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**Pau Casals: from a Catalan choirboy
to an artist of peace**

***A qualitative exploration of Casals'
thought as shown in his piano and
choral compositions***

RICARD ROVIROSA CABRÉ

SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF MUSIC
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ABSTRACT

Pau Casals (1876-1973) is well known as a cellist, but his facet as a composer is not widely known, especially the fact that he composed piano music. Taking into consideration that Casals was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize, a case can be made for a reassessment of Casals' place not only in the history of the twentieth century music but also in the struggle against totalitarianism – specifically with regard to the Spanish Civil War but also the Cold War following the new political dispensation after the Second World War. Casals saw his activities both as a composer and as a performer as a means of lobbying for world peace.

My methodology will include a qualitative analysis of the biographical and cultural context; an examination of unpublished archival material and live performances of Casals' music to present my findings and to test the experience of his music in performance. As a concert pianist, and moreover, one who shares Casals' culture, I have a strong and appropriate interest in bringing my experience of his music into the public domain. It is through the eyes of performance-led research and autoethnography that one can fully grasp what Casals' compositions are about; through the interpreting of Casals' music, one becomes an 'agent of culture' and, consequently, one creates a dialogue between the culture at the time of Casals' life and the culture that surrounds a performance of Casals' works now. Casals' music is still valid today insofar as it attempts to touch the core of our humanity.

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INTRODUCTION

Pau Casals' piano music was not published until 2012 when the Boileau editorial office published them for the first time. This inspired me to embark on a journey to unveil another facet of Casals: that of a composer. I realised that there was a connection between his piano works, his Montserrat motets and *El Pessebre* (his oratorio), as all of them had the piano as a common thread.

That Casals was a composer – especially one for the piano – is a little known fact of this major twentieth century artist. Casals was not only a world renowned artist but also a peace campaigner nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. Taken together, a case can be made for a reassessment of Casals' place in the history of the twentieth century music but also in the struggle against totalitarianism – specifically with regard to the Spanish Civil War but also the Cold War following the new political dispensation of the Second World War. Casals saw his activities both as a composer and as a performer as a means of lobbying for world peace.

My methodology will include an analysis of the biographical and cultural contexts; an examination of previously unexplored manuscript sources, namely the Catalonia National Archive, Montserrat Abbey's Archive, Poblet Abbey's Archive and the British Library and live performances of Casals' music to present my findings and to test the experience of his music in performance.

The context in which my thesis exists is twofold: on the one hand, it could be described as Jolanta Pekacz' new paradigms; on the other, the emerging field of performance-led research that culminates in recitals and live presentations. Pekacz writes: 'this volume offers a sense of the current directions in research on musical biography as a way of broadening the traditional view of biography and opening up

new perspectives for exploration, rather than as limiting biographers in their endeavors'.¹ My research fits this description as it will explore Casals' biographical, historical and political context as well as Casals' thought and music. Pekacz goes on to say: 'these biographies have rarely been analysed as cultural products embodying political assumptions, values, and methodologies specific for the time and place in which they originated'.² Furthermore, Casals was an unknown composer in terms of the zeitgeist but in other ways he most certainly 'carried the signature' of his epoch. This is what I will later describe as the Dalhaus principle.³

My thesis also fits into the field of performance-led research. As John Rink states: 'I argue that what performers do influences music's very content, how it takes shape, and how those who hear it perceive and understand it'.⁴ This research encompasses qualitative methods as '[in these] the researcher is the instrument. Observations are registered *through* the researcher's mind and body. In such circumstances, self-reflexivity about one's goals, interests, proclivities, and biases is especially important'.⁵ Moreover, the field of autoethnography will also define my methodology as it 'refers to the systematic study, analysis, and narrative description of one's own experiences, interactions, culture, and identity'.⁶ This is especially relevant as I am also a Catalan pianist.

¹ *Musical Biography: Towards New Paradigms*, ed. by Jolanta T. Pekacz (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), p. 16. Casals' life has been subject of multiple biographies. This will be explored below.

² *Ibid.*, 43.

³ See p. 96.

⁴ John Rink, 'The work of the Performer', in *Virtual Works - Actual Things: Essays in Music Ontology*, ed. by Paulo de Assis (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2018), p. 89.

⁵ Sarah J. Tracy, *Qualitative Research Methods: Collecting Evidence, Crafting Analysis, Communicating Impact* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), p. 25.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 30.

I will be looking at how my understanding of Casals' life, political activism, etc. affect my understanding – and crucially my performance – of Casals' music. Casals said: 'music will unite mankind more than any other art. Poets sing about peace; but musicians also sing about peace'.⁷ One feature that will shed light on Casals' persona is the word which Gerhard used to describe the former: '*seny*'. This term encompasses a simplicity and a sensible view of affairs that will be useful to understand Casals. I will also explore whether Casals presented a particular persona to the world through his compositions and his wider musical activities as well as whether his music was a political statement or not. I will be answering questions such as: what is his significance as a composer? How did he see his composition in relation to other music, both in and before his time? Did he intend to transcend the local impact of Catalan culture through his music? What role did the Catalan political scene at the time have in Casals' understanding of music? What is Casals' legacy?

⁷ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/06020103/588 - 'Pablo Casals nos explica por qué toca tan bien el violoncelo/1935/166 (1935), 3. 'La música unirá a los hombres más que otro arte cualquiera. Los poetas cantan la paz. Pero también los músicos la cantan'. See quote 197 for the full text.

I. CHAPTER I: Casals' General Framework

This chapter will explore the setting in which Pau Casals lived so that his music and persona can be contextualised within a wider historical, social and political scene.⁸ He lived through a very convulsive moment in history, enduring different wars, especially the Spanish Civil War.⁹ These had a huge impact on the way he saw the world, as will be shown later on. Through the research on Casals' background, one will be able to grasp how his music reflected his persona and his desire to transcend the local impact of Catalan culture.

a. Biographical introduction to Pau Casals

Pau Casals is mainly regarded as a towering artist who defined the standard for all virtuoso string performance for a full three quarters of the twentieth century: however, Casals was a multifaceted man, as

⁸ Although Pau Casals is often known as Pablo Casals, he asked on several occasions to be called Pau Casals. Therefore, his name will be used in this fashion from now on. 'It was natural for me to use the Catalan name "Pau" in preference to the Spanish "Pablo". When I was young, it was still the custom in Catalonia to use Spanish baptismal names. And so I'd been called Pablo. But I later came to much prefer my Catalan name - Catalan, after all, is the true language of my people'. As quoted in Albert E. Khan, *Joys and Sorrows: Reflections by Pablo Casals* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974), p. 154.

⁹ That is not to say he was the only one. Benjamin Britten (1913-1976) wrote his *War Requiem* for the reopening of Coventry Cathedral in 1962. David B. Greene, 'Britten's "WAR REQUIEM": The End of Religious Music', *Soundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal* Vol. 83, no. 1 (Spring 2000), (89-100), p. 89. Similarly, Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872-1958) started his Pastoral Symphony after the First World War. He wrote to his wife: 'It's really wartime music - a great deal of it incubated when I used to go up night after night with the ambulance wagon at Écoivres'. As quoted in Robert Philip, *The Classical Music Lover's Companion to Orchestral Music* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2018), p. 855. Furthermore, Maurice Ravel (1875-1937) finished *Le tombeau de Couperin* in 1917 and dedicated each of the six movements of the suite to friends who had died in the war. Roger Nichols, *Ravel* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2012), p. 192.

he was also a conductor, composer and pianist. Some of these aspects of his life are unknown (only his motet *O Vos Omnes* is performed today worldwide) and therefore this thesis will aim to shed some light on them.¹⁰ Before I begin my investigation into Casals' music, I will need to give a biographical outline of his life so that the role that piano playing and composition held in his education and later development can be understood.

Casals was born on Friday 29th December 1876 in Sant Salvador, Spain. His early musical training started in 1882 when he joined the local church's choir. His father, Carles Casals Ribes (1852–1908), was the organist and choirmaster of the parish and taught Casals piano, violin and music theory; later on, from 1885, he also taught him organ. Casals formally started studying the cello in 1888 when he joined the Barcelona Municipal Music School, where he also studied piano and theory. When he was thirteen he discovered Bach's Six Cello Suites in a second-hand sheet music store in Barcelona: he would never stop practising them until the end of his life, and J. S. Bach played a major and crucial influence on Casals' playing and his understanding of music, as I will discuss further below. In 1893 he graduated from the Barcelona Municipal Music School with honours. That same year, he was granted a royal stipend by Queen María Cristina of Spain (1858–1929) to proceed with his musical studies in Madrid under the guidance of the Count of Morphy (1836–1899): the Count was a patron of the arts and a cultivated aristocrat who had also taught and helped Isaac Albéniz.¹¹ Casals' piano works are

¹⁰ A quick search on YouTube will show that this motet has been performed and recorded regularly over the last few years. For instance, recordings include places such as Texas, Cambridge, Sydney and Ciudad de la Plata among others.

https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=o+vos+omnes+pau+casals [accessed 18 September 2019].

¹¹ Albéniz (1860–1909) had heard Casals play the cello in Cafè Tost and wrote a letter to the Count of Morphy, who had already helped Albéniz a

mostly from this period of his life. The Count was very important for Casals, as he recalled later on in his life: 'A good teacher, a true teacher, can be like a second father to his pupil. And this was the role that the Count of Morphy was to assume in my life. His influence was second only to that of my mother'.¹²

After a few years in Madrid, Casals went to Paris, but after a short while there he moved back to Barcelona in 1896, where he was appointed cello teacher at the Barcelona Municipal Music School and also at the Liceu conservatoire. It was not until 1899 that Casals' career as a cellist took off, after playing for Charles Lamoureux's (1834-1899) orchestra in Paris in 1899:

I went there [Paris] with a recommendation letter from the Count of Morphy to give to Charles Lamoureux, the famous conductor who conducted an orchestra which had his own name. His concerts were known all over the world and they opened the doors to celebrity.¹³

great deal, so that he would take him as his student. Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 48. These 'cafès' or casinos in Catalonia were important venues where many concerts would take place: 'the musical activity, in the majority of average cities and villages, would not take place in the theatres, but rather it would originate in the casinos, artistic societies and coffee shops [cafès]. When talking about the latter, which were opened from the middle of the [nineteenth] century, it is important to show that many of them had regular musical activities: the concerts would be announced in the press. There, for instance, Albéniz, Millet, Tintorer, Sadurní, Pau Casals or the same Eduard Toldrà started to play in the twentieth century.' Francesc Cortès i Mir, *Història de la Música a Catalunya* (Barcelona: Editorial Base, 2011), p. 121. 'L'activitat musical, a la majoria de ciutats mitjanes i als pobles no es produïa als teatres, sinó que s'originava als casinos, societats artístiques i cafés. En parlar d'aquests darrers, oberts cap a meitat del segle [XIX], convé assenyalar que molts tenien activitat musical de manera habitual: els concerts s'anunciaven a la premsa. Allà, per exemple, començaren a tocar Albéniz, Millet, Tintorer, Sadurní, Pau Casals o el mateix Eduard Toldrà al segle XX.' All translations have been made by the author of this thesis unless stated otherwise.

¹² As quoted in Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 54.

¹³ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/06020103-602, Pau Casals Interview: *Pau Casals. La vida, l'Obra, l'Anècdota* (Barcelona, no date but approximately 1928). 'Vaig anar-hi [a Paris] amb una carta de presentació del comte Morphy pel mestre Charles Lamoureux, el famós director de l'orquestra que portava el seu nom. Els

Within a short period of time, he performed in front of Queen Victoria of England (August 1899) and made his debut as a soloist in Paris with the Lalo Cello Concerto (November). He moved to Paris in 1900, and did his first American tour as a soloist in 1904, where he also performed for President Roosevelt (1882-1945) at the White House. A year later, the Cortot-Thibaud-Casals piano trio was created, and in 1906 they gave their first performance in France; their performances and recordings are part of the history of the piano trio ensemble.¹⁴

Casals' career as a soloist was second to none. He performed all over the world: the Great Hall of the Musikverein in Vienna (1910), Moscow (1912) and the Metropolitan Opera House (New York, 1914) among others.¹⁵ While he was giving recitals around the globe, he realised that Barcelona was lacking a professional-level orchestra so he decided to create one; in 1920 the Pau Casals Orchestra gave its first performance. The creation of this orchestra showed how much Casals cared for the cultural life of Catalonia; I will come back to this later on. In 1926, he founded the Working Men's Concert Association in Barcelona so that those who were less privileged could have access to classical concerts. This was a very important project for Casals and he spent many of his resources on it; it will also be further explored below.

Casals was deeply affected by the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939); he gave many recitals to help the refugees from Spain

concerts de Lamoureux eren coneguts a tot el món i obrien les portes a la celebritat'.

