

MANUEL DE FALLA'S *SIETE CANCIONES POPULARES ESPAÑOLAS*: THE COMPOSER'S PERSONAL LIBRARY, FOLKSONG MODELS AND THE CREATIVE PROCESS.¹

Michael CHRISTOFORIDIS

Abstract

Manuel de Falla's personal library provides a unique resource for the study of the composer's assimilation of ideas, and his lifelong habit of annotating his reading material and scores heightens the library's usefulness to an understanding of his creative process. Falla's reliance on musical borrowings in his compositions means that a study of the printed scores in his library often gives insights into the sources employed and the development of his musical ideas. The limited extent of Falla's field work in the realm of folk music makes this source even more valuable to discussions of folk-inspired works such as the *Siete canciones populares españolas*. The provenance of the melodies employed by Falla in that work has been the subject of articles by Manuel García Matos and Josep Crivillé i Bargalló. While indebted to their research, this study argues that in the *Siete canciones populares españolas* all of Falla's melodic lines and some of the accompaniments are based, to varying degrees, on the assimilation of materials taken from specific publications in his possession. Falla's exposure to and incorporation of folk music in his scores is also examined, and the *Siete canciones populares españolas* are situated within the creative context of Falla's Parisian milieu. Finally, similarities are drawn between Falla's use of folk sources and the process through which early music was incorporated into his neoclassical scores of the 1920s.

Resumen

La biblioteca personal de Manuel de Falla proporciona una fuente única para el estudio de la asimilación de ideas del compositor, y su hábito de toda la vida de anotar su material de lectura y partituras elevan la utilidad de la biblioteca a una comprensión de su proceso creativo. El uso de música preexistente en varias composiciones de Falla da más relevancia al estudio de las partituras impresas en su biblioteca es un trabajo que puede aclarar las fuentes empleadas por Falla y el desarrollo de sus ideas musicales. La magnitud limitada del trabajo del campo de Falla en el reino de música folclórica hace esta fuente aun más valiosa para el estudio de trabajos inspirados en el folclore como las *Siete canciones populares españolas*. La procedencia de las melodías empleadas por Falla en ese trabajo ha sido el centro de artículos de Manuel García Matos y Josep Crivillé i Bargalló. Basado en sus investigaciones, este estudio sostiene que en las *Siete canciones populares españolas* todas las líneas melódicas de Falla y algunos de los acompañamientos están basados, con variaciones, en la asimilación de materiales tomada de las publicaciones específicas de su propiedad. La incorporación de música folclórica en las partituras de Falla también es examinada, y las *Siete canciones populares españolas* se sitúan dentro del contexto creativo de su entorno parisense. Finalmente, se compara el uso que hace Falla de fuentes folclóricas y el proceso a través de que la música antigua estaba incorporada en sus partituras neoclásicas de los años veinte.

1. I would like to thank Doña Isabel de Falla and the Archivo Manuel de Falla for their constant support and for providing copies of the facsimile examples reproduced in this article. Special thanks to Concha Chinchilla. I am also grateful to Michael McNab for typesetting the examples.

Manuel de Falla's most explicit statement on the use of folk music in contemporary composition was made in an essay from 1917 entitled 'Nuestra música':

Let us now turn to folksong. Some consider that one of the means to 'nationalize' our own music is the strict use of popular material in a melodic way. In a general sense, I am afraid I do not agree, although in particular cases I think that procedure cannot be bettered. In popular song I think the *spirit* is more important than the *letter*. Rhythm, tonality and melodic intervals, which determine undulations and cadences, are the essential constituents of these songs. The people prove it themselves by infinitely varying the purely melodic lines of their songs. The rhythmic or melodic accompaniment is as important as the song itself. Inspiration, therefore, is to be found directly in the people, and those who do not see it so will only achieve a more or less ingenious imitation of what they originally set out to do.²

The position espoused by Falla has often been interpreted too literally, and taken to imply that he mainly relied on by live performances of folk music and eschewed the strict use of melodies he derived from this practice.³ Despite his claims to be inspired 'directly in the people' for the most part Falla did not take an active role in folksong collection, the true situation being rather closer to Béla Bartók's assessment of Falla's procedures.

It may be that the Russian Stravinsky and the Spaniard Falla did not go on journeys of [folksong] collection, and mainly drew on the collections of others, but they too, I feel sure, must have studied not only books and museums but the living music of their countries.⁴

This observation by Bartók on the sources of the folk material employed by Stravinsky in his Russian works has been supported by a body of research demonstrating Stravinsky's use of folksong collections.⁵ The extent to which Manuel de Falla may have utilised such collections was initially raised in two articles by the eminent Spanish folklorist Manuel García Matos dating from 1953.⁶ These articles dealt with *El sombrero de tres picos*, *El retablo de Maese Pedro* and the *Siete canciones populares españolas*, and have provided the basis for much of the later discussion surrounding Falla's use of folk material.⁷ In a more recent article, Josep Crivillé i

2. As translated by David Urman and J.M.Thomson in Manuel de Falla, *On Music and Musicians* (London: Marion Boyars, 1979), pp. 31-32.

3. Gilbert Chase, *The Music of Spain* (New York: Dover, 1941) p.188, Burnett James, *Manuel de Falla and the Spanish Musical Renaissance* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1979) p. 73.

4. Béla Bartók, 'The influence of Peasant Music on Modern Music' (1931) in Benjamin Suchoff, ed. *Béla Bartók Essays* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979) p. 341.

5. An important article in this respect is Richard Taruskin, 'Russian Folk Melodies in *The Rite of Spring*', *JAMS* 33.3 (1980), pp. 501-543. Footnote 19 provides details of previous studies of folk music in Stravinsky's works. For a detailed discussion of Stravinsky's debt to folk music see Richard Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works Through Mavra*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

6. Manuel García Matos, 'Folklore en Falla', *Música* 3-4 (January-June 1953), pp. 69-83, and 'Folklore en Falla', *Música* 6 (October-December 1953), pp. 41-68. A later article by García Matos, 'El folklore en *La vida breve* de Manuel de Falla', *Anuario Musical* 26 (1972), pp. 173-97, discusses folk music in Falla's first opera.

