? During the war itself, he may have been motivated by fear and awareness that his status as *rojillo* in some circles carried a mortal risk. Still, even if many of his letters were dictated by fear—of the sort I daresay most of us can barely imagine—it is still impossible to affirm that *fear alone* motivated him. Although Falla may have been afraid *not* to compose the *Himno marcial* it does not necessarily follow that he was unmoved by Orgaz's exhortations to serve a Nationalist vision of the *patria*, which, of course, protected the Church. Nor could fear have been the sole impetus behind his guarded but voluntary declaration to the magazine *Spain*. As always, “what ifs” present themselves. We do not know where Falla would have stood had the Republic's religious policies been promulgated more gradually, had fewer inflammatory statements such as Azaña's circulated, had antireligious violence been less maniacal. He might have stayed loyal to the government he initially favored. We do not know the composer's understanding of the role of the Axis in the Nationalist enterprise. Nor could Falla have had foreknowledge of the virulence of Franco's post-war reprisals. His support for the Nationalists *during the conflict itself*, therefore—however shocking in light of his regard for Lorca, for example—must be counterbalanced by his polite indifference to the Franco government's overtures during the Argentina years. His rejecting of Franco's enticements no more indicates opposition to the regime than his donations to Republican camps and advocacy for friends on the losing side indicate support for the vanquished government. Rather, in Argentina—in America—Falla fulfilled his desire to remain “above the workings of politics” as no other period of his life.

As noted, in the postwar period many on the right indulged in grandstanding and downright invention in their treatment of Falla. One architect of the Franco regime held a rather different view, however. In a 1981 interview, Sainz Rodrigo said the following:

Manuel de Falla was well known throughout the world, but he was a Catholic . . . well, a Catholic of the left who, moreover, didn't want to commit himself clearly to us. He . . . accepted not too graciously [the presidency of the Institute] and didn't stop until he succeeded in weaseling out of the responsibility under the pretext

of delicate health. In fact, what interested us in Falla was his name . . . people would say: “Well, they can’t be such barbarians if they’re appointing Falla to a directorial position of a cultural organization.” Falla was a man with an equivocal attitude, and he never dared to take a stand.<sup>12</sup>

In claiming that Falla “never dared to take a stand,” of course, Sainz Rodrigo exaggerated. But in assessing Falla as “a man with an equivocal attitude” he was somewhat closer to the mark. However *unequivocal* his faith, Falla had suffered for years the tortures of indecision in his painstaking search for truth, artistic and otherwise, in an imperfect world. Ultimately the composer’s consuming fear of “deformation,” coupled with his habitual need to clarify and to re-clarify his position, have abetted the often chaotic course of historical memory, insuring that it is impossible to consider Falla’s stance in the most cataclysmic event in twentieth-century Spain apart from the wide range of interpretations that partisans of all stripes continue to attribute to his behavior.

In his 1991 essay, “Judging Paul de Man,” Geoffrey H. Hartman argues that “the aim of judgment in historical or literary-critical discourse, a forensic rather than juridical sort of inquiry, is not that of determining guilt or innocence.”<sup>13</sup> If memory is the struggle against forgetting, what does it mean when the best we can do is arrive at a partial truth? Does it mean that we don’t know? That we have indeed lost the struggle? Rather than allow ourselves to be goaded by the need to argue for guilt or innocence, we can perhaps become less hasty in our reading of historical documents, cultivating not the equivocation of which Sainz Rodrigo accused Falla, but rather accepting the fact that human behavior rarely falls into neat categories of black or white. It is the infinite shades of gray that twist and bend in the realm of memory. It is also these ephemera that insure that history, to borrow a phrase from Umberto Eco, will ever remain an “open work.”

## CHRONOLOGY<sup>14</sup>

**April 24, 1931.** Eduardo López Ramírez invites Falla to write an anthem for the Republic; two days later, Falla writes López Ramírez when the latter does not show up at their appointment.

**May 4, 1931.** Falla writes British Hispanist John Trend that “the manner in which this revolution has been carried out is miraculous” and places his faith in God that the Republic will “continue to pursue a peaceful course.”

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<sup>12</sup> Pedro Sainz Rodrigo, interview with Alicia Alted, 1981.

<sup>13</sup> Geoffrey H. Hartman, “Judging Paul de Man,” in *Minor Prophecies: The Literary Essay in the Culture Wars* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 148.