¹⁴ For example, the Cortot-Thibaud-Casals trio recorded Schubert's B flat trio in 1926; today, it is still treasured as one of the greatest performances of this work. See www.gramophone.co.uk/review/cortot-thibaud-casals-trio-historic-recordings. [accessed 27 May 2017]

¹⁵ The chronology is borrowed from the Pau Casals Foundation. www.paucasals.org/en/-PAU-CASALS-Chronology-/. [accessed 26 May 2017]

and these became an important part of his life. For instance, in 1939 he gave a recital at the Royal Albert Hall in aid of refugee children;¹⁶ the funds he raised were used for food, clothes and medical supplies.¹⁷ In 1939, Casals decided to go into a self-imposed exile, as he wanted to send a clear message to those in power that the situation in Spain, which was under Franco's regime, was not acceptable: therefore he moved to Prades, a small village in France, a decision which shaped his life and artistic production, as will be further explored below.

A significant moment in Casals' life was when he played with the BBC orchestra at the Royal Albert Hall in 1945,¹⁸ and a few days later broadcast a memorable message to Catalonia, also playing *El Cant dels Ocells* (The Bird's Song, a Catalan folk song) which became a symbol for peace, as did Casals himself.¹⁹ From that moment on, every time Casals played this song he seemed to have intended it to be a meaningful experience: a cry for peace. Shortly after this, he decided not to play again in England due to what he saw as the country's complicity with the Franco regime. During the next few years, he spent a lot of time composing, teaching and helping the Spanish refugees, and then, in 1950, he started the Prades Festival, which initially celebrated the bicentennial anniversary of Bach's death. Casals decided to create this festival so that he could still perform even though he was in self-imposed exile; there were a total of six Prades Festivals. Alexander Schneider, who was the Artistic Director of the festival and a close friend of Casals', told him: 'if you

¹⁶ It was during this time that he composed the Montserrat motets, although these do not seem to have been a direct response to the political situation.

¹⁷ Joan Alavedra, *Pau Casals* (Barcelona: Editorial Aedos, 1975), p. 328. See also Marta Casals' testimony on quote 202.

¹⁸ Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 252-253.

¹⁹ Casals' message will be analysed further below: it was essentially a cry for peace linked to the folk melody of *El Cant dels Ocells*.

won't play in public in other countries, then why not let your fellow musicians come from other parts of the world and play with you in Prades'.²⁰

Casals moved to Puerto Rico in 1956 and the *Festival Casals Inc.* was created;²¹ a year later he was appointed the president of the newly-established Puerto Rico Conservatoire.²² In 1958, he was invited to perform at the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York, where he performed and delivered a speech that was broadcast to more than forty countries around the world. From then on, he was linked to peace as the message of his speech was clear: he would be an advocate for peace in order to contribute to the resolution of the Cold War. Casals was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize as a result of his many humanitarian endeavours, such as his concerts in aid of the refugees during the Spanish Civil War.

Casals was invited to give master classes in Marlborough, Massachusetts, in 1960; this was something that he would continue to do from 1962 until his death in 1973.²³ He finished the composition of his oratorio *El Pessebre (The Manger)* in 1960 and gave its first performance in Fuerte de San Diego, Acapulco. A year

²⁰ As quoted in Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 261.

²¹ Casals' mother was from Puerto Rico and Casals' future wife, Marta Montañez, was from there too. The Festival Casals Inc. was a festival that was created in Puerto Rico in his honour. What is more, Kirk writes: 'before he made up his mind, Casals had found out what he could about the musical life of the island. [...] There was, of course, a valid folk tradition, particularly toward the center of the island [Puerto Rico], away from the few coastal cities; this delighted him'. H. L. Kirk, *Pablo Casals* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974), p. 487. Casals' delight might have had its origin in the fact that Puerto Rico reminded him of Catalonia as the Catalan folklore played an important role in his music, as will be further explored below.

²² During that same year (1957) he got married to Marta Montañez, who helped Casals in all his endeavours and was a close companion.

²³ Some of the recorded master classes that will be used as sources within this thesis are from this summer music festival. Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 198.

later he played for President John F. Kennedy (1917-1963) at the White House and, in 1962, he announced his intention to perform *El Pessebre* everywhere in the world as part of a peace crusade on which he wanted to embark.²⁴ He spent most of his last years conducting this work around the world with a clear message of peace, fraternity and the dignity of the human being. A particularly memorable performance was when, in 1967, he conducted it at the Constitution Hall in Washington D.C. with President Lyndon B. Johnson (1908-1973) in attendance.²⁵ In 1971, the United Nations awarded him the Medal of Peace, at which occasion he gave a memorable speech: he talked about peace with a passionate commitment that was justified by all the time he had spent helping others and playing concerts to raise the awareness of injustice in Spain and Europe.²⁶ A year later, he created the Pau Casals Foundation so that he could keep his legacy alive. Pau Casals died on Monday 22nd October 1973.

b. Historical Context

i. Catalan Roots

Pau Casals was born in Sant Salvador and an understanding of the Catalan historical context will be illuminating as it will shed light on the framework in which Casals lived. An important moment in Catalan history was when in 1833 writer Bonaventura Carles Aribau published an ode entitled 'La Pàtria' and through this publication

²⁴ Ibid., 286.

²⁵ www.paucasals.org/?idIdioma=en&idSeccion=-PAU-CASALS-Chronology-&id=6. [accessed 2 November 2017]

²⁶ Casals was awarded many honorary degrees and knighthoods from several countries. For a full list of his awards one may visit the website of the Pau Casals Foundation. The full speech he gave at the UN will be explored further below.

helped to forge what later would be called the *Renaixença*.²⁷ As the root of its name indicates, this cultural movement meant a certain degree of being 'reborn', in this case, the desire to define Catalan culture against the Spanish one. The *Renaixença* came about during the rise of a national sentiment that Romanticism had instilled in the Western world. Catalonia's language, culture and customs were threatened from two forces: firstly, the cultural homogenisation of distinctive regional or national characteristics that had been preached by the erudite since the Enlightenment and secondly, the pressure of Spain's political leaders who were trying to forge a single state but were struggling to unify their country politically and culturally.²⁸ These forces, especially the latter, helped to create a strong desire to be different from the already-established Spanish national character. Culture became a very important part of the *Renaixença* as it was pivotal in order to preserve traits of the national identity such as the language and its popular traditions. Nonetheless, unlike what came later, this was not a fully fledged political movement – even though there were some political elements to it. Furthermore, at the end of the nineteenth century, the political situation, with its social convulsions and transformations, seemed to stimulate a new Catalanism as new generations wanted to renovate the country's dynamics: they wanted to break with the immediate past, were open to everything that came from the north of Europe and, most importantly, felt separated from the previous models that were still federalist and keeping a connection with Spain.²⁹

In addition, the situation was complicated for Spain as the Spanish-American War in 1898 emphasised a national crisis as it meant the

²⁷ William H. Robinson, Jordi Falgàs and Carmen Belen Lord, *Barcelona and Modernity: Picasso, Gaudí, Miró, Dalí* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 22.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 22.

²⁹ Cortès i Mir, *Història de la Música a Catalunya*, 131.

loss of the remnants of its empire. In particular, the loss of Cuba was significant as in 1897 this country alone absorbed over a third of all Spanish exports.³⁰ This made the situation worse between Catalonia and Spain as it showed how there were no signs of a specific plan for Catalonia's development but rather the lack of one; also that the Spanish government had no intention of granting Catalonia a political space where the aspirations of the *Renaixença* could be fulfilled. Then the political party *Unió Catalanista* thought this was a good moment to create a strong and interventionist Catalan movement so that the Catalan aspirations could be channelled.³¹ However, the Spanish government realised how important it was to unify Spain as otherwise, it was believed that Catalonia would also seek its independence as the Cubans had. Their approach was to be more intransigent with any possible claims from the different regions of Spain:

Spain had to become more 'Spanish'. Its central postulate was simple, but effective: the State would have to be intransigent in the future with the claims of the peripheral territories. Otherwise, the Catalans would be the next ones to abandon the national community, following in the footsteps of Cuba, and then some others would follow.³²

Furthermore, nationalism and patriotism in Spain and Catalonia have been a political and historical matter that have influenced even recent

³⁰ Sebastian Balfour, 'Riot, Regeneration and Reaction: Spain in the Aftermath of the 1898 Disaster', *The Historical Journal* Vol. 38, No. 2 (June 1995), (405-423), p. 406.

³¹ Vinyet Panyella, *Cronologia del Noucentisme: una eina* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1996), p. 24.

³² Xosé M. Núñez Seixas, '¿Negar o Reescribir la Hispanidad? Los Nacionalismos Subestatales Ibéricos y América Latina, 1898-1936, *Historia Mexicana* Vol. 67, No. 1 (Julio-Septiembre 2017), (401-458), p. 410. 'España tenía que volverse más "española". Su postulado central era simple, pero efectivo: el Estado debía ser en el futuro intransigente hacia las reivindicaciones territoriales de la periferia. De otro modo, los catalanes serían los siguientes en abandonar la comunidad nacional, siguiendo el camino abierto por Cuba, y a ellos seguirían otros'.

events.³³ Historian Xosé M. Núñez Seixas states that ‘a territory is a nation and, therefore, from this abstract concept which implies a feeling of belonging to a place, we are all nationalists’.³⁴ He goes on to define what the difference is between nationalism and patriotism: ‘faced with those nations without a state, those nationalisms with a State do not consider themselves as nationalisms, but as patriotism’.³⁵ This would seem to coincide with the definition that professor Andrea Baumeister has put forward: ‘Patriotism (love of country) and nationalism (loyalty to one’s nation) are often taken to be synonymous, yet patriotism has its origins some 2,000 years prior to the rise of nationalism in the Nineteenth Century’.³⁶ In addition, some historians argue that nationalism or patriotism is a fictitious construct or rather a political manoeuvre. In the nineteenth century the idea emerged that a specific ethnic group had been in existence since time immemorial, which helped the claim to political independence; if a group had a long history it seemed to demonstrate its coherence and stability and it could also be taken to presage a

³³ For instance, the sentence in the Catalan leaders’ trial was released on 14th October 2019. That sentence highlighted a political problem over a possibly binding Catalan Referendum.

<https://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20191015/47997078319/portadas-internacionales-sentencia-proces-1-o-prensa.html>. [accessed 24 November 2019]

³⁴ ‘Un territorio es una nación y, por tanto, desde este concepto abstracto que supone el sentimiento de pertenencia a un lugar, todos somos nacionalistas’.

https://elpais.com/cultura/2019/10/29/actualidad/1572355014_954957.html. [accessed 24 November 2019]

³⁵ ‘Frente a los de las naciones sin Estado, los nacionalismos de Estado no se consideran a sí mismos nacionalismos, sino patriotismos’.

https://elpais.com/cultura/2019/10/29/actualidad/1572355014_954957.html. [accessed 24 November 2019]

³⁶ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/patriotism-sociology>. [accessed 25 November 2019]. What is more, philosopher Robert Audi concluded that ‘unlike nationalism [...], patriotism can exist in the form of an emotion: roughly love of one’s country’. Robert Audi, ‘Nationalism, Patriotism, and Cosmopolitanism in an Age of Globalization’, *The Journal of Ethics* Vol. 13, No. 4, Patriotism (2009), (365–81), p. 365.

long and prosperous future. As historian Ulrike Sommer has said: 'many statements about the national past are in reality political statements about the present and the future'.³⁷

It is in the midst of this political situation that the Catalan Modernist movement was established. Modernism 'was a spontaneous gesture by Catalan culture, which had just rediscovered itself through the *Renaixença*'.³⁸ It is important to perceive the connection between these two movements, especially in relationship to the idea of consolidating the Catalan aspirations through the arts:

Although *Modernismo* essentially represented the rebirth of Catalan arts, it also marked the culmination of the preceding germination of letters, which is precisely what, in Catalonia, the *Renaixença* represented.³⁹

Nevertheless, this modernist movement not only happened in Catalonia, the cradle of modernism in Spain, but was part of a wider European movement that posed the question of what modernity was. During the last third of the nineteenth century the European cultural world was shaken by those who defended the established and those who were advocates of innovation; culture, and more specifically art and literature, were the central means of expression to which Charles Baudelaire's idea of modernity revolved.⁴⁰ At the same time, modernism wanted to be singular in its essence and therefore it could also be defined as 'an art that reflects the temperament of each

³⁷ Ulrike Sommer, 'Archaeology and Nationalism', in *Key Concepts in Public Archaeology*, ed. by Moshenska, Gabriel (London: UCL Press, 2017), p. 166.

³⁸ Arnau Puig, 'The invention of Modernismo', in *Modernisme i Modernistes*, ed. by Borja de Riquer Permanyer and others (Barcelona: Lunwerk, 2001), p. 39.

³⁹ Mariàngela Cerdà i Surroca, 'The time of Modernismo', in *Modernisme i Modernistes*, 51. This quote uses the expression 'germination of letters' which evokes the idea that through the arts, especially through literature, the *Renaixença* was able to consolidate a Catalanism movement. The 'letters', or rather literature, enabled Catalans to preserve and develop their language.