7. Numerous articles and biographies, from Suzanne Demárquez, *Manuel de Falla* (Paris: Flammarion, 1963) to Jean-Charles Hoffelé, *Manuel de Falla* (Paris: Fayard, 1992), have made use of the García Matos articles as the basis for their discussion of Falla's use of folksong. A recent reappraisal of García Matos's approach can be found in Miguel Manzano Alonso, 'Fuentes populares en la música de *El sombrero de tres picos* de Manuel de Falla', *Nasarre* IX,1 (1993), pp. 119-

Bargalló has also traced Falla's use of folksong models in *Siete canciones populares españolas*.⁸ Most scholars who have discussed this topic have not had access to Manuel de Falla's personal library and compositional sketch materials which have survived relatively intact. Over the last decade, however, scholars have begun to examine these sources (now located at the Archivo Manuel de Falla in Granada) and to identify the collections handled by the composer, leading to further insights into his assimilation of folk music.⁹

Falla's activity as a folksong collector was not extensive prior to his return from Paris to Spain in 1914. Despite being raised in Andalusia —the region whose music provided the characteristics for much of what was seen to be 'Spanish' in nineteenth-century Europe— Falla lived in the cosmopolitan city of Cádiz, where his contact with folk music was not as extensive as may first be thought. As a child and youth Falla led a relatively isolated existence, mainly socialising with the children of the bourgeois merchant class, although he must have been exposed to numerous folk, popular and flamenco forms. In an attempt by the mature composer to demonstrate his early imbibing of folk music, Falla stressed his exposure to the folklore of Andalusia as an infant through the songs and stories of his nursemaid, 'La morilla'.¹⁰ From this setting, Falla moved to Madrid in his early twenties to further his studies at the Conservatorium. Several of Falla's early works, such as the *Serenata andaluza*, display the impact of Andalusian folk music and guitar techniques as they occur within the context of nineteenth-century salon songs and instrumental pieces in the Andalusian style.¹¹ The zarzuelas he composed in the subsequent years, and later suppressed, are littered with melodies taken from published folksong collections.¹² It was not until he came to study with Felipe Pedrell in 1902 that Falla was actively encouraged to study folksong directly from the people. Pedrell's labours as a folksong collector,

144. This author reassesses García Matos's identification of folk sources in *El sombrero de tres picos*, but does so without reference to Falla's sketch material, library or other primary biographical material. The only critique of García Matos to make use of such primary sources is that of Antonio Gallego in 'Dulcinea en el prado (verde y florido)', *Revista de Musicología* X, ii (1987), pp.685-699, although the discussion is restricted to a sixteenth-century melody in *El retablo de Maese Pedro*. Reference to some of the folksong collections in Falla's personal library is made by Antonio Gallego in the prologue of his edition of Manuel de Falla, *Cantares de Nochebuena* (Madrid: Ediciones Manuel de Falla, 1992). The sources handled by Falla during the creative process of *Siete canciones populares españolas* are identified in Michael Christoforidis, 'Folksong models and their sources in Manuel de Falla's *Siete canciones populares españolas*', *Context* 9 (1995), pp. 12-21.

8. Josep Crivillé i Bargalló, 'Las *Siete canciones populares españolas* y el folklore', in Pablo Pinamonti, ed., *Manuel de Falla tra la Spagna e l'Europa* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1989), pp. 141-152. A recent article by Cristina Urchegui Schlözel, 'Aspectos compositivos en las *Siete canciones populares españolas* de Manuel de Falla [1914/15]', *Anuario Musical* 51 (1996), pp. 177-201, bases its conclusions regarding the extent of Falla's folk borrowings on the work of García Matos, Crivillé i Bargalló and Gallego.

9. See especially Inmaculada Quintanal Sánchez *Manuel de Falla y Asturias* (Oviedo: Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 1989); Yvan Nommick, 'La vida breve entre 1905 y 1914: evolución formal y orquestal', *Manuel de Falla: La vida breve* (Granada: Archivo Manuel de Falla, 1997): 9-118, 'Noches en los Jardines de España: Génesis y composición de una obra', *Jardines de España: de Santiago Rusiñol a Manuel de Falla* (Granada: Archivo Manuel de Falla, 1996): 5-25; Michael Christoforidis, 'Un acercamiento a la postura de Falla en El "cante jondo" (*canto primitivo andaluz*)', *El "cante jondo" (*canto primitivo andaluz*)* (Granada: Archivo Manuel de Falla, 1997), 'La guitarra en la obra de Manuel de Falla', *La guitarra en la historia* 9, (Córdoba: Ayuntamiento, 1998): 29-57; 'Aspects of the creative process in Manuel de Falla's *El retablo de Maese Pedro* and the *Concerto*', Ph.D. dissertation (The University of Melbourne, 1997).

10. Falla made reference to this in a letter, dated 30 December 1928, which included his corrections to Roland Manuel's first draft of his biography, copy held at the Archivo Manuel de Falla. This must have been a pre-conscious exposure to this repertoire as he claimed that "La morilla" was only his nursemaid during early infancy.

11. See Christoforidis, 'La guitarra en la obra de Manuel de Falla', *La guitarra en la historia* 9, pp. 29-57.

12. Quintal Sánchez, *Manuel de Falla y Asturias*, pp. 12-25.

who believed that Spain's musical regeneration was tied to the study of his country's folklore and glorious musical past, were a source of profound inspiration for Falla.¹³ Antonio Gallego has argued that Falla's only extant collection of folksongs, a set of Christmas carols entitled *Cantares de Nochebuena*, was gathered in 1903 under the influence of Pedrell's teachings.¹⁴

Despite his experience in folksong collection Falla continued to make use of published folksong anthologies as a compositional aide, even after ceasing his studies with Pedrell in 1904. In that year, he embarked on his first opera, *La vida breve*, which is set in the Albaicín quarter of Granada. Given that he had never been to Granada, Falla relied heavily on postcards of the town, printed anthologies of folksongs and guitar scores containing songs and dances of the province to evoke the atmosphere of Carlos Fernández Shaw's libretto.¹⁵ This practice led to some awkward moments at the work's first production in Nice where Falla was obliged by the French cast and crew to relate his 'first-hand' descriptions of the town.¹⁶ Falla's move to Paris in 1907 estranged him from the living source of Spanish folk music and prolonged his reliance on printed collections, although his contact with Spanish performers like the guitarist Angel Barrios did much to nurture his knowledge of flamenco forms.¹⁷ *Cuatro piezas españolas* of 1906 to 1908 and *Noches en los jardines de España*, composed between 1909 and 1915, incorporate folk melodies taken from printed sources. Following his experiences with Pedrell, Falla's use of such material was informed by a greater understanding of the context, sonority and performance practices of the musics employed, and a growing awareness of contemporary theoretical constructions of folk music and the ways that it was employed by European nationalist composers.