<sup>14</sup> Information culled from Carol A. Hess, *Sacred Passions: The Life and Music of Manuel de Falla* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

**May 14, 1931.** Falla and several like-minded *granadinos* telegraph Republican president Niceto Alcalá Zamora (a Catholic), complaining over the authorities' slow response to a wave of church burnings, noting that "small groups have been committing all manner of sacrileges for two days."

**June 9, 1931.** Falla launches his letter-writing campaign to Fernando de los Ríos, Minister of Justice, complaining of church vandalism and the government's "anti-religious concept." Additional letters follow.

**February 1932.** Falla drafts his will, stipulating that in performance of his works "the purest Christian morals—without exception—be observed, and that they be always accompanied by works of evident moral and artistic dignity." Language of the will and a 1935 codicil (see p. 2) will be trumpeted by the *franquista* press, especially in obituaries of Falla.

**March 1932.** With his customarily guarded language, Falla downplays the possibility of an homage from the Seville City Hall; on March 24, the Republican paper *El Sol* (Madrid) reports that Falla is to receive the homage.

**April 3 and 11, 1932.** Falla writes Segismundo Romero regarding the Seville homage, which in fact the composer wishes to turn down. He writes: "if God is now *officially* denied all recognition, how could I, His poor creature, accept it [emphasis original]?" On 17 April, another Republican paper *El Liberal* (Seville) mistakenly reports that Falla will accept the homage.

**May 27, 1932.** Word of Falla's rejection of the homage is leaked to the right-wing press and reported in *La Unión* (Seville).

**June 8, 1932.** Portions of Falla's letter to Segismundo Romero are reprinted in *La Unión*.

**June 14, 1932.** *El Socialista* publishes the editorial "Incongruencia católica," which comments on Falla's "bizarre solidarity with God" and argues that "the Supreme Creator would hardly have imagined itself supplanted nor felt jealousy over [accepting the Seville homage]"; the editorial also accuses the right of stoking the impression that a government-supported "religious persecution" is taking place.

**June 23, 1932.** Falla's photograph appears on cover of *Hormiga del Oro*, a Catholic publication.

**Early to mid-July 1932.** *Diario de Cádiz* gradually publishes the names of Falla's supporters in the Seville episode, eventually totaling 580. Neither the sincerity of the signatories nor their familiarity with the details of the case are known.

**July 3, 1932.** *Diario de Cádiz* publishes “Carta del ilustre gaditano Don Manuel de Falla,” in which Falla thanks signatories for adhering to their “strong convictions and deep religious feelings” while cautioning against “a possible political interpretation [of the incident].. . .”

**July 7, 1932.** Right-wing music critic Víctor Espinós publishes “El ‘Te Deum’ de Falla” in *El Defensor de Córdoba*, noting Falla’s distance from the Republic.

**September 3, 1932.** Falla conducts *El Retablo de Maese Pedro* and several of his “expressive versions” of works by Victoria at San Telmo. Fernando de los Ríos presides over the ceremony and Falla agonizes over whether to shake his hand in public. The Republican daily *Vasconia* notes the sense of “social mission” in Falla’s music; weeks later Falla conducts the *Retablo* at Venice’s *Festival internazionale*, where the Italian fascist press praises its “universalism” and “essential Latin spirit.”

**Autumn 1932.** Continues work on *Atlántida*, begun in 1926.

**November 15, 1932.** Falla accepts an appointment to serve the Republican government as a member of the Junta Nacional de Música y Teatros.

**May 21, 1933.** Premiere of *Balada de Mallorca*, Falla’s reworking of Chopin’s Ballade in F Major, op. 38 for chorus, at the Third Chopin Festival at the monastery at Valldemossa (Mallorca).

**April 15, 1933.** Inaugural issue of *Cruz y Raya: Revista de Afirmación y Negación* (Plus and Minus: Journal of Affirmation and Negation), a magazine for liberal Catholics on whose editorial board Falla sits.

**May 1933.** Falla corresponds with José Bergamín, editor of *Cruz y Raya*, on the publication’s “Christian prestige.”

**August 15, 1933.** Bergamín’s piece on the Velásquez crucifix, entitled “La Importancia del Demonio,” appears in *Cruz y Raya*, to which Falla courteously objects.

**September 15, 1933.** Falla’s long-delayed article, “Notas sobre Ricardo Wagner en el cincuentenario de su muerte,” appears in *Cruz y Raya*.