⁴⁰ Borja de Riquer Permanyer, 'Modernisme: a cultural adventure', in *Modernisme i Modernistes*, 3.

individual artist. *Modernismo* is identified by the impact made by the work, not by the style to which it belongs'.⁴¹ What is relevant about Puig's quote is that he highlights the importance of each single work rather than its belonging to a specific movement as Catalan modernism was full of different expressions. Santiago Rusiñol, who was a painter and writer and one of the main representatives of the Catalan modernist movement, wrote in his book 'Oracions' in 1897, however: 'I confess it: most of the so-called conquests of progress do not seduce me nor do I like them'.⁴² This statement shows a desire to break with progress and therefore it poses a question of whether the Catalan Modernism movement was coherent at all. Indeed, Modernism was a 'heterogeneous group of intellectuals' that would constitute this movement with all its incongruities:⁴³

Therefore *Modernisme*, rather than a coherent movement, was a somewhat heterogeneous group of intellectuals and artists linked by the common objective to pursue innovation and experimentation and to exert influence over and transform society.⁴⁴

In Catalonia, there was another movement that overlapped with Modernism, *Noucentisme* (New Century). Its chronology spanned from 1906 until 1923 and it was also a movement that placed culture at its forefront:

⁴¹ Arnau Puig, 'The invention of Modernismo', in *Modernisme i Modernistes*, 40.

⁴² Santiago Rusiñol, *Oracions* (Barcelona: Edicions de 1984, 2018), p. 10. 'T'ho confesso: la major part de lo que en diuen les conquestes del progrés no em sedueixen ni m'agraden.' Casals met Santiago Rusiñol, as Robert Baldock states: 'some of its early exponents [Modernism], like the painters Ramón Casas and Santiago Rusiñol, had been his friends, and he had sat for them'. Robert Baldock, *Pablo Casals* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1992), p. 116.

⁴³ The historical period in which Modernism is encapsulated in Catalonia goes from 1885 until 1920. Francesc Cabana, 'The Period of Modernismo 1888-1920', in *Modernisme i Modernistes*, 7.

⁴⁴ Borja de Riquer Permanyer, 'Modernisme: a cultural adventure', in *Modernisme i Modernistes*, 5.

The *Noucentisme's* chronology, in all its fullness, is a global synthesis of all those events, elements and people that between 1906 and 1923 configured, actively and passively, the identity of, most likely, the most complex and enriching periods of the political and cultural history of contemporary Catalonia.⁴⁵

This new movement shared the same inclination to define Catalanism as an important part of its essence. However, *Noucentisme* also meant 'renovation and the recovery of a shared history that recognises a relationship with the sources of Greco-Roman culture'.⁴⁶ The idea to dwell on Greco-Roman ideals was championed by writer Eugeni d'Ors who was an important herald of *Noucentisme*. His political and cultural thinking was articulated upon the foundations of classicism and imperialism as he thought that Catalonia would take part in world affairs from the Mediterranean but, also, that history had been made by political geniuses who had been members of heroic states and could impose their personality onto a period of time.⁴⁷ This new movement shared the same inclination to define Catalan culture and to expand it; however, its approach was a collective one as the idea of a shared task was important in *Noucentisme*. In contrast, Modernism was created out of rebel attitudes and individualities.⁴⁸ It was during

⁴⁵ Panyella, *Cronologia del Noucentisme*, 6. 'La cronologia del Noucentisme, en tot el seu abast, és un treball de síntesi globalitzadora de tots aquells esdeveniments, elements i personatges que entre el 1906 i 1923 configuraren, per activa i per passiva, la identitat del període segurament més complex i enriquidor de la història política i cultural de la Catalunya contemporània'.

⁴⁶ Gonzalo Navajas, 'El Modernismo y la terapia de la cultura europea en d'Ors, Marañón y Azaña', *Anales de la literatura española contemporánea* Vol. 35, no. 1 Spanish Modernism (2010), (197-221), p. 206. 'El *noucentisme* significa la renovación y la recuperación de una historia común que entronca con las fuentes de la cultura grecolatina'.

⁴⁷ Maximiliano Fuentes Codera, 'Hacia lo desconocido: Eugenio d'Ors en la crisis de la conciencia europea', *Historia Social* No. 74 (2012), (23-42), pp. 24-25.

⁴⁸ Panyella, *Cronologia del Noucentisme*, 13. 'Es pot afirmar que una de les diferències cabdals entre el Modernisme i el Noucentisme és que, mentre que aquell és fruit de les individualitats i d'actituds de revolta o de no

the beginning of the twentieth century when there was a sense of continuity between the two movements that celebrated, especially, Catalanism:

Far from creating ideological and aesthetical delimitations between both movements, what dominated was a certain continuity. The will to build and develop an identity as a country, also from the musical point of view, prevailed. Modernism ended being a diffuse concept, with tendencies that would continue throughout *Noucentisme's* time - [as in] the case of Wagnerism and Catalanism.⁴⁹

In regards to music, there are four important ideas that were also shared during these overlapping movements in Catalonia: the first one is the creation of concert associations, the second one being a great admiration for Wagner; thirdly, the use of folkloric music, and finally the use of a simple musical language. The first of these was part of an essential plan to promote cultural life; the creation of the *Associació Musical de Barcelona* late in June 1888 helped to normalise the concert life of the city.⁵⁰ Through the concert associations it was possible to build a sense of a shared cultural interest and therefore this was an essential part of Catalan musical life at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁵¹ Secondly, 'complex Wagnerian thought kept being involved in the musical reality throughout modernism and

integració de l'artista oposat a la seva societat, el Noucentisme es basa en l'esperit col·lectiu de construcció i de complicitat entre tots i cadascun dels seus integrants vers el projecte, la tasca comuna'.

⁴⁹ Cortès i Mir, *Història de la Música a Catalunya*, 133-34. 'Lluny de bastir unes fronteres ideològiques i estètiques molt delimitades entre els dos moviments, el que dominà fou una certa continuïtat. Imperà la voluntat de construcció i desenvolupament d'una entitat de país també des del punt de vista musical. El modernisme acabà sent un concepte difús, amb tendències que continuen durant el temps del noucentisme - cas del wagnerisme i el catalanisme'.

⁵⁰ Xosé Aviñoa, 'Music and Modernismo', in *Modernisme i Modernistes*, 65.

⁵¹ Casals created the Working Men Concert Association and, in the second chapter, we will see that this association places him firmly in this musical regeneration.

Noucentisme'.⁵² Wagner's music was believed to offer the Catalan people the nationalistic colour that they were trying to achieve, as well as the stamp of the German musical tradition: on the one hand, his aesthetics were far from the Italian and French works and, on the other, his works 'were supposed to be the mirror of the national creation of a reunified and vindicated people'.⁵³ Wagner's music offered the 'total art work' (*Gesamtkunstwerk*) as it was able to combine words and music in a way that many Catalan writers would later refer to in their books.⁵⁴ for instance, Joan Maragall translated parts of *Parsifal* and Jacint Verdaguer's *Canigó*, one of his most important works, has an epic Wagnerian imagery behind it.⁵⁵ What is more, the first Catalan translations of Wagner's operas were in 1881, which also show their relevance in the Catalan culture.⁵⁶ Thirdly,

⁵² Cortès i Mir, *Història de la Música a Catalunya*, 138. 'El complex pensament wagnerià continuà implicant-se amb la realitat musical durant el modernisme i el noucentisme.'

⁵³ Ibid., 128.

⁵⁴ When Casals wrote *El Pessebre*, he also seemed to try to unify the Catalan language with his music and one could argue that he was trying to find his own 'total work of art' by transcending the local reality of the Catalan language and its folk music. This will be further explored in the next two chapters. Furthermore, *Palau de la Música Catalana*, one of Barcelona's most famous concert halls, is described as a total art work: 'the desire for a home, for a concert hall of one's own, became ever more pronounced. It was clear that the envisaged building had to be something extraordinary, a Catalan Gesamtkunstwerk'. Lluís Domènech i Montaner, Manfred Sack and Hisao Suzuki, *Lluís Domènech i Montaner: Palau de la Música Catalana, Barcelona* (Stuttgart: Edition Axel Menges, 1995), p. 13.

⁵⁵ Cortès i Mir, *Història de la Música a Catalunya*, 129. 'Wagner, però, arribava a les nostres contrades cantat en italià. No va ser fins al 1881 que aparegueren les primeres traduccions al català. Però l'impacte de la seva obra podem dir que va assolir unes proporcions d'art total: Wagner és present en la literatura Catalana, algunes imatges verdaguerianes tenen molta èpica wagneriana rere seu, el *Canigó* en especial; Joan Maragall traduí fragments de *Parsifal*; els temes wagnerians s'escolaren al programari modernista'.

⁵⁶ Paul Roberts also describes the artistic currents of late nineteenth century Paris and how Richard Wagner was also important for Debussy; his work is related to this thesis as, in order to be able to perform Debussy's music, he places him under the context of his zeitgeist: 'Another vital requirement for

folkloric music was a crucial element of Catalan music creation at the time as it reinforced the idea of expanding the Catalan culture: 'Noucentisme started to infuse more positivistic techniques in regards to what started to be called "folklore". Robert Gerhard was also involved in the collection of popular themes'.⁵⁷ Fourthly, composers at the time had better reception of their pieces if their compositions were direct and easy to listen to, which favoured the circulation of their music: 'composers who, such as Enric Morera or Eusebi Bosch, kept a direct and understandable language, with evident references to popular forms, would enjoy great acceptance'.⁵⁸ By the end of the nineteenth century there were a growing number of publications that featured folk song, which accounted for a rising interest in the subject.⁵⁹ Moreover, the folksong encouraged the national feeling and therefore that would stimulate the political situation at the time. As Josep Martí points out we need to keep in mind that many of these published folk songs were for a popular market, moreover one targeted towards a specific nationalism, especially in Catalonia and the Basque Country.⁶⁰

understanding and, yes, performing Debussy's piano music is a knowledge of his background, of the artistic currents of *fin-de-siècle* Paris in which he was formed. If he was seeking "visions as yet unrecorded in music," others were seeking similar visions through poetry and painting. [...] But what for the Romantics had been a cultured interest in all artistic endeavor, became for many of Debussy's Symbolist contemporaries a desire for an interbreeding of the arts that amounted at times to an obsession. Behind it [zeitgeist] lay the unavoidable example of Richard Wagner, whose music dramas offered the intoxicating promise of a complete fusion of the arts'. Paul Roberts, *Images* (Portland: Amadeus Press, 2001), p. 3.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 144. 'El noucentisme començà a infondre unes tècniques més positivistes sobre el que començava a anomenar-se "folklore". Robert Gerhard (1896-1970) s'implicà també en la recol·lecció de temes populars'.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 145. 'Els compositors que, com Enric Morera o Eusebi Bosch, mantenien un llenguatge directe i entenedor, amb evidents referències a formes populars, fruïen d'una gran acceptació'.

⁵⁹ Josep Martí, 'Folk Music Studies and Ethnomusicology in Spain', *Yearbook for Traditional Music* Vol. 29 (1997), (107-140), p. 109.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 109.

It was within the Catalan definition of its cultural axioms where Casals would find his understanding of society and music. Casals seemed to be affected by these cultural movements as he also had the desire to universalise Catalan culture by composing music which used folkloric elements in an understandable language, although one cannot state whether he would have leaned more strongly towards one of them; his recurrent performance of his favourite encore, *El cant dels ocells*, also points in that direction. These ideas will be further explored in the second chapter where Casals' unpublished letters will shed light on his tendency towards the universalisation of Catalan culture through the use of folk music and the Catalan language.

ii. The Spanish Civil War

Pau Casals' stance for peace seems to be uncompromising, as he showed when he went into self-imposed exile (from 1939) after the Franco regime had come to power (1939-1975). It was a time when he self-exiled, stopped performing around the world and moved to Prades, which sent a clear message: he would not play in any country where there was any allegiance with the regime. From that moment onwards his playing, music and persona were linked in the public mind to pacifism.⁶¹ He sent a letter to Margarita Nelken in 1949 where he explained the reasons for his exile:

⁶¹ Casals' self-imposed exile is a testimony to this as he began to go to refugee camps to help in any way he could; he also started playing *El Cant dels Ocells* (a Catalan folksong which means 'Birdsong') as his favourite encore, which became a cry for peace. Even today in Spain, one can listen to Casals' playing of *El Cant dels Ocells* at football matches when someone has died and a minute of silence is observed; during that minute, Casals' playing will be heard by all through the PA system. Also, in a letter from Andreu Claret to Casals he stated: 'The immediate tomorrow of our beloved Catalonia is still uncertain, but we will keep our loyalty to our deep desire to see it one day full of joy and freedom'. Anna Dalmau and Anna Mora, *Pau Casals i Andreu Claret: Correspondència a l'Exili* (Barcelona: Editorial

The events [in Franco's regime] and my reaction, natural for the way I am, have driven me to extreme decisions. I understand these might be interpreted ad libitum and I even accept they might be wrong but I cannot keep on living, as happens with my art, in a way that I do not feel. [...] Our problem [Spain's situation] might be a long one. [...] I still believe the change needs to come from America and England and we will rot in exile if their governments maintain their positions saying Spanish people are the ones who need to solve their issues.⁶²

The 'problem' that Casals refers to, ie. Franco's regime, started with the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) but it is important to understand what led Spain to war.