Siete canciones populares españolas is the composition which makes most extensive and literal use of folksongs from published collections. All seven songs ('El paño moruno', 'Seguidilla murciana', 'Asturiana', 'Jota', 'Nana', 'Canción' and 'Polo') are inspired by printed models. The fact that they were composed in 1914, towards the end of Falla's seven-year Paris sojourn,¹⁸ may have contributed to the dependence on such sources. The circumstances of their commission are outlined by Jaime Pahissa, Falla's most extensive contemporaneous biographer:

After the first performance of *La vida breve* at the Opéra Comique, a Spanish singer from Málaga who was in the cast sought his advice as to which Spanish songs would be most suitable for her to give in concert in Paris. Falla was most interested and told her that he would try to arrange some for her himself.¹⁹

13. For an outline of Pedrell's ideas on the use of folksong prior to the years that Falla studied with him see Felipe Pedrell, *Por nuestra música* (Barcelona: Henrich y Cia., 1891), especially chapter 5. In his 1923 article 'Felipe Pedrell', *La Revue musicale* 4.4 (February 1923) pp. 1-11, Falla outlined the importance of Pedrell's example.

14. See Gallego's introduction to Falla, *Cantares de Nochebuena*. I am currently in the process of gathering Falla's jottings of folk melodies he heard, some of which have appeared in the course of my research.

15. See Michael Christoforidis, Manuel de Falla, Debussy and *La vida breve*, *Musicology Australia* 18 (1995) pp. 3-12, and 'De *La vida breve* a *Atlántida*: algunos aspectos del magisterio de Claude Debussy sobre Manuel de Falla,' *Cuadernos de la música iberoamericana* 4 (1997) pp. 15-32.

16. Jaime Pahissa, *Manuel de Falla: His life and works*, trans. Jean Wagstaff (London: Museum, 1954), p. 32

17. Pedro Morales, 'Angel Barrios', in A. Eaglefield Hull ed., *A Dictionary of Modern Music and Musicians* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1924) p.29. Falla provided Morales with some information for his entry on Barrios.

18. During this period, Falla is known to have returned to Spain on only one occasion: in early 1908.

19. Pahissa, *Manuel de Falla*, pp. 76-77.

The nature of the compositions requested obviously entailed that Falla would have to make more literal use of folk material than had been his custom in the works of the previous decade. This practice in *Siete canciones populares españolas* probably prompted Falla to qualify his remarks in 1917 on the exclusion of strict melodic use of folk material by stating that in 'particular cases I think that procedure cannot be bettered'.²⁰ In fact, the extent to which Falla reproduces such melodic material varies throughout his output, and even within a work, depending on the conceptual dictates of the composer.

Prior to embarking on the composition of *Siete canciones populares españolas* Falla undertook the piano accompaniment of a Greek folksong for a Greek vocal teacher, employing for this work 'his own technique and system of harmony'.²¹ Falla later claimed that he was heartened by the result and that the 'incident served to give him the confidence and the enthusiasm to undertake [*Siete canciones populares españolas*]'.²² The idiosyncratic harmonisation of exotic melodies attempted by Falla does not constitute an isolated case among his Parisian milieu. Composers such as Charles Koechlin, Maurice Delage and Déodat de Séverac provided Falla with numerous models, and an even more immediate example was provided by Maurice Ravel in *Cinq Mélodies populaires grecques* (1904-1906) and the *Chants populaires* (1910). The later pieces were composed by Ravel at the invitation of Marie Olénine d'Alheim for an international competition sponsored by the Maison du Lied in Moscow.²³ According to Arbie Orenstein:

The [Maison du Lied] was founded with a threefold purpose in mind: first, to stimulate public interest in folk melodies; second, to increase the repertory of artistically harmonized folk melodies by inviting composers to enter biannual competitions; finally, to encourage young singers by giving them the opportunity to perform folk songs before the public in small recital halls.²⁴

In this regard, it is noteworthy that among Falla's newspaper cuttings at the Archivo Manuel de Falla there is a copy of the *Maison du Lied* bulletin dating from 1910, which includes the relevant competition conditions and melodies to be set (see Example 1).²⁵ Also of interest is the fact that at the time when Falla embarked on the composition of *Siete canciones populares españolas*, Ravel was harmonising two Hebraic melodies, which would be published as *Deux Mélodies hébraïques*. Ravel defined the composition of these songs in terms that approximate Falla's relation to the *Siete canciones populares españolas*.

20. From 'Nuestra música' in Falla, *On music*, p. 31.

21. Pahissa, *Manuel de Falla*, p. 77.

22. Pahissa, *Manuel de Falla*, p. 77.

23. The songs which comprise the *Chants populaires* were Ravel's four prizewinning entries (out of the seven which he submitted) for this competition.

24. Arbie Orenstein, *Ravel, Man and Musician* (New York: Colombia University Press, 1975), p. 63.

25. Archivo Manuel de Falla, copy of *Maison du Lied*, [No. 2, 28 February 1910].

The unaccompanied themes were not composed by me, and in a work of this sort, it's precisely the accompaniment which counts. These works cannot be considered as a simple arrangement. As for the texts they were written by me.²⁶

Example 1: Fragment of *Maison du Lied* [No. 2, 28 February 1910], AMF.

CINQUIÈME CONCOURS. INTERNATIONAL.

(I. Chanson française).



Janeta. (Texte limousin.)

„Janeta, ount anirem gardar. (bis).

Qu'ajam boun tems un'oura;

Lan la!

Qu'ajam boun tems un'oura?

la de tan belas ouchras*.

Lou pastour quita soun mantel (bis)

Per far sieire Janeta,

Lan la!

Per far sieire Janeta.

Janeta a talamen iouzat (bis).

The *Siete canciones populares españolas* depart from the style of late nineteenth-century Spanish arrangements of *Cantos populares* in their sensibility to the rhythmic and tonal parameters of the melodies set and the advanced harmonic language of their accompaniments. There is also some relation to the nineteenth-century *Canción andaluza*, although both this style and its evocation by French composers in the guise of the *espagnolade* are more closely reflected in Falla's 'Seguidilla' from *Trois melodies* (1909-1910). Unlike the *Cantos populares* and *Canciones andaluzas*, whose principal performance contexts comprised the salons of both Spain and France,²⁷ Falla thought of the *Siete canciones populares españolas* in terms of art song, which led him to withhold the songs from the soprano from Málaga who had commissioned them for fear of the works being performed as *espagnolade* items in less elevated surroundings.²⁸ Neither should the *Siete canciones populares españolas* be viewed as part of the late nineteenth-century Spanish quest for an indigenous form of *lied*,²⁹ despite their overall symmetry and tonal

26. Letter from Ravel to Lucien Garban, 8 May 1916, quoted in Arbie Orenstein ed., *A Ravel Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990) p. 160.