**November 1933.** Falla votes for the first time. After the right-wing coalition (for which he voted) assumes power, the personnel of the Junta Nacional de Música y Teatros changes and Falla resigns.

**January 1934.** The editorial page of *Cruz y Raya* reflects Falla’s wish to be listed as “founder” rather than as “member of the editorial board.”

**November 1934.** In its commentary on the armed struggle in Asturias the previous month, *Cruzy y Raya* compares Catholicism and communism, which proves distasteful to Falla.

**February 16, 1935.** Falla severs all ties with *Cruz y Raya*.

**August 1935.** Falla adds a codicil to his will prohibiting performance of his works unless his heirs need royalties as “an indispensable means of support.”

**May 23, 1936.** Falla writes the new Republican president, Manuel Azaña, expressing his horror over religious vandalism.

**July 8, 1936.** Through his sister María del Carmen, Falla dictates a letter to Ramiro de Maeztu opposing the “conservative counter-revolution” he believes Maeztu has proposed, advocating instead a “deeper and more noble revolution, guided by the love of God above all things.. . .”

**August 19, 1936.** One month into the war, Falla fruitlessly pleads to Nationalist officials on behalf of Federico García Lorca; Falla also intervenes on behalf of a maid employed by the Lorcas and visits the Lorca family after Federico’s death.

**September 1936.** Falla writes Captain José Nestares on behalf of Hermenegildo Lanz, being investigated by the Comisión Depuradora del Personal de Instrucción Pública.

**September 18, 1936.** Falla writes José María Pemán, questioning the “frequent application of the death penalty to persons whose crimes suggest, at least from all appearances, a notable disproportion” while also appearing to defend “the salvation of Spain” as envisioned by the Nationalists.

**October 20, 1936.** Falla writes General Gonzalo Queipo de Llano, instrumental in the repression of Granada, adding his name to a commemorative album offered the general by fellow *granadinos*.

**November 17, 1936.** Falla writes César Pemán (brother of José María), referring to the “desired and definitive” occupation of Madrid.

**April 9, 1937.** Pemán’s blatantly racist *Almoneda* premieres; Falla congratulates Pemán on its successful first night. (It is not clear that Falla actually knew the work.)

**June 15, 1937.** The Granada-based newspaper *Patria* devotes a lengthy column to Falla’s accomplishments as an exemplary citizen of “Catholic and imperial Spain.”

**August 25, 1937.** General Luis Orgaz, whom Falla received in Granada shortly after the outbreak of the war, asks Falla to write a “marching song” to be sung by

Nationalist soldiers, with lyrics by Pemán. Orgaz reiterates his “invitation” several times over the next six weeks.

**September 28, 1937.** Pemán honors Falla with a reading of the epic *Poema de la bestia y el ángel* (Poem of the Beast and the Angel) at a private home in Granada.

**October 18, 1937.** Falla relents over the marching song, telling Orgaz of his “good intentions” and his desire to “glorify God and serve our homeland”; the *Himno marcial*, after Pedrell’s *Canto de los almogávares*, eventually stalls, however.

**November 2, 1937.** The Nationalist paper *El Ideal* dredges up the 1932 Seville homage in response to an editorial in the Republican paper *El Diluvio*, which stated that Falla had declared himself for the Nationalists.

**November 4, 1937.** Falla writes *El Ideal*, explaining that loyalty to God had motivated him in 1932.

**January 6, 1938.** Inauguration ceremony of the Instituto de España in Salamanca, to which Falla was appointed president by governmental decree and without his prior consent.

**January 6, 1938.** Falla telegraphs Pemán, turning down the appointment to the presidency while noting his “complete respect for and loyalty to his Excellency the Generalísimo.”

**January 18, 1938.** Falla writes Pemán to reiterate points made in the telegram of 6 January. A series of communications follow, three of which Falla sends Pemán in two weeks.

**February 1, 1938.** Falla’s muted declaration of solidarity with the Nationalists appears under the title “My Hope” in the British publication *Spain*.

**February 3, 1938.** Pemán informs Falla that the nomination, a state matter, has been forwarded to Pedro Sainz Rodrigo, minister of education and a vice president of the Instituto.

**February 1938.** Falla’s death is announced on Seville radio, with his “fearlessness” and dedication to the idea that “Spain might continue on the imperial paths that must lead her to finer destinies” all noted. A few days later, the error is rectified in a local paper.

**February 27, 1938.** Falla writes one of several letters to Pemán on behalf of friends and colleagues threatened by the Nationalists.