The origin of the Spanish conflict started in the nineteenth century when Spain did not evolve politically in order to coexist with capitalism:

Unlike Britain and France, nineteenth-century Spain did not see the establishment of a democratic polity with the flexibility to absorb new forces and to adjust to major social change. That is not to say that Spain remained a feudal society but rather that the legal basis for capitalism was established without there being a political revolution.⁶³

Mediterrània, 2009), p. 65. 'El demà immediat de la nostra estimada Catalunya és encara insegur, però nosaltres continuarem lleials al nostre profund desig de veure-la un jorn plena de joia i llibertat'. Casals' stance against the Franco regime, as well as his persona being linked to pacifism, will be further explored in the second chapter.

⁶² Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/04.02/14 unitats, 1948-1956/150 (Prades, 14th May 1949). 'Los acontecimientos y mi reacción, natural en mi manera de ser, me han conducido a decisiones extremas. Comprendo que estas sean interpretadas muy ad libitum e incluso acepto que puedan ser equivocadas pero no puedo seguir en la vida, como en mi arte, otra línea que la que yo siento. [...] El problema nuestro puede ir para largo [...] Yo continuo creyendo que este cambio está en las manos de América e Inglaterra y que nos pudriremos en el exilio si sus gobiernos sostienen lo de que son los españoles que tienen que arreglar sus cosas'. Margarita Nelken (1894-1968) was a friend of Casals, who was a writer and feminist. She was a member of the PSOE (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español*) party in the 1930s.

⁶³ Paul Preston, *The Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution and Revenge* (London: Williams Collins, 2016), p. 19.

The Spanish political scene was dominated by the conservative and liberal parties in the nineteenth century. The conservatives were part of the 'old order', which was connected to the feudal system where only a small elite would make decisions and be able to vote. This became known as *caciquismo*, the rule of bosses.⁶⁴ Their goal was to prevent radical politicians and the 'urban popular classes' from getting involved in the political system so that they had no say in the public life of Spain.⁶⁵ The Church, monarchy, nobles and provincial landed families were in favour of the 'old order' as it would keep their privileged position. On the other hand, the liberals were those who believed that 'all men had "natural rights" and that sovereignty should be in the hands of the nation'.⁶⁶ This group would encompass workers, small business owners and peasants alike. It was understood that the old ways had to be replaced by a constitutional and parliamentary system of government.⁶⁷ The tension between these two ways of living and understanding society were already present at that time, when two thirds of the active labour force worked in the agricultural sector, accounting for more than half of the country's Gross Domestic Product.⁶⁸ This helped the conservatives, and specifically the status quo of landowners.⁶⁹ As Moreno points out, the liberals challenged privilege, and sought the right to vote on merit. For some thirty years from 1830 land ownership was still very important in Spain, which hindered the

⁶⁴ Angel Smith, 'The rise and fall of "respectable" Spanish liberalism, 1808-1923: an explanatory framework', *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* Vol. 22, No. 1 (2016), (55-73), p. 61.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 61.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 57.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 56.

⁶⁸ Joseph Harrison, 'The Agrarian History of Spain, 1800-1960', *The Agricultural History Review* Vol. 37, No. 2 (1989), (180-7), pp. 180-81.

⁶⁹ Eduardo Manzano Moreno and Juan Sisinio Pérez Garzón, 'A Difficult Nation? History and Nationalism in Contemporary Spain', *History and Memory* Vol. 14, No. 1-2 (2002), (259-284), p. 273.

process of industrialisation.⁷⁰ This government (1873-74) wanted to modernise Spain according to liberal and democratic values and also to decentralise the nation. Nonetheless, the political reality of the country, with its radicalism and internal divisions, 'prevented the necessary national unity and consensus for the republican regime to prosper'.⁷¹ These internal divisions pushed Spain into the period of the Restoration of the monarchy, which continued until the crowning of King Alfonso XIII in 1902. However, in 1898, Spain had lost a war which was fought against the US as the latter thought that the Cubans were threatening their interests:

The nineteenth-century goal of the United States [...] was always to control Cuba's sovereignty; when Spain would not sell the island and could not reform it, the United States intervened in 1898 to halt a nationalistic revolution or social movement that threatened US interests.⁷²

The colonial disaster with Cuba in 1898 meant that Spain could not 'use imperialist adventures to divert attention from domestic social conflict'.⁷³

By the turn of the century, Spain witnessed how a modern capitalist economy was still essentially agrarian but had developed around the mines of Asturias, the steel and iron foundries of the Basque Country and the chemical and textile industries of Catalonia.⁷⁴ Even though

⁷⁰ Ibid., 262.

⁷¹ Marta Postigo, 'Federalism and the Spanish First Democratic Republic, 1873-1874', *Sociology and Anthropology* Vol. 5, No. 11 (2017), (977-984), p. 979.

⁷² Thomas G. Paterson, 'US Intervention in Cuba, 1898: Interpreting the Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino war', *OAH Magazine of History* Vol. 3, No. 12 (1998), (5-10), p. 6.

⁷³ Preston, *The Spanish Civil War*, 28. Julián Casanova also shows what kind of defeat this crisis had been: 'the twentieth century dawned in Spain with extreme tension, resounding problems and the bitter aftertaste of the disastrous defeat of 1898'. Julián Casanova, 'Terror and Violence: The Dark Face of Spanish Anarchism', *International Labor and Working-Class History* No. 67 (Spring, 2005), (79-99), p. 84.

⁷⁴ Preston, *The Spanish Civil War*, 24-25.

these industries did not experience a big growth, there was an emergence of an industrial proletariat which, in turn, helped to nourish the Catalan and Basque Country's nationalist movements as they felt resentful for the 'very high proportion of Spain's tax revenue' that they paid with 'little or no say in a government dominated by the agrarian oligarchy'.⁷⁵ In 1909 the government, under pressure from the army and investors in the mines, sent an expeditionary force to expand Spain's Moroccan territory as there were mineral deposits in the region. That created the *Semana Trágica* ('tragic week') where the hostility 'between the military and the labour movement prefigured the violent hostilities of the civil war'.⁷⁶ As Pich Mitjana argues, there was tension between the reactionary right and the revolutionary left that had been increased because of the anticlerical and revolutionary movement and its later repression. In this sense, the July revolution, was the first great warning of the Spanish Civil War.⁷⁷

During the First World War (1914-18), Spain remained neutral. In 1921, Spain was involved in a war in Morocco. There took place what was called the Rif War, or War of Melilla (1921-26).⁷⁸ The Spanish government wanted to overcome the 1898 defeat by trying to expand its territory in Morocco. Nevertheless, the casualties were approximately 43,500.⁷⁹ Furthermore, Spain struggled to find a balance between liberals and conservatives or, as Preston also calls them, 'regionalists against centralists, anti-clericals against Catholics, landless labourers against *latifundistas*, workers against

⁷⁵ Ibid., 25.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 29.

⁷⁷ Josep Pich Mitjana, 'La Revolución de Julio de 1909', *Hispania* Vol. LXXV, No. 249 (enero-abril 2015), (173-206), p. 197.

⁷⁸ This war, as its name indicates, was between Spain and Rif, a northern region of Morocco.

⁷⁹ <https://www.britannica.com/event/Rif-War>. [accessed 22 September 2018]

industrialists'.⁸⁰ On September 23 1923 there was a *coup d'état* carried out by General Miguel Primo de Rivera who took over from King Alfonso XIII to prevent the latter from being embarrassed by the Moroccan War. The former's dictatorship had two advantages: firstly, an upturn in the European economy and secondly, it eliminated some of the previous political chaos.⁸¹ Nevertheless, at the end of January 1930, General Primo de Rivera resigned.⁸² The Second Spanish Republic was then established in 1931 but there were many social tensions that had not been resolved: on the one hand, the monarchy had lost its credibility because of their compromise with the dictatorship; on the other hand, General Primo de Rivera's tyranny had not only failed to solve the previous problems but, rather, had made the situation worse.⁸³ In Catalonia on April 14 1931, after having won the municipal elections, Francesc Macià (leader of the *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya*) declared the 'Catalan Republic as a State included in the Iberian Federation' although there was not a political structure to do so.⁸⁴ There were many challenges that Spain faced in this new political scene, such as the modernisation of the State, the separation of Church and State, the subordination of the military to the civil authorities, agrarian reform, rising of nationalisms (especially in the Basque Country and Catalonia), the global depression that most of the Spanish population lived in and

⁸⁰ Preston, *The Spanish Civil War*, 17. The *latifundistas* were those who owned large properties of land.

⁸¹ Ibid., 35.

⁸² Ibid., 36.

⁸³ Pelai Pagès i Blanch and Alberto Pérez Puyal, *Aquella guerra tan llunyana i tan propera (1936-1939): Testimonis i records de la Guerra Civil a Catalunya* (Lleida: Pagès editors, 2003), p. 16.

⁸⁴ Enric Calpena and Oriol Junqueras, *En Guàrdia! 14 d'Abril: La Catalunya republicana (1931-1939)*, (Valls: Cossetània edicions, 2006), p. 13. Casals gave his first vote to Macià; see Baldock, *Pablo Casals*, 143.

illiteracy.⁸⁵ During the Spanish Second Republic the government emphasised the importance of a radical change in education. It was within the first years of the Republic that this field saw progress in relation to the importance of a deep modification of the Spanish education's system in order to transform the Spanish state.⁸⁶ Notwithstanding, the reality was that this government posed a threat to the most privileged members of society but, at the same time, it also raised excessive hopes among the most humble.⁸⁷ As this regime did not deliver the promises it had made, namely the modernisation of Spain and a better distribution of wealth for all, nor did there seemed to be a feasible alternative, the seeds for the Spanish Civil War and its subsequent dictatorship were planted. Actually, one could argue, with Preston, that 'the Civil War was the culmination of a series of uneven struggles between the forces of reform and reaction which had dominated Spanish history since 1808'.⁸⁸ The tensions between two opposing sides, liberal versus conservative, in Spanish society in the nineteenth century were present in the Spanish Civil War.⁸⁹ The liberal side was now called the Republican side, who aspired to have a real democracy and a pluralist conception of the state that had room for the Catalan and Basque nationalist movements; the conservatives were the Nationalists, who were keen

⁸⁵ Pagès i Blanch and Pérez Puyal, *Aquella guerra tan llunyana i tan propera (1936-1939)*, 15. Paul Preston has highlighted how 'there is a curious pattern in Spain's modern history, arising from a frequent *desfase*, or lack of synchronization, between the social reality and the political power structure ruling over it'. Preston, *The Spanish Civil War*, 18.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 30.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 38.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 18.

⁸⁹ The experience under Primo de Ribera's dictatorship had 'left them [conservatives] entrenched in the view that the only feasible solution to the problems faced by the right was a military monarchy. They would form the general staff of the extreme right in the Second Republic and were to provide much of the ideological content of the Franco regime'. Ibid., 36.

on the army, the great landlords and an immovable relationship between church and state.⁹⁰

The Spanish Civil War (1936-39) was fought between these two sides, Nationalists and Republicans, the former including the parties of the Monarchists, Carlists and *Falange Española* among others, and the latter including the *Unión Republicana*, *Izquierda Unida*, *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya*, *Partido Socialista Obrero de España* (PSOE), *Unión General de Trabajadores*, *Partido Comunista de España* and *Partido Socialista Unificado de Cataluña* among others.⁹¹ The Nationalists were led by the military dictator Francisco Franco (1892-1975), who ended up winning the war; the Republicans were led by different leaders from the political parties involved. The Nationalists, who were assisted by the Nazis and the Italian National Fascist Party, among others, ‘defended a common view of the past’; the Republican coalition, aided by the Soviet Union and Mexico, among others, however, ‘had widely different visions of the future’:⁹²

The international context for the development of the war was quickly demonstrated. The inhibition of France and Great Britain contrasted with Germany and Italy’s collaboration with the insurrectional army, whereas the Soviet Union finally aided the Republic.⁹³

⁹⁰ Josep Termes and Arnau Cònsul, *La Guerra Civil a Catalunya* (Barcelona: Pòrtic edicions, 2008), p. 11.

⁹¹ Anthony Beevor, *The Spanish Civil War* (London: Orbis Publishing, 1982), pp. 417-20.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 411.