27. Celsa Alonso, *La canción lírica española en el siglo XIX* (Madrid: Publicaciones del ICCMU, 1998), pp. 335-338, 380-392.

28. See Pahissa, *Manuel de Falla*, p. 76.

29. This has most recently been argued in Cristina Urchegui Schlözel, 'Aspectos compositivos en las *Siete Canciones Populares españolas*'. See Celsa Alonso, *La canción lírica española en el siglo XIX*, pp. 403-453, for a discussion of the quest for a Spanish form of the *lied* in the nineteenth century.

logic of ensuing songs.³⁰ Falla came much closer to this movement in his setting of texts by Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer at the turn of the century.³¹ The grouping and symmetrical ordering of *Siete canciones populares españolas* is also reminiscent of several of the folk song sets published by Falla's Parisian contemporaries.

When Falla eventually commented on the folk content of the *Siete canciones populares españolas* his account of their indebtedness to previously published models remained obscured. Questions of authorship, copyright and the revisionism of Falla's nationalism in the ensuing years may have prompted his vague recollections on their folk character and employment of folksong anthologies. Jaime Pahissa gives the following account, approved by Falla,³² on the extent to which each of the songs reproduces traditional folk melodies:

... sometimes the melody was purely folk-lore in character, at other times less so and sometimes wholly original. For example, the first song, 'El paño moruno', is the same as the well-known popular air. The melody of 'Asturiana' is also taken from the popular one, but the interesting accompaniment gives it a new guise. There is also a good deal of folk-lore in 'Seguidilla murciana'; but most of the 'Jota' is Falla's own, merely based on the popular model. The 'Nana' is an Andalusian cradle song—the first music he had ever heard from his mother's lips before he was old enough to think... In the 'Polo' there is also a great deal which is original.³³

In their respective studies, García Matos and Crivillé i Bargalló indicate various printed sources as possible models for most of the *Siete canciones populares españolas*, and largely agree with Pahissa on the degree of Falla's elaborations. Their process of deduction is based on an extensive knowledge of Spanish folksong and the numerous printed collections, which are compared melodically to the printed edition of Falla's work. A study of the composer's library and sketch material permits a clear identification of each of the models used by Falla in this work, as well as providing insights into aspects of his creative process.³⁴

The main volume from which Falla drew for *Siete canciones populares españolas* was José Inzenga's anthology of folksongs with piano accompaniment, *Ecos de España*, published in Barcelona in 1874.³⁵ Four of the songs by Falla ('El paño moruno', 'Seguidilla murciana', 'Jota' and 'Canción') are based, to varying degrees, on models from the Inzenga collection. Exactly when Falla acquired a copy of *Ecos de España* is uncertain, although it is the probable source for

30. This symmetry is mainly evident through the application of extended instrumental accompaniments to only the outer numbers ('El paño moruno' and 'Polo') and the middle song ('Jota'), and the use of tonalities which relate ensuing songs. Cristina Urcheguía Schlözel has also argued that there is some interrelationship of poetic forms and texts in 'Aspectos compositivos en las *Siete Canciones Populares españolas*', although the songs do not display the same type of text relationships or employ cyclic textual or musical themes associated with some groups of *lieder*.

31. These include the songs *Rima* (*Olas gigantes*) and *Dios mío, qué solos se quedan los muertos* to texts by Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer.

32. Falla corrected Pahissa's manuscript prior to its publication.

33. Pahissa, *Manuel de Falla*, pp. 77-78.

34. I undertook a study of Manuel de Falla's library during 1991 with a grant from Spain's Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores. This has subsequently been followed by a classification of that collection with the aid of grants from the Archivo Manuel de Falla and the Australian Research Council.

35. José Inzenga, *Ecos de España* (Barcelona: n.p., [1874]), Archivo Manuel de Falla, inventory number 1007.

the ‘zorongo’ referred to in the second dance of *La vida breve* and in the last movement of *Noches en los jardines de España*. Falla added the words ‘Danza gitana’ [Gypsy dance] to the printed title ‘El zorongo’, on page 102 of his copy of this collection. Concrete evidence of Falla’s use of this source in *Siete canciones populares españolas* is provided by the composer’s annotations in his copy of *Ecos de España* and the appearance of four circled numbers in the sketch material for this work, two of which correspond to page numbers in this volume.

Falla based ‘El paño moruno’ on ‘El paño’ from page 65 of *Ecos de España*. A circled ‘65’, followed by the words ‘El paño’, precedes Falla’s early draft of the accompanimental figure and opening of the melodic line in sketch material XLA2.³⁶ An examination of Falla’s copy of *Ecos de España* demonstrates that his initial ideas for ‘El paño moruno’ were drafted over Inzenga’s ‘El paño’ (see Example 2). Falla faithfully reproduces the lyrics of the Inzenga version and maintains the two-strophe structure, only adding the exclamation ‘Ay’ at the end of the song to facilitate his original cadential resolution. The melodic alterations introduced are minimal (see Example 3), the main difference being the repetition of the consequent phrase, marked ‘2 veces’ [2 times] in Example 2. Despite commentators making reference to the wholly original nature of Falla’s piano accompaniments in *Siete canciones populares españolas*,³⁷ through a study of the sources he handled evidence emerges that Falla derived the pianistic ideas for some of his songs from the printed models on which the melodies were based. This is certainly the case in ‘El paño moruno’, where Falla not only borrowed the melodic material of Inzenga’s ‘El paño’ but also drew from it some of the initial ideas for his piano accompaniment. The first four bars of piano writing of ‘El paño’ are rejected and the three-note figure from bar 8 is used by Falla to introduce Inzenga’s subsequent bass line (see Example 4). In the first sketch from XLA2, Falla decided to add consequent four-bar phrases to each of the transformed Inzenga four-bar bass lines. The idea of a five-bar harmonic pedal, indicated in Falla’s pencil jottings below bar 12 of Inzenga’s ‘El paño’ (see Example 2), was also extended to eight bars. The early ideas for the bass line and harmonic accompaniment of the melody are also adapted from Inzenga’s piano part, although Falla subsequently reworked this material to explore triple/duple and major/minor dichotomies.