**March 1, 1938.** *Spain* reprints “My Hope,” now with a photograph.

**April 26, 1938.** Falla's music is featured in a benefit concert for Auxilio Social, the Nationalist welfare organization.

**May 7, 1938.** Gilbert Chase writes Falla, expressing his support for the Nationalists and frustration with his US colleagues over their failure to understand the situation in Spain.

**May 10, 1938.** José Cubiles plays *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* in Cádiz; the work is seen to exemplify "patriotic enthusiasm and true love . . . towards the Movement, the soul and energy of Spain that leads Franco through the spiritual empire towards God."

**Mid-1938.** Enrique Casal Chapí publishes "Música en la Guerra: Manuel de Falla" in *Hora de España* (3, nos. 11-15, 491), expressing his disillusionment with Falla's official support for the Nationalists.

**May 25, 1938.** Falla writes Antonio Freixas, a friend in Argentina, explaining to him how much he suffers "with any war, however just it may be, as in the present case" (de todo guerra por justa que sea, como en el caso presente).

**June 18, 1938.** A decree exempts the composer from "all executive functions related to the post of president of the Instituto de España" for reasons of health.

**July 18, 1938.** Falla writes Sainz Rodrigo accepting exemption from "executive functions" of President of the Instituto de España without, however, breaking from the organization.

**October 4, 1938.** Falla writes Sainz Rodrigo on behalf of Joaquín Rodrigo; eventually Rodrigo receives a position with a salary of 5,000 pesetas.

**October 8, 1938.** Falla sends Roland-Manuel a Spanish-language copy of "My Hope."

**December 18, 1938.** Luis Doreste Silva writes that *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* evokes "a penitent whose soul is on its knees, in the light of Hispanic fervor, desirous of the immortal grace that descends at the instant of the pathetic and glorious communion, when the image of Calvary is driven in . . . Christ, made rhythm, . . . leads us by the hand"; likewise, the work exemplifies the "triumph of Christian asceticism" over Islam.

**January 30, 1939.** Falla congratulates Sainz Rodrigo on "the liberation of Barcelona," instructing him to "once more do me the honor of conveying to the Generalísimo these cordial sentiments with . . . admiring gratitude"

**Mid-October 1939.** Aboard the *Neptunia* en route to Argentina, Falla receives the offer of a lifetime pension from the Franco government.

**November 24, 1939.** A decree names Falla a member of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.

**March 14, 1940.** Falla is appointed Honorary President of the Patronato Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo.

**July 13, 1940.** Falla is named Caballero de la Orden de Alfonso X el Sabio.

**October 28, 1940.** Eduardo Becerra, consul general of Spain in Buenos Aires, writes Falla that the death sentence of Miguel Salvador, on whose behalf Falla had intervened, has been commuted to thirty years of hard labor.

**January 7, 1941.** Falla is named a member of the Consejo de la Hispanidad.

**1944.** A correspondent for the *franquista* publication *¡Arriba!* interviews Falla, quoting him as desiring to return to Spain, although to Córdoba rather than Granada.

**November 1944.** Falla is appointed Consejero de Honor to the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.

**April 25, 1945.** Count de Bulnes (Spanish ambassador to Argentina) writes Falla about the possibility of a performance of *Atlántida* in Barcelona, an all-expense paid trip, and a stipend for his move to Spain, as befits a “national glory.”

**July 6, 1946.** Francisco Cambó, a wealthy Spaniard, writes Falla, urging him to return to Spain and reiterating the Spanish government’s interest in providing him “travel costs, a comfortable house . . . a pension,” and whatever else Falla might require.

**November 14, 1946.** Falla dies in his sleep of heart failure, with *Atlántida* unfinished. The *franquista* press proclaims his loyalty to Nationalist Spain and his distaste for “Reds.” Other obituaries worldwide offer a confused picture of his political loyalties; *Time* magazine (United States) reports that Falla’s anti-Franco friends in Argentina have insisted that the composer be buried in Argentina.

**January 8, 1947.** Falla’s body is returned to Spain. The sepulcher marker in Cádiz cathedral reads “Sólo a Dios el honor y la gloria” (To God alone honor and glory).

**Late 1950s.** Nin-Culmell visits María del Carmen, who fails to recognize her erstwhile dining companion and co-conspirator in mischief.

**1981.** Pedro Sainz Rodrigo describes Falla as a “Catholic of the left who didn’t want to commit himself to [the Nationalist cause].”