⁹³ David Tormo, ‘El triomf republicà i popular del 19 de juliol: 24 hores de lluita al carrer per mantenir Catalunya fidel a la República’, in *Breu Història de la Guerra Civil a Catalunya*, ed. by Josep M. Solé Sabaté and Joan Villarroja (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 2005), p. 84. ‘De seguida es va evidenciar la importància que va acabar assolint el context internacional pel desenvolupament de la guerra. La inhibició de França i Gran Bretanya va contrastar amb la col·laboració d’Alemanya i Itàlia al costat de l’exèrcit insurrecte, mentre la Unió Soviètica va acabar decantant-se per la República’.

At the same time, in the Spain of 1936, ‘one of the main divisive criteria among rightists and leftists, and maybe the most passionate one, was religion’.⁹⁴ However, the war would prove to be the ‘great international battleground of fascism and communism’,⁹⁵ and was important in the twentieth century as it was the preamble to the Second World War; the bombing of Guernica in particular is key to grasping the importance of the Spanish Civil War in the Spanish and European imagination as it was the first total destruction of an undefended civil target by aerial bombardment. Consequently, it ‘presaged the opening of the floodgates to a new and horrific form of modern warfare that was universally dreaded’.⁹⁶ By the end of 1937, three different governments were coexisting in Barcelona: ‘with the transfer of the Republic’s government to the Catalan capital, on October 31 1937, and the arrival of the Euskadi government, on November 2 of the same year, Barcelona became the capital of three governments’.⁹⁷ Moreover, Franco’s political power already manifested itself in 1938 when ‘on January 30 [1938] he established

⁹⁴ Hilari Raguer, ‘Persecució religiosa i salvament de vides: la matança de capellans als primers dies de guerra’, in *Breu Història de la Guerra Civil a Catalunya*, 155. ‘Un dels principals criteris de divisió entre dretes i esquerres, i potser el que més apassionava, era la religió’. There is a Jacint Verdaguer statue in Barcelona, in which the priest is wearing a cassock. Some leftists wanted to tear it down but someone explained to them that the ‘Cinto priest was poor, friend of the poor and persecuted by the wealthy’ and they did not touch it. The statue is still in its original place today. Hilari Raguer, ‘Persecució religiosa i salvament de vides: la matança de capellans als primers dies de guerra’, in *Breu Història de la Guerra Civil a Catalunya*, 156. ‘Mossèn Cinto era pobre, amic dels pobres i perseguit pels rics’.

⁹⁵ Preston, *The Spanish Civil War*, 7.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁹⁷ José Manuel Rúa, ‘Catalunya, centre neuràlgic de la guerra: Barcelona, capital de tres governs’, in *Breu Història de la Guerra Civil a Catalunya*, 498. ‘Amb el trasllat, el 31 d’octubre del 1937, del Govern de la República a la capital catalana, i l’arribada, el 2 de novembre del mateix any, del Govern d’Euskadi, Barcelona passà a ser la capital de tres governs’.

his first permanent ministry'.⁹⁸ By that time the Republicans' hope of winning the war was meagre: 'the possibilities of the Republic, not to win the war, but to reach an armistice with equal conditions had completely vanished'.⁹⁹ It was with the battle of Ebre (a southern region of Catalonia) in 1938 that Franco initiated his final offensive.¹⁰⁰ The war finished in 1939 but its brutality enabled Franco to establish his dictatorship. The scars of the war were profound and had a lasting impact on society; they enabled the regime to last for the many years that it did.¹⁰¹ The war and the dictatorship also tried to eradicate any traits of Catalan identity as all the occupied Catalan territories were deprived of their statute of Catalan autonomy.¹⁰² It had 'a clearly anti-Catalan character';¹⁰³ furthermore, the hatred towards Catalanism had been one of the reasons for the Spanish Civil War and the establishment of the Franco dictatorship:

The hatred towards Catalan autonomy, the anticlericalism, the prevention of different positions, against the Catalan language and culture, are an essential element in the

⁹⁸ Paul Preston, 'Les raons del desenllaç de la Guerra. La tesi de Negrín: "atès que l'enemic no vol pactar, l'única solució és resistir"', in *Breu Història de la Guerra Civil a Catalunya*, 491. 'El 30 de gener [1938] va formar el seu primer ministeri permanent'.

⁹⁹ José Manuel Rúa, 'Camí de l'exili. L'Èxode d'un poble: Una tragèdia sense precedents a la història de Catalunya', in *Breu Història de la Guerra Civil a Catalunya*, 770. 'Les possibilitats de la República, no ja de guanyar-la [la guerra], sinó d'arribar a un armistici en igualtat de condicions s'havien esvaït completament'.

¹⁰⁰ See Pelai Pagès i Blanch and Alberto Pérez Puyal, *Aquella guerra tan llunyana i tan propera (1936-1939)*, 333.

¹⁰¹ Josep Termes, 'El pòsit de la Guerra Civil: Al fons del sac, les engrunes. La desintegració de l'estat de dret en un conflicte fratricida', in Solé Sabaté, Josep M. and Villarroya, Joan (eds.) *Breu Història de la Guerra Civil a Catalunya*, 854-5.

¹⁰² Rúa, José Manuel, 'La Repressió Franquista: les ànsies d'espanyolitzar Catalunya i els actes de revenja envers els vençuts', in *Breu Història de la Guerra Civil a Catalunya*, 609.

¹⁰³ Termes and Cònsul, *La Guerra Civil a Catalunya*, 185. 'La guerra havia tingut un caràcter anticatalà molt clar'.

unleashing of the war and the subsequent articulation of the Franco regime.¹⁰⁴

The Spanish Civil War represented one of the most important events in the history of Spain in the twentieth century; its repercussions lasted for more than forty years and some of its indirect effects are still visible today.¹⁰⁵ Franco died on November 20 1975 and even then the memories of the war were present in people's minds.¹⁰⁶ Nonetheless, the Spanish government signed a unanimous pact in 2002 in order to condemn what had happened:

All the political forces from across the parliamentary spectrum approved a proposition condemning without reservation the military *coup d'état* that in July 1936 initiated the war and ended the democratic experience of the Republic.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Josep Termes, 'El pòsit de la Guerra Civil: Al fons del sac, les engrunes. La desintegració de l'estat de dret en un conflicte fratricida', in *Breu Història de la Guerra Civil a Catalunya*, 855. 'L'odi a l'autonomia catalana, l'anticlericalisme, la prevenció contra els fets diferencials, contra la llengua i la cultura catalanes, són un element essencial en el desencadenament de la guerra i la posterior articulació del règim franquista'. Preston also stated that 'the Spanish Civil War was also fought because of the determination of the extreme right in general and the army in particular to crush Basque, Catalan and Galician nationalisms. Spain did not witness 'ethnic cleansing' of the kind seen in the civil war in the former Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, Franco made a systematic attempt during and after the war to eradicate all vestiges of local nationalisms, political and linguistic'. Preston, *The Spanish Civil War*, 8.

¹⁰⁵ Pagès i Blanch and Pérez Puyal, *Aquella guerra tan llunyana i tan propera (1936-1939)*, 9. At the same time, Preston states that 'the interference of Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin ensured that the Spanish Civil War would be a defining moment in twentieth-century history. Yet, leaving that international dimension aside, the myriad Spanish conflicts which erupted in 1936, regionalists against centralists, anti-clericals against Catholics, landless labourers against *latifundistas*, workers against industrialists, have in common the struggles of a society in the throes of modernization'. Preston, *The Spanish Civil War*, 17.

¹⁰⁶ Pagès i Blanch and Pérez Puyal, *Aquella guerra tan llunyana i tan propera (1936-1939)*, 365.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 10. 'En aquest punt cal recordar l'acord unànime que va adoptar el Parlament espanyol el 20 de novembre de 2002 quan totes les forces polítiques del ventall parlamentari van aprovar una proposició que condemna sense pal·liatius el cop d'estat militar que el juliol de 1936 iniciava la guerra i posava fi a l'experiència democràtica de la República'.

George Orwell defines the Catalan national mood at the beginning of the war in 1936; he paints a picture which represents a society diametrically opposed to the Nationalists as he describes a city full of red flags and a sense of camaraderie with the working class who were taking a leading role.¹⁰⁸

Casals felt very close to the Republican side as he could not stand the injustice brought about by the fascist regime.¹⁰⁹ He could not understand how some European governments did not help the Republican cause. In a letter to Indalecio Prieto (1883-1962), who was affiliated to the Spanish Socialist Worker's Party (PSOE, Partido Socialista Obrero Español) and was also one of the political leaders of the Republicans, Casals stated how he could not understand the UK's position in regards to Spain, and how he was campaigning to change this.¹¹⁰ Casals' self-imposed exile represented a strong position

¹⁰⁸ George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia* (London: Penguin, 1989), pp. 2-3.

¹⁰⁹ Casals said to Khan: 'Then, too, as a Catalan, I felt a special gratitude to the Republic for granting Catalonia the autonomy that my compatriots and I had longed for over the years. Yes, for me the birth of the [Second] Spanish Republic represented a culmination of my dearest dreams'. As quoted in Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 209.

¹¹⁰ Casals stated: 'But my campaign against [the UK] had already started in 1945. [...] Once I got to England, I [was] hopeful for the rise of the Labour party to the government, [but] I found a press campaign in favour of Franco, a campaign which had coincided with the long radio silence of the BBC in respect to Spain'. Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/04.02/1 unit, 1946/150 (Prades, 3rd August 1946), letter no. 17. 'Pero mi campaña de protesta [hacia el Reino Unido] empezó ya en Noviembre 1945. Cuando, al llegar a Inglaterra, esperando por la subida de los laboristas al gobierno, me encontré con una campaña de prensa favorable a Franco, campaña que coincidió con aquel largo silencio de la BBC por respecto a España'. This unpublished letter also shows Casals' relationship with a very prominent and republican political figure. Furthermore, WH Auden's reaction to the Spanish Civil War can also shed light as to how other prominent figures reacted to this event: 'Franco's military rebellion in July 1936, however, made action, in Auden's words, ever more "urgent and its nature clear", the demand to volunteer imperative and its rejection politically and morally reprehensible'. H. Gustav Klaus, "'The Sore Frailty of This Lasting Cause": Some Celtic Versions of Spanish

against the war. Notwithstanding, from the end of January 1939 until the 10th February 1939 around 353,000 people crossed the border from Catalonia to France and headed into exile.¹¹¹ This made Casals sorrowful about such a horrific situation. The pianist Gerald Moore wrote a letter to Casals highlighting how Casals was suffering because of the regime: ‘it seems silly to wish you a happy birthday when we all know how your grief must be for your beloved country’.¹¹²

Casals’ exile and *El Pessebre* are a testimony to his commitment to peace and his stance against violence.¹¹³ The Spanish Civil War was a trying time for him as he mentioned in a letter to Emil Ludwig: ‘neither music nor my music can console me from the injustice of what it [Franco’s regime] means for my country’.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, at the end of it he decided to embark on a peace crusade with his oratorio *El Pessebre* so that he could have an impact on his contemporaries. In the next two chapters these ideas will be further explored.

Civil War Poetry’, *Irish University Review* Vol. 21, No. 2 (Autumn – Winter, 1991), (268–84), p. 269.

¹¹¹ Termes and Cònsul, *La Guerra Civil a Catalunya*, 187.

¹¹² Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/04.01/5 units, 1946-1948/118 (16th December 1946), letter no. 15.

¹¹³ Journalist Lluís Permanyer noted that ‘what should be done, and what prevailed with the outburst of the Civil War was a committed art’. Lluís Permanyer, ‘L’art i els cartells a Barcelona en temps de Guerra: l’obra d’art entesa com a instrument de propaganda i compromís polític’, in *Breu Història de la Guerra Civil a Catalunya*, 691. ‘El que calia fer i el que va imperar arran de l’esclat de la Guerra Civil fou l’art compromès’. Casals’ art would seem to have had the same ideals. This will be further explored in the next two chapters.

¹¹⁴ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/04.02/12 units, 1943-1950/150 (26th January 1946).

c. Biographies and Dissertations on Casals

Casals' life has been the subject of multiple biographies. His fame as a cellist and his self-imposed exile made him a very attractive figure for writers.¹¹⁵ An important element to consider, however, is the context in which a biography is written or read. Although each will be unique in its own right, it will also be part of the continuum of biographies. Pekacz' words will be illuminating here as they show where biographical studies are: 'the proposition that a biography should be scrutinized in the same way as any other historical source is now accepted among historians'.¹¹⁶ The genre of biography has been part of musicological study for quite some time.¹¹⁷

It is very important to be aware that there are many assumptions that can arise when constructing a biography.¹¹⁸ As Christopher Wiley notes:

It is [...] now more important than ever that musicology develop the more explicit self-aware stance necessary to cut loose from certain historical assumptions and tendencies that have been allowed to accrue essentially unquestioned over the decades. Otherwise, modern scholarship will remain indebted to the outdated ideologies of musical biography and will merely perpetuate the very nineteenth-century modes of musical thought that it frequently aims to challenge.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ To see a full list of biographies on Casals, see www.paucasals.org/en/PAU-CASALS-Bibliography/. [accessed 17 November 2017]

¹¹⁶ *Musical Biography*, ed. by Pekacz, 44.