‘Seguidilla murciana’ reproduces almost exactly the melodic line of ‘Las torrás’, the work following ‘El paño’ in *Ecos de España*. The circled number ‘68’ in sketch material XLA2, which accompanies the melodic incipit and an adaptation of the piano introduction of ‘Las Torrás’, corresponds with the page number in the Inzenga collection. A transformation of this piano introduction to ‘Las torrás’ was initially included as a ritornello piano solo passage in an early sketch (see XLA3) but was abandoned in the definitive version of ‘Seguidilla murciana’. Falla eventually chose to set the melody over chords presented in a guitar-like triplet and semiquaver arpeggiation, as opposed to the predominating quaver figuration of the Inzenga version which reproduces the characteristic quaver movement of the voice. According to Ann Livermore, Falla

36. This numbering refers to Antonio Gallego’s classification of Manuel de Falla’s manuscripts and scores in Antonio Gallego, *Catálogo de obras de Manuel de Falla* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1987). This classification is also employed by the Archivo Manuel de Falla.

37. Federico Sopeña, *Vida y obra de Manuel de Falla* (Madrid: Turner, 1988), p. 67 and James, *Manuel de Falla*, p. 76.

4 r.

EL PAÑO.

63

(MURCIA.)

CANTO. Allegretto.

PIANO. p

u - na man - cha le es - to por

me - na pre - cio se ven - de

Al pa - ño fi - no en la tie - ra

5 m 5 m

5 m 5 m

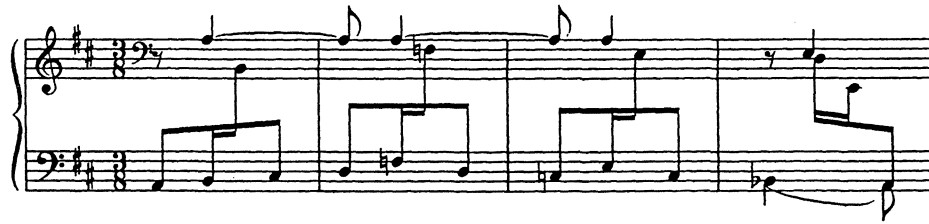
Example 3: Manuel de Falla, *Siete canciones populares españolas*, 'El paño moruno', vocal line, bars 23-38.

Two staves of musical notation for the song 'The Rose Tree'. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/8. The melody is written on a treble clef staff. The first staff contains the first line of the melody, and the second staff contains the second line. The melody is a simple, folk-like tune with a mix of eighth and quarter notes, and some beamed sixteenth notes. The lyrics 'The Rose Tree' are written below the first staff, and 'The Rose Tree' is written below the second staff.

explained that the ‘Seguidilla murciana’ was ‘set in order to free the song from the prison of past formality, adding, with a gesture towards the open window, “like a bird from its cage”’.³⁸

38. Ann Livermore, *A Short History of Spanish Music* (London: Duckworth, 1972), p. 191.

Example 4: Manuel de Falla, *Siete canciones populares españolas*, 'El paño moruno', bars 1-4.



The melodic line of 'Canción' is taken from Inzenga's 'Canto de Granada' (see Examples 5a and 5b). Clear evidence of this is provided in Falla's first sketch of the melody in XLA2, which only introduces minor variants and includes the second stanza of the lyrics from 'Canto de Granada'. This melodic line probably caught Falla's attention because it is almost identical to that of 'Un pastor lleva un pavo', one of the Christmas carols he had collected in Madrid (see Example 5c). On that occasion he had recorded the song in a minor key and in 3/8 with a simple strummed guitar accompaniment. Falla's ambivalence about the choice of a major or minor setting is demonstrated by the markings to his copy of *Ecos de España*, which change the key signature from one sharp to two flats. The major key was eventually chosen; however, the indecision concerning the time signature is still present in the first few bars of the initial sketch (see XLA2). Federico García Lorca, a close friend and musical disciple of Falla, recorded a version of the work with 'La Argentinita' in 1931, under the title of 'Romance pascual de los peregrinitos'.³⁹ Their rendition commences in the major before shifting to the minor and finally returning to the major key. Falla's continued interest in the song is suggested by the fact that he annotated yet another version, collected by Manuel de Quadros, among sketch material dating from the 1920s (see Example 5d).

Example 5a: Initial bars from vocal line of a) Manuel de Falla, *Siete canciones populares españolas*, 'Canción'.



Example 5b: José Inzenga, *Ecos de España*, 'Canto de Granada'



39. Reproduced in *Colección de 'Canciones populares antiguas'* (Sonifolk, CDJ-105), reissue of HMV recordings made in 1931.

Example 5c: Manuel de Falla, *Cantares de Nochebuena*, 'Un pastor lleva un pavo'



Example 5d: Melody from Manuel de Quadros found among Manuel de Falla's unclassified sketch material.



No definitive model for 'Jota' is given by either García Matos or Crivillé i Bargalló, with the former scholar concluding that 'this song is very possibly a recreation of another folksong'.⁴⁰ The use of a methodology which compares a finished melodic line directly with that of an earlier printed folksong can preclude the identification of sources of musical borrowings which are elaborated more thoroughly. A study of the sketch material for Falla's 'Jota' suggests that it is derived from elements of 'La jota aragonesa' on page 81 of *Ecos de España*. Falla uses much of the text from this version and in reworking the vocal melodic material he normally maintains the initial intervals and the overall contour of each phrase. The idea for the accompanimental figure is derived from the 8-bar phrase marked 'imitando la bandurria', which precedes the first vocal entry (see Example 6a). The initial idea for the opening of 'Jota' among sketch material XLA2 (see Example 6b) more closely resembles the passage from Inzenga's 'La jota aragonesa' than does Falla's definitive introduction (see Example 6c). The triplet added by Falla is also similar to the one he had used in the generating motive of 'Aragonesa' from *Cuatro piezas españolas*. The composition of the 'Aragonesa' may have given Falla the confidence to substantially rework and expand some of the passages from the 'La jota aragonesa'. Falla possibly refrained from using the opening idea of Inzenga's piano introduction because of its marked similarity to the theme developed in Glinka's *Jota Aragonesa*, a mid nineteenth-century *españolade* which Falla makes reference to in his writings.⁴¹ In this context it is noteworthy that Falla's copy of *Ecos de España* was bound with another *españolade*, *Capriccio espagnol* by Nicolai Rimsky Korsakov, whose principal themes have been traced back to the Inzenga collection.⁴²

40. García Matos, 'Folklore en Falla', p. 46.

41. El "cante jondo" (canto primitivo andaluz) (1922), in Falla, *On Music*, p.107.

42. Falla recognised that Rimsky Korsakov relied on the arrangement of folk material in *Capriccio espagnol*. See 'Notes sur Ravel' (1939), in Falla, *On Music*, p. 94.