¹¹⁷ The first time biography was part of history goes back to J. Glanvill in 1671. As quoted in the Oxford English Dictionary: www.oed.com/view/Entry/19219?rskey=C0laLE&result=1#eid. [accessed 4 November 2017]

¹¹⁸ Korsyn's understanding of a theory will be helpful: 'any theory must perforce be a construction; we can negotiate these paradoxes in various ways but never eliminate them. Any solutions must be partial, provisional, and local'. In the same way, a biography cannot seek an absolute truth but rather a glimpse of the reality of the biographee.

¹¹⁹ Cristopher Wiley, 'Biography and the New Musicology', in *(Auto)Biography as a Musical Discourse*, ed. by Tatjana Marković and Vesna Mikić (Belgrade: Fakultet Muzicke Umetnosti, 2010), p. 18.

Without proper scrutiny, assumptions such as the biographer's or biographee's own agenda, a limited amount of primary sources with which to contrast the information with, or simply one's particular reading of the subject can be misleading in some way or another. Nevertheless, it is also important to note that each reading of a life will be just that: a unique reading, with pros and cons. A reading, then, will be subjective, as it is inevitable that the author relates a story with his or her own conscious or unconscious input:

The study of biography (like that of all historical narrative) can reveal as much about the assumptions of its writers and readers, and the reception accorded to its subjects within a given cultural *milieu*, as factually about the subjects themselves.¹²⁰

It is therefore important to bear in mind that one should be aware of such barriers. The idea of a construction of Casals' life is principal here as all approaches to a figure like this will be a construction of that person. Indeed, through the critical understanding of these concepts one might be able to grasp how Casals was trying to portray himself in order to construct his legacy.

There have been many biographies written about Casals; here, five of the central ones will be discussed.¹²¹ All of them provide the reader with good, critically-assessed knowledge, which is important as they 'provide a framework within which the creative output can somehow be related to' Casals' life.¹²²

The most recent biography that will be looked at here is *Converses amb Pau Casals*, written by Josep Maria Corredor and published in 2012. Corredor offers invaluable insight into Casals' life as the book

¹²⁰ Cristopher Wiley, 'Re-writing composers' lives: critical historiography and musical biography' (Unpublished Doctoral thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2008), p. 4.

¹²¹ Although there are many other biographies of Casals, these do not provide any additional insights beyond those five discussed here.

¹²² *Musical Biography*, ed. by Pekacz, 1.

is written as a series of conversations. In it, Casals and the author discuss many important topics in Casals' life such as Bach, his vision of contemporary music, the Pau Casals Orchestra, his education and upbringing, his exile and his peace crusade, among others. This book is also especially valuable as there are many letters by significant contemporary personalities (such as Sir Adrian Boult, Alfred Cortot, Albert Einstein, Wilhelm Furtwängler, Fritz Kreisler, Thomas Mann, Yehudi Menuhin, Jean Sibelius and Isaac Stern among many others) who describe Casals from their own point of view. This has proved to be useful, as their perceptions of Casals have helped to shape this research. It was also valuable to read a letter that Casals sent to Corredor when the latter had sent Casals the manuscript:

I have just read the manuscript of our conversations, these conversations that were first of all friendly conversations that you have put together and organised with a diligence and patience for which I congratulate you sincerely.¹²³

Joys and Sorrows by Albert Kahn is one of the most comprehensive biographies of Casals.¹²⁴ He discusses Casals' origins, his student years in Madrid, his exile and his peace crusade among others. The only thing that is missing from this biography is the end of Casals' life, as Khan published it in 1970. However, the style in which the book is written (Khan narrates the story in the first person, in Casals'

¹²³ As quoted in Corredor, *Converses amb Pau Casals*, 13-14. 'Acabo de llegir el manuscript de les nostres converses, d'aquestes converses que eren abans que res uns diàlegs amistosos i que vostè ha reunit i ordenat amb una aplicació i una paciència per les quals el felicito ben sincerament'.

¹²⁴ This biography is a good introduction to Casals. I would also like to mention here three other very good biographies: Robert Baldock, *Pablo Casals*, H. L. Kirk, *Pablo Casals: a Biography* and Lilian Littlehales, *Pablo Casals* (Wesport: Greenwood Press, 1970). Also, the book by Casals' brother Enric Casals, *Pau Casals: Dades Biogràfiques Inèdites, Cartes Íntimes i Records Viscuts* (Barcelona: Ed. Pòrtic, 1979) has provided this research with invaluable insights, especially in regards to Casals' youth days. Furthermore, David Blum's book *Casals and the Art of Interpretation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980) is a fine book in order to understand Casals' approach to music.

voice) is compelling, and it is a detailed account of Casals' life. In the prefatory note, Khan writes:¹²⁵

There was, moreover, such color and cadence to Casals' own words, so natural a poetry in his personal reminiscences and reflections, that his voice seemed irrevocably wedded to the telling of his story.¹²⁶

Pau Casals by Joan Alavedra was published in 1975. Alavedra was a close friend of Casals and therefore this biography is a personal and poetic approach towards him (although the biography is critically assessed in the sense that it corroborates the information found in the other biographies). In it, Alavedra discusses a wide range of topics such as Casals' youth, the time he spent in Paris, his relationship with Granados, his Paris debut, the Pau Casals Orchestra, the exile and his concert at the UN among others. It is a fine account of Casals' life although the last years of his life are missing. In the preface, Casals stated how good a biography he thought this one was which shows his opinion. Consequently, this will be just another reading of Casals' life:

For ten years, the writer Joan Alavedra, who was living with me in exile, in Prades (France), has been interrogating me about my life. [...] I consider the biography that Joan Alavedra has written as an essential book for all those who, as well as my fights, my teaching and the influence that I may have had in the art of my time, would like to know my friends, the great composers [...] In one word. It is a book from an artist about an artist, a true book, poetic and literary that I would have loved to have written had I been a writer myself.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ The fact that it is narrated in the first person could also be seen as problematic as it could lead the reader to take at face value a construction of Casals' possible 'agenda'.

¹²⁶ Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 12.

¹²⁷ As quoted in Alavedra, *Pau Casals*, 5. 'Durant deu anys, l'escriptor Joan Alavedra, que vivia amb mi a l'exili, a Prades (França), m'ha interrogat sobre la meua vida. [...] Considero la biografia que ha escrit Joan Alavedra com un llibre essencial per tots aquells que, a l'hora que les meves lluites, el meu ensenyament i la influència que jo hagi pogut tenir en l'art del meu temps, vulguin conèixer als meus amics, als grans compositors [...] En una paraula.

Song of the Birds: Sayings, stories and impressions of Pablo Casals is a biography written by Julian Lloyd Webber and it provides what the title promises: it is not a complete account of Casals' life but rather a compilation of quotes, which has shed some light on this research on topics such as Casals' views on politics, religion, recordings and concerts among others. It also offers a few accounts of what other personalities thought of Casals, such as Sir Arthur Bliss, Fritz Kreisler, Ivor Newton or Paul Tortelier, among others. Webber wrote in his foreword:

Just occasionally another, greater, phenomenon appears: an artist so very special that he creates an entirely new horizon for his art, an entirely new approach to his instrument. [...] During a conversation with Casals on the role of the artist as a public figure, Albert Schweitzer observed: 'It is better to create than to protest.' 'Why not do both?' asked Casals. 'Why not create *and* protest - do both?' Casals' courageous stand against the Fascists who had overrun his beloved Catalonia earned him the respect and attention of the world's most renowned leaders - from the President of the United States to the Secretary General of the United Nations.¹²⁸

Casals' words highlight an important element of this thesis' approach: the relationship between life and art. This duality is based on the understanding of Casals as a performer and as a campaigner for peace. This thesis, therefore, brings to the forefront the fact that one should see Casals as a performer and as a composer, inasmuch as they both illuminate his creative expression.

The last biography discussed here is *Cellist in Exile* written by Bernard Taper, published in 1962. It is not an all-round account of Casals' life, as the book suggests: 'the book, without being a formal biography, succeeds in re-creating for the reader a vivid sense of Casals' long,

És el llibre d'un artista sobre un artista, llibre autèntic, poètic i literari que jo mateix hauria volgut escriure si hagués estat escriptor'.

¹²⁸ Julian Lloyd Webber, *Song of the Birds: Sayings, Stories and Impressions of Pablo Casals* (London: Robson Books, 1985), pp. 9-10.

intense, rich, and purposeful life'.¹²⁹ It has provided this research with insights especially in regards to Casals' exile experience, his relationship to President Kennedy, and his understanding of composition.

There appear to be a few doctoral theses and dissertations on Casals, but only two touch on a similar subject to this thesis: 'Three Facets of Pau Casals' Musical Legacy' by Sílvia María Lazo and 'Pablo Casals: An examination of his Choral Works' by Carlos M. Vázquez-Ramos.¹³⁰ Lazo's argument revolves around the idea that Casals' constructed his identity based on 'filtered evidence'.¹³¹ She concludes that Casals 'was also an artist deeply invested in the safe-keeping and perpetuation of his name, repertoire and public image'.¹³² However, although such a critical approach towards a public figure like Casals is important and necessary, so is an understanding of the sources one uses. For example, Lazo states that 'Casals' choice of Montserrat as his dedicatory institution is not accidental. The site's importance would likely enhance Casals' own cultural capital by association'.¹³³ This is quite a bold statement that would require evidence that would support her thesis; however, there is not one single letter from the Montserrat Archives, nor does there seem to be an understanding of how Casals' relationship with the Abbey came to be. Her thesis is focused only on personal information; I am not suggesting this is not a valid approach towards Casals' persona but it is one that I do not share, and I believe that our approaches are radically different. The

¹²⁹ Bernard Taper, *Cellist in Exile: A Portrait of Pablo Casals*, (New York: MacGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962), front flap.

¹³⁰ For a list of similar theses and dissertations, see Silvia Maria Lazo, 'Three Facets of Pau Casals' Musical Legacy' (Unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Montana, 2013), p. 11.

¹³¹ Lazo, 'Three Facets of Pau Casals' Legacy', 2.

¹³² Ibid., 180.

¹³³ Ibid., 153.

thesis by Lazo does touch upon the ‘musical legacy of Casals’ as one can read in her conclusion:

Casals was not just a quixotic music apostle; [...] Although this research makes no claim to have covered all facets of a life spanning nearly one hundred years, it can be viewed as the [beginning] of a critical and necessary scholarly contextualisation of Casals’ legacy – a controversial and shifting one’.¹³⁴

I value the fact that Lazo attempts to critically contextualise Casals’ life but her thesis does not study Casals’ music nor the impact of Casals’ music on his contemporaries; I believe that is in the core of my thesis, the relationship between Casals the performer-composer and his human-centred endeavours, and therefore the only thread that connects our theses is the idea of Casals’ constructing his legacy (although our conclusions might be very different).

Vázquez-Ramos’ thesis focuses on the formal aspect of Casals’ choral works. Our theses differ in a number of ways: firstly, although his formal analysis of the works, especially the work on the Montserrat motets’ texts and the formal analysis of *El Pessebre* (in terms of its text, structure and musical sections), is valuable, I believe that there are more things to be considered than just a formal analysis. Secondly, although he went to Montserrat and interviewed Joaquim Piqué (former choirmaster of Escolania de Montserrat) and David Hernández (former assistant director of the same choir), and has interesting editorial prints of Casals’ works, Vázquez-Ramos does not seem to have read any of the unpublished sources available in the Montserrat’s Abbey Library, the National Catalan Archive and the Poblet Abbey’s Archive, which provide an invaluable insight to understanding Casals’ works. Finally, the readings of our thesis are completely different, as I approach Casals’ music from the point of view of Casals’ historical and political context, the key role of the

¹³⁴ Ibid., 180.

piano in them and, at the same time, from the performer's point of view. I suggest that my reading, regarding the role of the piano in Casals' music, sheds a new light on the understanding of Casals' compositions, a point which Vázquez does not make anywhere in his thesis.

Nevertheless, the analysis of the Montserrat motets is useful as Vázquez-Ramos has traced the origin of the texts.¹³⁵ For example, when analysing 'Nigra sum', he writes:¹³⁶ 'The text has its origins in the third century, and is taken from the Song of Songs (Chapters 1 and 2)'.¹³⁷ Again, when he analyses 'Tota Pulchra' he traces back the origin of the text which, I will argue, is key to understanding the motets. Vázquez writes:

The text is taken from the Second Vespers of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary. According to Jeffers, "during the Mass of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, *Tota pulchra es, Maria* is heard as the Alleluia verse following the gradual *Benedicta es tu*, which takes as its text the passages from Judith".¹³⁸

Vázquez has also done precise harmonic analysis of some of Casals' works. For instance, his harmonic analysis of *Cançó a la Verge* is concise but he does not seem to take much from it:¹³⁹

The refrain is *forte*. However, the verses are *mezzo piano* until mm. 23-24, where Casals used *forte* and *poco ritardando*. The latter represents the climactic point of the piece. Like the choral pieces previously studied, the articulations and dynamic markings help to shape the phrase. These indications are closely related to the text.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ It is relevant to note here how Vázquez-Ramos has chosen to analyse all the Montserrat motets with the exception of 'Ave Maria a l'Abat Marcet', 'Rosarium beatae Virgins Mariae' and 'Oració a la Verge'.

¹³⁶ Vázquez' graphs of *El Pessebre* are useful as well. Vázquez-Ramos, 'Pablo Casals: An examination of his Choral Works', 191.

¹³⁷ Vázquez-Ramos, 'Pablo Casals', 134.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 151.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 167. My reservations, in this case, do not come from a lack of scholarly analysis of the works but rather a limited understanding of their meaning within the context of Casals' output.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 166.

This is correct as far as it goes, but he does not mention the importance of the fact that the kind of piano writing Casals writes in *Cançó a la Verge* is essential to understanding where the choral part comes from, as he always composed at the piano.¹⁴¹

To continue, although some of Vázquez' original prints of Casals' motets are interesting, his sources are limited.¹⁴² I have not been able to locate a reference to a single document from the National Catalan Archives or any of the other archives available.¹⁴³ Also, the fact that Vázquez does not seem to be concerned with the performance of these works (i.e. the music-making process from the performer's point of view) makes his conclusions very different from those of this thesis. For instance, when he discusses the conclusion of *El Pessebre* he writes:

The oratorio includes twenty-three numbered movements... including instrumental movements, recitatives, arias and choruses. Among the stylistic features that characterize *El Pessebre* are dramatic melodies, rich harmonies, and the variety of textures in both vocal and orchestral parts: homophonic; contrapuntal; dense; and light and suitable tone painting for expressive purposes.¹⁴⁴

There are several things that seem to be missing in this particular conclusion: how these contrapuntal melodic lines suggest Casals' thinking of Bach; the use of folk music in Casals' compositions (and in his oratorio as well) and how this brought Casals closer to Catalonia as he was away from his homeland; the fact that Vázquez

¹⁴¹ It is interesting to see how he also writes that 'Casals used word painting in all his pieces', which is a substantial insight, but Vázquez-Ramos does not seem to locate and explain the importance of this in his thesis. Ibid., 187.

¹⁴² These can be found in his example 5.3 *Oració a la Verge de Montserrat*. Ibid., 133.

¹⁴³ This can be observed by looking Vázquez-Ramos' bibliography. Ibid., 248–59. He references Casals' masterclasses but I do not see how these have informed his thesis.

¹⁴⁴ As quoted in Ibid., 151.

mentions tone painting for expressive purposes (which I completely agree with), but he then does not provide us with enough examples of this nor discuss its importance to the idea of simplicity as a way to convey Casals' message. It should be mentioned here that Vázquez-Ramos focuses on the orchestral version of *El Pessebre* and this also constitutes a major difference in our readings. Casals did not write the orchestral version; his brother Enric did.

Finally, our approaches to Casals' works are very different. Vázquez-Ramos looks at the works from a very formal or analytical point of view; I look for connections between these 'formal' aspects of the music and the outcomes that these might have (for instance, Casals' use of the piano when composing, or the use of improvisation as a pianistic approach to the compositional process).¹⁴⁵ Casals' compositions cannot be understood without its context; thus the following chapter will shed light on Casals' thought and how this shaped his music.

¹⁴⁵ This will be analysed on the third chapter.

II. CHAPTER II: A study of Casals' Thought

This chapter will research Casals' thought and how it shaped his understanding of society, namely his human-centred beliefs and his quest for peace, but also the aesthetics that defined his idea of musical beauty and how these different elements are present in his music. This will help the reader grasp Casals' compositional output in a different light. It is not easy to find an academic balance between the composer's life and his work but an understanding of Casals' ideas will be illuminating;¹⁴⁶ one cannot separate Casals' zeitgeist from his creative output as a performer and composer as this duality shapes what will be defined as the Dalhaus principle.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, his Catalan roots will show how he sought to transcend the local impact of his work through the political dimension of his music, namely through the use of Catalan folkloric music in his compositions and his choice of *El Cant dels ocells* as his favourite encore. The Spanish Civil War and his exile will demonstrate his stance against the Franco Regime and his choice of campaigning through his actions as a musician, both as a performer and composer, to convey a message of peace. Moreover, concepts such as beauty, Christian humanism, emotion and language will define his aesthetics of music.

¹⁴⁶ Paul Roberts raised this question when discussing Debussy's work: 'There is no easy equation between a composer's personality and the music he creates, but understanding Debussy the man has been for me of incalculable value in seeking the essence of his art'. Roberts, *Images*, xvi. This remark should be seen in relation to autoethnography as it will be discussed further below.

¹⁴⁷ See p. 96 for a full-fledged discussion.

a. Casals' political and social understanding of society

Casals seemed to be a man of strong beliefs and he received many awards because of them.¹⁴⁸ This research will explore the idea of how Casals constructed his own image in order to critically assess the impact that his thought had through his music.

The first Spanish Republic had just failed when Casals was born and his father, Carles Casals, was passionate about republicanism.¹⁴⁹ Therefore, it would seem natural that Casals was close to the republican cause:

I do not have any political affiliation card: I am only Catalan and Spanish [and someone] who loves freedom and democracy, and because of this the republican cause was mine. I helped the exiles as I much as I could, and they converted my house [in Prades], not into a centre [of operations] but into a centre of many activities.¹⁵⁰

Casals' first vote was given to President Macià in the municipal elections that led the latter to the presidency of the Catalan government.¹⁵¹ Therefore it would seem that his words, although they cannot be taken at face value, were also suggesting a reality that went beyond what they were conveying;¹⁵² when he states that he 'loves freedom and democracy' he is addressing his political preferences for

¹⁴⁸ Casals received many awards such as the Medal of Peace which was awarded to him by the UN.

¹⁴⁹ Kirk, *Pablo Casals*, 19.

¹⁵⁰ As quoted in Josep Maria Figueres, *Entrevista a la Guerra, 100 converses: de Lluís Companys a Pau Casals* (Barcelona: la Esfera de los libros, 2007), p. 341. 'Jo no tinc cap carnet polític: sóc solament català i espanyol amant de la llibertat i de la democràcia, i per aquesta raó fou meva la causa de la República. Vaig ajudar als exiliats tot el que vaig poder, i ells convertiren la meva casa, no en un centre, sinó en el centre de moltes activitats'. Casals loved Catalonia as his homeland but that did not imply that he could not feel close to the Spanish people as this quote suggests.

¹⁵¹ See footnote 84.

¹⁵² Although he was never part of a political party, he did not refuse being part of the Council of Music under Macià's administration. Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 212.

the Republican cause of the Spanish Civil War. As Casals stated in 1937:

If the revolution is justice and equity; if it is not a simple change of roles, if it is not a struggle of selfishness and the satisfaction of hatred and personal vendettas, and if tomorrow has fruition in human happiness, then I accept it and I identify with it. I am an artist, and with my art I only wish for peace and harmony among humanity.¹⁵³

Casals supported the Republican side of the Spanish Civil War and when he talks about ‘freedom and democracy’, he is criticising the Nationalists and the Franco regime. Moreover, he also discusses how his art would seem to have a political dimension which was centred on the idea of humanism, which will be studied below. Nevertheless, there is another important element that highlights his adherence to the Republican cause which was his defence of the Catalan language and its cultural traditions. As he stated on the BBC in 1952:

Nowadays, our culture and maternal language cannot be developed, because the [Franco’s] regime has closed all the educational institutions and cultural centres of Catalonia and has forbidden the Catalan newspapers. The United Nations condemn the cultural genocide. What does the world think of this persecution of a centuries-old language and culture?¹⁵⁴

The historical reality that Casals describes seemed to make his stance against the Franco Regime even stronger as it wanted to destroy the cultural heritage that the Catalan Renaixença had promoted and developed.

¹⁵³ As quoted in Figueres, *Entrevista a la Guerra*, 338. ‘Si la revolució és justícia i equitat; si no és un simple canvi de casaques, si no és una pugna d’egoismes i satisfacció d’odis i venjances personals, i demà fructifica en la felicitat humana, jo l’accepto i m’identifico amb ella. Sóc artista, i amb el meu Art només desitjo la Pau i l’Harmonia entre els homes’.

¹⁵⁴ As quoted in Figueres, *Entrevista a la Guerra*, 347. ‘Actualment, la nostra cultura i llenguatge materns no poden desenvolupar-se, perquè el règim ha clausurat totes les institucions educatives i centres culturals de Catalunya i ha prohibit els diaris catalans. Les Nacions Unides condemnem el genocidi cultural. Què pensa el món d’aquesta persecució d’una llengua i una cultura centenàries?’.

i. Casals' human-centred beliefs

Casals' experience of the Spanish Civil War, one could argue, shaped his music and the way in which he understood his art, as will be discussed below. More importantly, he wanted to give a dimension to his art that transcended his own works. Namely, it gave a humanistic nature to his compositions, especially *El Pessebre*, as they were a direct answer to the political situation in Spain.¹⁵⁵ Marta Casals stated so when she said: '*El Pessebre* would not have existed if it were not for the Spanish Civil War'.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, one cannot contextualise Casals' humanistic endeavours as possible goodwill gestures only but as a portrayal of a personal stance against the horrors of the war. In doing so, one can see Casals' works from a different perspective which this cause gave them:¹⁵⁷

I consider myself to be a priest who goes out to the world spreading the beautiful religion of music [...] My religion of music aspires to favour the big masses in society. Music is an invaluable factor for the aesthetic culture of the human being. It stimulates good feelings, it softens the heart and it makes bad men a little less bad. It exalts the feeling of beauty.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ American philosopher Maynard Adams defined humanistic values as 'things, features, or conditions that satisfy the normative requirements of or somehow enhance the selfhood of human beings or satisfy the requirements of the culture or the social order in a way that makes the persons, culture, and social order involved more fully what they ought to be'. Maynard Adams, 'Humanistic Values', *International Journal for Philosophy of Religion* Vol. 54, No. 2 (October, 2003), (65-76), p. 66.

¹⁵⁶ Rovirosa, Ricard, Recorded Interview with Marta Casals, 25th May 2016. It is relevant to point out that it is not Casals' musical language what makes *El Pessebre* relate to a 'humanistic' nature but rather the fact that Casals' commitment to peace made him compose *El Pessebre* in order to have an impact on his contemporaries.

¹⁵⁷ See note 155 for a clarification on how to approach a humanistic understanding of society.

¹⁵⁸ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/06020103, On Pablo Casals, *Caras y Caretas* journal (no date). 'Me considero un sacerdote que va por el mundo propagando la bella religión de la música [...] Mi religión de la música aspira a favorecer a las grandes masas del pueblo. La música es un factor de inapreciable valor para la cultura estética del ser humano. Estimula los buenos sentimientos, ablanda

The use of a Catholic metaphor is important here as it evokes the values that were given to him as a Catalan chorister.¹⁵⁹ In doing so he is also conveying something which is not explicitly said and only hinted at: he positions himself as someone with a moral authority to convey a message to 'the big masses'.¹⁶⁰ It is also relevant to see how Casals connects a three-part reality which seems to define his human-centred beliefs: music, culture and the human being. Moreover, to establish a clear-cut line between culture and politics would be difficult in Casals' case as the one nurtured the other. Casals' culture, his upbringing and the music he composed, I will argue, could not be separated from the political reality that he endured. Kramer will lead the way to the comprehension of this relationship:

The music, as a cultural activity, must be acknowledged to help produce the discourses and representations of which it is also the product. [...] The works, practices, and activities – for us, the music – that we address as interpreters are not only the products but also the *agencies* of culture, not only members of the *habitus* but also makers.¹⁶¹

It is through becoming an 'agent of culture' that Casals seems to connect culture and music with people.¹⁶² Casals' understanding of his

el corazón, hace a los hombres menos malos. Exalta el sentimiento de lo bello'. This will be further explored below when the idea of beauty and its relationship to Catholicism will be discussed in Casals' aesthetics.

¹⁵⁹ It will be useful at this point to remember how Casals was a chorister at the local church of Sant Salvador, where his father was the choirmaster and organist.

¹⁶⁰ A priest is someone who leads the flock; this analogy, then, points towards a cultural reference that he transforms to explain his role in the political situation that oppressed Spain.

¹⁶¹ Lawrence Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice, 1800–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 17.