Example 6a: José Inzenga, *Ecos de España*, 'La jota aragonesa', bars 61-69.



Example 6b: Manuel de Falla, sketch material from XLA2.



Example 6c: Manuel de Falla, *Siete canciones populares españolas*, 'Jota', bars 1-5.



The initial sketch for 'Asturiana' in XLA2 is preceded by the number '77'. This corresponds to the page number of song 96 of José Hurtado's *100 cantos populares asturianos*.⁴³ This song, 'Arriméme a un pino verde', provides the melodic line and text for 'Asturiana', however, Falla introduces a radically different harmonic setting which is presented in a manner pianistically removed from the accompaniment to Hurtado model. The texture of Falla's accompaniment is reminiscent of passages of his 'Montañesa' (1908) from the *Cuatro piezas españolas* which evoke bell-like sonorities and were indebted to Falla's first contacts with the musicians of what was to become his Parisian milieu.⁴⁴ Falla's library includes a copy of

43. José Hurtado, *100 cantos populares asturianos* (Bilbao, 1890), inventory number 985 at the Archivo Manuel de Falla.

44. Falla was particularly interested in imitations of bell-like sonorities in works like 'La valle des cloches' from Ravel's *Miroirs*, a work he first heard in a private performance by Ravel at a meeting of the 'Apaches' on 2 Oct. 1907.

Hurtado's collection, although song 96 and the last few pages are missing. It is probable that they were either removed by Falla or came loose in the course of being used.⁴⁵ The preserved copy of the Hurtado collection carries the stamp of Manuel Quirrell's Cádiz music store, and it is likely that Falla acquired it there before settling in Madrid, or during one of his visits to Cádiz at the turn of the century. Inmaculada Quintanal Sánchez has demonstrated that Falla made use of songs from this source in several numbers of his zarzuela, *Limosna de amor*, written in 1902.⁴⁶ The second theme of Falla's 'Montañesa' from *Cuatro piezas españolas*, composed in Paris in the first half of 1908, is drawn from song 27 in *100 cantos populares asturianos*.

Another printed source which Falla had in his possession in Paris provided the model for the sixth song, 'Nana'. Neither García Matos or Crivillé i Bargalló were able to identify clear precedents for this song, although they allude to similarities in the contour of Andalusian and even foreign lullabies. However, Falla evidently based his 'Nana' on a melody of the same name which was reproduced at the end of the play *Las flores* by Serafín and Joaquín Álvarez Quintero, a work whose similarity was noted by Crivillé i Bargalló.⁴⁷ In the course of 1909 and 1910, Falla had commenced work on an opera based on this play, which was never completed. The second edition of *Las flores* (1906), preserved in the Falla library, displays the composer's marking of the text and includes a signed dedication from the authors. The 'Nana' therein is also marked by Falla in line with his initial ideas for the rhythmic transformation of its the opening (see Examples 7a). A more flexible duple structure would eventually be employed, and the text is based on variants of the third stanza of the version in *Las flores*. The cadential resolution of each refrain was substantially reworked by Falla (see Example 7b) and he weaves an original sparse oscillating figure around the melody.

The model for the final song in *Siete canciones populares españolas* can be traced from information among sketch material XLA2, where the word 'Polo' is accompanied by the number '92'. This refers to the 'Polo gitano o flamenco', scored for voice and guitar or piano, in Eduardo Ocón's *Colección de aires nacionales y populares*.⁴⁸ Of all the volumes consulted by Falla in the course of composing *Siete canciones populares españolas*, this is the only one no longer present at the Archivo Manuel de Falla.⁴⁹ In his first draft of 'Polo', in XLA2, Falla sets a line from Ocón's text to a variant of one of the melodic refrains, though he later opted for a completely

45. Some of the published musical material which Falla used in his compositions is preserved at the Archivo Manuel de Falla in the form of loose pages removed from their respective volumes.

46. Quintal Sánchez, *Manuel de Falla y Asturias*, pp. 21-25.

47. Serafín y Joaquín Álvarez Quintero, *Las flores* (Madrid: Sociedad de Autores Españoles, 1906), inventory number 3262 at the Archivo Manuel de Falla. Crivillé i Bargalló, in 'Las *Siete canciones*', p. 148, noted the similarity of this 'Nana' from *Las flores* to that of Falla but mistakenly dated the play (as 1911) and only knew of the 1923 publication in Serafín y Joaquín Álvarez Quintero *Teatro Completo*, vol. 3 (Madrid: Sociedad General Española, 1923). He thus precluded it from being a possible model for Falla.

48. Eduardo Ocón, *Cantos españoles. Colección de aires nacionales y populares* (Málaga, 1876). Four editions of this work were published to 1906. 'Polo gitano o flamenco' begins on page 92 in at least the second edition (1888). Many thanks to Javier Suárez Pajares and Yolanda Acker for providing me with a copy of this piece.

49. Other volumes consulted by Falla for the purpose of his compositions are also not currently located at the Archivo Manuel de Falla. He is also known to have lent and borrowed copies of folksong collections to friends. The copy of Dámaso Ledesma's *Cancionero Salmantino* (Madrid: Imp. Alemana, 1907) in the Falla library actually belonged to the pianist Ricardo Viñes.

Example 7a: 'Nana' from *Las flores* with autograph annotations by Manuel de Falla, AMF.

different lyric. Falla edited and thoroughly reordered the melodic material of the 'Polo gitano o flamenco', often changing its rhythmic parameters, although maintaining the original pitch (see Example 9). The opening idea of Falla's 'Polo', which generates the remaining solo piano passages, is clearly derived from one of the guitar figures in the Ocón model (see Example 8). A triplet accompanimental figure, similar to one employed in sections of 'Polo gitano o flamenco', is used by Falla to support some of the adapted vocal line. The familiarity with Southern Spanish

Example 7b: Manuel de Falla, *Siete canciones populares españolas*, 'Nana', vocal line, bars 3-10.



music, the prominent accent in Falla's previous compositions, probably encouraged him to treat the sources for 'Nana' and 'Polo' more freely.

Example 8a: Eduardo Ocón, *Colección de aires nacionales y populares*, 'Polo gitano o flamenco', guitar part, bars 60-63.



Example 8b: Manuel de Falla, *Siete canciones populares españolas*, 'Polo', bars 1-4.



The originality of the piano accompaniments created by Falla in *Siete canciones* resulted in part from his stylisation of traditional instrumental textures. He would advise composers wanting to create strictly national music to:

Listen to what we would call popular orchestras (formed by guitars, castanets and tambourines in my part of the world); only in them will they find that tradition they long for so much and which is impossible to discover elsewhere.⁵⁰

They also display his assimilation of French pianistic techniques and musical language, and are especially indebted to the example of Ravel's folksong settings in their harmonic subtlety

50. 'Nuestra Música' (1917) in Falla, *On Music*, p. 82.

and use of limited rhythmic motives or accompanimental figurations, sometimes based on the extrapolation of ideas from the melodic line.⁵¹

Five of the seven songs have their roots in southern Spain; 'Nana', 'Canción' and 'Polo' are of Andalusian origin, and 'El paño moruno' and 'Seguidilla murciana' are from the adjoining region of Murcia. The imitation of the guitar, both plucked and strummed, is pervasive in these works, and this stylisation of the instrument represents a marked advance on his attempts during the previous decade.⁵² Apart from his study of the guitar in Madrid and the reproduction of its simple strumming style in *Cantares de Nochebuena*, Falla examined a variety of printed guitar scores, including works by Juan Parga, Francisco Cimadevilla, Julián Arcas and Rafael Marín, as well as the guitar writing in the aforementioned Ocón collection.⁵³ These sources furthered his understanding of the idiomatic style of the flamenco guitar and the textures and harmonies suggested by it. Falla's annotation of these scores also demonstrates that they were used to complement his knowledge of the melodic, rhythmic and harmonic peculiarities of flamenco forms.

Siete canciones populares españolas marked a crucial point in the development of Falla's musical language, instigated in part by his re-examination of folksong and its setting. This composition may have also prompted Falla's more extensive and direct exploration of Spanish folklore in the following years. The personal stylisation of Spanish music in 'Polo', 'Jota' and 'Nana' had important consequences in subsequent works by Falla: *El amor brujo* (1914-15), *El sombrero de tres picos* (1916-19) and *Fantasia Baetica* (1919). While still employing some folk elements derived from printed collections, these works represent an original and powerful synthesis of predominantly southern Spanish folklore within a contemporary musical framework. Falla's harmonic language was also transformed in *Siete canciones* through procedures such as the generation of chords from the constituent notes of a melody and the use of what he termed 'cadencias burladas' [bluffed cadences].⁵⁴ 'Asturiana' includes early examples of the 'super-positioned chords'⁵⁵ based on Falla's exploration of the harmonic series, which feature prominently in his later works.⁵⁶

51. The limited range of rhythmic and accompanimental figures is especially evident in the inner songs: 'Seguidilla murciana', 'Asturiana', 'Nana' and 'Canción'.

52. Examples of Falla's imitation of the guitar during this period can be found in the dances from *La vida breve*, 'Andaluza' from *Cuatro piezas españolas* and 'Seguidille' from *Trois mélodies*.

53. These included *Los tientos*, *Malagueñas*, *granadinas*, *Tangos*, *Soleares* and *Siguirillas gitanas* from the 'Aires Andalusés' series by Rafael Marín (Madrid: Sociedad de Autores Españoles, 1902), and *Rondeña*, *Soledá* and *Murcianas* by Julian Arcas (Barcelona: Dotesio, n.d.). For a more complete account of Falla's interaction with the flamenco guitar see Michael Christoforidis, 'Manuel de Falla y la guitarra flamenca', *La Caña* 4(1993), pp. 40-44 and 'La guitarra en la obra de Manuel de Falla'.

54. An example of this type of cadence can be found at bars 59-60 of 'Jota'. Falla used this term in compositional notes from the 1920s, see Michael Christoforidis, 'Aspects of the Creative Process in Manuel de Falla's *El retablo de Maese Pedro* and *Concerto*'.

55. Falla's use of these chords is discussed in Paolo Pinamonti, 'L'Acoustique nouvelle interprete "inattuale" del linguaggio armonico di Falla', *Manuel de Falla tra la Spagna*, pp. 107-19. See also Christopher Guy Collins, 'Manuel de Falla and *L'acoustique nouvelle*', diss (MPhil), University of Wales, Bangor, 1997.

56. See Christoforidis, 'Aspects of the Creative Process in Manuel de Falla's *El retablo de Maese Pedro* and *Concerto*', 'Hacia un nuevo mundo sonoro en *El retablo de Maese Pedro*', Louis Jambou ed., *Manuel de Falla: Latinité et Universalité* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999), pp. 219-235.

Example 9a: Eduardo Ocón, *Colección de aires nacionales y populares*, 'Polo gitano o flamenco', vocal line, bars 71-107.

9a

Example 9b: Manuel de Falla, *Siete canciones populares españolas*, 'Polo', vocal line, bars 32-52.

9b

The adoption of a 'Hispanic' Neoclassicism by Falla in the 1920s meant that sources of inspiration expanded to include not only folksong, but to incorporate Spanish art music prior to 1800, which was viewed by Pedrell as containing manifestations of the music of the Spanish people.⁵⁷ The repertoire and commentaries of Pedrell's *Cancionero popular musical español* reflect the Catalan composer's perceived nexus between folk and art music and from the time Falla commenced work on *El retablo de Maese Pedro* in 1918 the collection became his principal source of consultation. Falla's integration of the music contained in the *Cancionero popular musical español* was conditioned by his use of printed folksong collections as generative sources for his earlier compositions. He continued to employ both literal quotation as well as more abstracted evocations of such material according to his conceptual designs. At the outset of the composition *El retablo de Maese Pedro* (1918-1923) Falla wrote to Pedrell about sources he

57. Felipe Pedrell expressed his position clearly in section III of the prologue to *Cancionero popular musical español* vol. I (Barcelona: Eduardo Castells, 1917). Volumes 3 and 4 of Pedrell's *Cancionero* consist almost exclusively of 13th- to 18th-century Spanish works, which were thoroughly consulted by Falla.

could study for the music of the *Romance*. Pedrell suggested the *Tonadas*, or examples of earlier popular songs given by Salinas in his sixteenth-century treatise, which Pedrell had transcribed and arranged in Volume I of his *Cancionero popular musical español*.⁵⁸ These sources, like several others employed in *El retablo de Maese Pedro*, are reproduced with minor changes or are successively transformed, much like Falla's handling of folk sources in *Siete canciones populares españolas*.⁵⁹ The second scene of *El retablo de Maese Pedro*, 'Melisendra', reproduces the melodic line and the accompanimental textures of a *Romance viejo* by Salinas harmonised by Pedrell (*Cancionero popular musical español*, vol. I, p. 22), while the Trujaman's line at number 59 evolved from another *Tonada* transcribed by Pedrell (*Cancionero popular musical español*, vol. I, p. 23) (See Example 10). By contrast, passages like the opening 'Toccata' and the 'Sinfonia' that follows in *El retablo de Maese Pedro* are created through the juxtaposition of phrasal units, and rhythmic and melodic cells gleaned from bagpipe pieces from León and Galicia in the first instance, and from 16th and 17th century instrumental music in the latter.⁶⁰

In Falla's next work, the *Concerto* (1923-1926), there is an even greater diversity of folk, religious and secular sources employed, and in each of its three movements the work adapts different conceptual, harmonic, structural and timbral ideas from the materials borrowed. Instances of literal quotation are present, as are passages which display a greater degree of abstraction and conflation of the sources than had been the case in Falla's previous output. The first movement is driven by a contrapuntal and thematic deconstruction of a Juan Vazquez's polyphonic setting of the popular song 'De los álamos vengo, madre'.⁶¹ Early sketches of this movement demonstrate his reliance on 'De los álamos vengo, madre' as it appears in the Pedrell collection, and Example 11 even reproduces the relevant page number of volume III of the *Cancionero popular musical español*. Falla's analyses of several parameters of Scarlatti's sonatas inform different aspects of the third movement of the *Concerto*. Of particular relevance to this movement was Falla's study of rhythmic effects in the sonatas, including the use of hemiola, syncopation and the alternation of duple and triple rhythms within the same metric framework. Falla saw rhythmic similarities with Spanish baroque works transcribed in volumes III and IV of

58. In reply to Falla's queries at the outset of *El retablo*'s composition, Pedrell wrote to him on 25 January 1919: "Dearest Manuel, I hasten to satisfy your questions. Of all the *Romances* I know, I have never come across any which have referred to Gaiferos or the Princess Melisendra. But you yourself can make use of the *Tonada* most applicable to your project. You will find various characteristic ones in Volume I of my *Cancionero*... In the said volume, check section V (*Romance Tonadas*), page 21 of the musical text, and page 61 of the corresponding literary text" ("Querido Manuel: Me apresuro a satisfacer sus demandas. En tantos romances como conozco no he tropezado jamás con algunos que tratan de Gaiferos ni la Princesa Melisendra. Pero puede V. mismo aplicar la tonada más a propósito de su intento. Hallará varias a cual más característica en el Tomo I de mi *Cancionero*... Registra en dicho tomo desde la sección V (Tonadas de romances) en el texto musical pag. 21, y la parte de texto literario correspondiente, desde la pag. 61.") Letter from Pedrell to Falla, 25 Jan. 1919, AMF.

59. In his transformation of a "Gallarda" by Gaspar Sanz, Falla also recalls Pedrell's orchestrations of some of the seventeenth century guitarists' works in volume III of the *Cancionero popular musical español*.

60. See Christoforidis, 'Aspects of the Creative Process in Manuel de Falla's *El retablo de Maese Pedro* and *Concerto*'.

61. Falla's source was Pedrell's transcription in volume III of the *Cancionero popular musical español* of Miguel de Fuenllana's sixteenth-century vihuela intabulation of Juan Vázquez's polyphonic setting of the popular song.

Example 10a: Felipe Pedrell, *Cancionero popular musical español*, vol. 1, p. 22, with autograph annotations by Manuel de Falla, AMF.

Romance viejo

Salinas
(De *Musica libri septimi*)

Poco mosso

A ca-sar va don Ro-dri-go Yaundon Rodri-

go de La-ra: Con la gransiesta que ha-ee. A-rrí-má-do-

se ha aún ha-ya Mal-di-ciendoá Mu-da-rrí-llo.

Pedrell's *Cancionero popular musical español*, and even sought parallels of these rhythmic practices in the folk music of Castile and in the Hispano-Cuban 'Zapateo del Monte', similar to

Example 10b: Felipe Pedrell, *Cancionero popular musical español*, vol. 1, p. 23, with autograph annotations by Manuel de Falla, AMF.



the one from the Inzenga collection, which he had first subjected to a detailed rhythmic analysis at the time of composing the 'Cubana' from the *Cuatro piezas españolas* (See Example 12).

Example 11: Manuel de Falla's copy of passages taken from Juan Vazquez's setting of *De los álamos vengo, madre*.

Example 12a: José Inzenga, *Ecos de España*, 'Zapateo del monte', p. 77.

ZAPATEO DEL MONTE.

(AMERICA)

(BAILE DE GUAJIROS)

(ISLA DE CUBA)

Allegretto.

PIANO.



Example 12b: Manuel de Falla's rhythmic analysis of 'Zapateo del monte'.

The interest in folksong displayed by Falla was not a purely utilitarian one, tied solely to his compositional reliance on printed anthologies. His contact with folk artists increased dramatically after returning to Spain in 1914, as did his commitment to the preservation of Andalusia's musical heritage. It was in part to this end that he instigated and co-organized the 'Cante Jondo' competition in Granada in 1922.⁶² The first-hand assimilation of folksong had important ramifications on Falla's musical style and led to his incorporation of its variation procedures, imitation of microtonal inflections and was the catalyst for some of his later

62. For a full account of this event and its context, as well as some of the Spanish and international press coverage of it, see Jorge de Persia, *I Concurso de Cante Jondo* (Granada: Archivo de Manuel de Falla, 1992). For a thorough examination of Falla's motives and the impact of broader European ideals in his revival of flamenco see Manuel de Falla, *El "Cante Jondo" (canto primitivo andaluz)*, facsimile edition with a critical study of Manuel de Falla's text by Michael Christoforidis (Granada: Ayuntamiento, Archivo Manuel de Falla, Imprenta Urania, 1997).

experimentation with rhythmic, modal and timbral parameters, even in works that do not ostensibly evoke folk music. In 1925, at a time when he was immersed in his Neoclassical compositions, Falla still insisted that to use folk material 'one must start from the natural living sources and use the substance of the rhythm and harmony, not their outward appearance'.⁶³

63. Falla, *On music*, p. 71.