¹⁶² WH Auden's poem 'In Memory of W. B. Yeats' offers another vision of the matter when he writes: 'Now Ireland has her madness and her weather still, / For poetry makes nothing happen: it survives / In the valley of its saying where executives / Would never want to tamper; it flows south / From ranches of isolation and the busy griefs, / Raw towns that we believe and die in; it survives, / A way of happening, a mouth'. W. H. Auden, *The*

humanistic values seemed to be defined by his desire to affect change in his society by trying to end the Franco regime, on the one hand, and helping refugees on the other. This was brought about because of the Spanish Civil War and this dimension of his work and culture in general, he would argue, would make the human being more complete: that is, they would also be makers of culture by affecting change themselves or, in other words, they would be inspired to try to reestablish a democratic government in Spain.¹⁶³

Casals' exile seemed to portray the confirmation of his stance against injustice. His ideals were an essential aspect of the image of the artist he constructed and I will argue that his oratorio *El Pessebre* is the culmination of this endeavour as it had all the ideals he wanted to convey through his music. The composition of this work was a reaction to a particular political situation that was afflicting Spain:

Unjust [injustice] is bad so we have to react. To accept or to refuse but to act all the time. To live is not enough; we have to take part in what is good and do our best and speak and write. This is the duty of everybody and also the privileged people who have won the esteem of the world.¹⁶⁴

Collected Poetry of W. A. Auden (New York: Random House, 1945), p. 50. Auden also lived the horrors of the Spanish Civil War in 1937, albeit as an outsider, and died on the same year as Casals did (1973).

¹⁶³ Daniel Barenboim leads the West-Eastern Divan orchestra which is a project based on the impact that music might have on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. As Barenboim said: 'Nobody who comes into this with whatever preconceptions he has, goes away thinking the same way'.

www.timesofisrael.com/israeli-palestinian-orchestra-brings-message-of-peace-to-divided-america/ [accessed 26 May 2020]. Furthermore, cofounder Edward W. Said pointed out: 'Humanism is the only – I would go as far as saying the final – resistance we have against the inhuman practices and injustices that disfigure human history. Separation between peoples is not a solution for any of the problems that divide peoples. And certainly ignorance of the other provides no help whatever. Cooperation and coexistence of the kind that music lived as we have lived, performed, shared and loved it together, might be'.

www.west-eastern-divan.org/founders [accessed 26 May 2020]

¹⁶⁴ United Kingdom, British Library, *Tribute to Pablo Casals*, Produced by BBC Radio 3. C1398/0964 (London, October 28, 1973). The transcriptions of all the quotes from all recordings at the British Library are by myself.

Again, Casals is defining his humanistic values by giving meaning to his work: one cannot be on the sidelines, as he would argue. Moreover, his definition of good and bad also seemed to be redefined by his experience of the Spanish Civil War. When Casals states that it is one's 'duty' to do 'what is best' he is also perhaps referring to his upbringing.¹⁶⁵ His work was a reaction to his times:¹⁶⁶

Today, with the complications of life, war and the world, one needs to give music great character; one needs to make a great creation out of it, above the pressure of the world: one cannot make it a poor consequence.¹⁶⁷

Casals discusses the importance of music as a 'great creation' and not one that is affected by 'the pressure of the world'.¹⁶⁸ Casals might

¹⁶⁵ The fight of good vs evil has played an important role in the history of the Christian religion from the beginning; an example of this would be the story of Adam and Eve.

¹⁶⁶ Casals said: 'If I have a philosophy that embraces both [music and his attitude towards the Franco's regime], it could very well be this one: that for everyone, particularly in these terrible times, the most important thing is to reach an honest decision and to honestly act according to it. It would not be to fulfil my duty if I did not raise my voice against the state of affairs of my country, against the silence that people who consider themselves as democrats want it to be wrapped in'. As quoted in, Figueres, *Entrevista a la Guerra*, 347. 'Si és que tinc una filosofia que abracci ambdues [música i la seva actitud envers la dictadura], pot molt ben ser aquesta: que per a tothom, particularment en aquests temps malaurats, la cosa més important és arribar a una decisió honesta i obrar honradament d'acord amb ella. Seria deixar de complir el meu deure si no aixequés la meua veu contra el silenci amb què el volen embolcallar homes que es consideren demòcrates'.

¹⁶⁷ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/06020103-602, Pau Casals Interview, 'Pau Casals. La vida, l'Obra, l'Anècdota' (Barcelona, no date but approximately 1928). 'Avui, amb les complicacions de la vida, de la guerra, del món, cal donar a la música un gran caràcter, fer-ne una gran creació, per damunt de la pressió del món: no voler-ne fer una pobra conseqüència'.

¹⁶⁸ There seems to be tension between the fact that one can be affected by the zeitgeist of one's time but at the same time, one can state that music should only serve one's aesthetic ideals so that, then, it can have an impact on one's society. Casals is affected by the Spanish Civil War and therefore *El Pessebre* was written because of it. Nonetheless, the actual music, the content of the oratorio, should not be, as Casals would argue, 'a poor

be addressing criticism of his compositions as his musical language was out of place in the twentieth century, or he might be stating a personal preference: he would rather compose in a tonal language than explore the different musical trends of his contemporaries. In his view, that was his choice to give music 'great character'. He also discussed what he believed was the most important cause of the Spanish conflict:

But, in spite of everything, I will keep protesting for moral reasons. A consummate fact is not a good enough excuse to make me be quiet. In this tragic Spanish situation, a political regime is not questioned but rather the very idea of the human dignity. I have suffered a lot for having adopted this attitude against indifference and shame, but I have the satisfaction of having fulfilled my duty.¹⁶⁹

Casals put at the centre of the Spanish Civil War a concept which he seemed to care for: human dignity. He used the word 'moral' which, again, points toward his Catholic upbringing as this attitude could also be described in Catholic terms as 'having the moral obligation' to do something. There are also two further ideas that should be explored here. Firstly, Casals' international career as a cellist had to be stopped because of his exile.¹⁷⁰ That would mean a big adjustment for someone who was giving around two hundred and fifty concerts a year.¹⁷¹ Secondly, we can see the centrality of human dignity in his

consequence' of his times, meaning that it would have to remain faithful to one's idea of music, in his case tonal music.

¹⁶⁹ As quoted in, Figueres, *Entrevista a la Guerra*, 348. 'Però, malgrat tot, seguiré protestant per raons morals. Un fet consumat no és excusa suficient per a fer-me estar callat. En aquesta tràgica qüestió espanyola, no es discuteix un règim polític, sinó la pròpia idea de la dignitat humana. He sofert molt per haver adoptat aquesta actitud contra la indiferència i la vergonya, però tinc la satisfacció d'haver complert el meu deure'.

¹⁷⁰ Marta Casals said: 'Casals totally changed his life [when discussing his career as a cellist and his going into exile]. But he was so focused on the cause [for peace] that when he did it, it was not a sacrifice. But then, I am sure he thought, how will this end?'. Rovirosa, Ricard, Recorded Interview with Marta Casals, 25th May 2016.

¹⁷¹ Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 110.

thought. His humanistic belief seems to be rooted in his upbringing but, furthermore, the political situation that he endured seemed to emphasise this belief as it is a recurrent thought in his statements during his exile.

a. Two specific Catalan projects: the Pau Casals Orchestra and the Working Men Concert Association

When Casals came back from Paris in 1895, he realised there was no professional-level orchestra in Barcelona; at first, he did not want to create a new orchestra but rather help the ones that were already playing in Barcelona:

Originally I had not the slightest intention of forming an orchestra of my own. True, I had a passion for conducting that dated back, I think to the time I sang in my father's choir; [...] But not until I met with that rebuff from the two conductors in Barcelona had I really thought of forming my own orchestra. Then I decided, "All right, if you won't build a good orchestra, I'll do it myself".¹⁷²

As has been seen in the first chapter, Catalonia at the time was in the midst of a cultural renaissance and therefore it seemed logical to have a professional orchestra in the city, one that would satisfy Casals' passion for conducting. He thought that the situation of Barcelona not having its own professional orchestra was not acceptable, so he decided to create his own in 1920:

I wanted to contribute with my effort and my personal endeavour to elevate one of those orchestras to a level worthy of the Catalan capital. [...] I knew that I had a lot to lose, but I was certain that my patriotic duties pushed me to actively participate in the musical life of my country.¹⁷³

¹⁷² As quoted in Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 152.

¹⁷³ As quoted in Corredor, *Converses amb Pau Casals*, 131-2. 'Volia contribuir amb el meu esforç i amb la meva aportació personal a elevar una d'aquelles orquestres a un nivell digne de la capital catalana. [...] Estava segur que hi tenia molt a perdre, però també estava convençut que els meus

Here it can be observed how Casals was also constructing his image; one could argue that when he states that his 'patriotic duties' are the reason why he did that, he was establishing himself as an exemplary Catalan. He wanted to have a top-notch orchestra in Barcelona so that the cultural life of the city resembled that of any other artistic capital of Europe. According to Casals, it appears that he met with a lot of resistance from local conductors at the time: they thought it was just a 'pipe dream' as Catalonia was not on the same level as other cities in Europe which Casals had been to: 'they told me that my project was impossible, that I had spent too much time away from Catalonia and that my plans were pipe dreams'.¹⁷⁴ Casals might be confronting criticism here as he could be seen as an outsider (as he had spent his formative years in Madrid and then had lived in Paris) but he felt that the orchestra could be the perfect combination of team effort and the 'supreme medium' which could express the deepest feelings of music; he thought that the 'idea of cooperation' in an orchestra was key to fully experiencing the act of making music:

Making music is what interests me, and what better instrument can there be than the orchestra... It is the supreme medium for anyone who feels music profoundly and wishes to translate the form and shape of his deepest and most intimate thoughts and emotions. And what appeals to me equally is the idea of cooperation. I am enchanted by the experience of many gathered together to make music.¹⁷⁵

deures patriòtics m'obligaven a participar activament en la vida musical del meu país'.

¹⁷⁴ As quoted in Corredor, *Converses amb Pau Casals*, 132. 'Em responien que el meu projecte era irrealitzable, que havia passat massa anys sense un contacte constant amb Catalunya i que els meus plans només eren quimeres i fantasies'.

¹⁷⁵ As quoted in Lloyd Webber, *Song of the Birds*, 41.

Casals wanted to establish a daily routine for the orchestra so that it was different from the other ones already in Barcelona;¹⁷⁶ he seemed to take on this endeavour with great responsibility, always preparing all rehearsals with great detail, as Sir Adrian Boult (1889-1983) related:

On that occasion he [Casals] told me about the orchestra he had founded in Barcelona, and I quickly decided to go and listen to it. I spent one month in Barcelona; every day there would be two rehearsals of the most varied repertoire. They were carefully prepared in advanced, which will not surprise anyone who knows the spirit of this wonderful musician.¹⁷⁷

The situation of the orchestra was not an easy one, but Casals believed in it to the point of investing his own money in it until the government felt fit to help:

[It is important] To create an orchestra where the musicians are well paid, where the musicians are able to do the necessary rehearsals. When we have an orchestra which gives regular concerts, with the dignity our instrumentalists can bring to this endeavour, the orchestra will be a necessity of Barcelona and the subsidy will come.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ Joan Lamote de Grignon also changed the course of the Barcelona Municipal Band in 1914. Nonetheless, his band, that later on would be called the Wind Instruments Orchestra, could not be compared to Casals' symphonic orchestra. Cortès i Mir, *Història de la Música a Catalunya*, 137.

¹⁷⁷ As quoted in Corredor, *Converses amb Pau Casals*, 23. 'En aquella ocasió ell [Casals] em va parlar de l'orquestra que havia fundat a Barcelona, i de seguida vaig prendre la decisió d'anar a escoltar-la tan aviat com em fos possible. Vaig passar un mes a Barcelona; cada dia se celebraven dos assaigs, que comprenien un repertori molt variat. Tots estaven curosament preparats per endavant, cosa que no sorprendrà ningú dels qui coneixen l'esperit d'aquest músic meravellós'.

¹⁷⁸ As quoted in Alavedra, *Pau Casals*, 285. 'Crear una orquestra permanent on els músics, ben pagats, puguin fer els assaigs necessaris. Quan tinguem una orquestra que doni concerts regulars, amb la dignitat amb què poden fer-ho els nostres instrumentistes, l'orquestra serà una necessitat barcelonina i vindrà la subvenció'.

The orchestra went on to play 363 concerts and lasted for sixteen years (1920-1936).¹⁷⁹ It seems that Casals also wanted to take the Pau Casals Orchestra a step further by channelling the beauty of music to society as a whole, even though he knew it was not an easy undertaking:

My work is much easier abroad than here [Catalonia]. In Austria and Germany, especially, people have a musical, idiosyncratic tradition, and music has the same importance and the same natural quality as our daily bread. Here, on the other hand, I have had to create the ambience myself, by creating the Pau Casals Orchestra and the Working Men Concert Association, which I created to spread, to infiltrate music, the habit and the necessity of music in the people's souls.¹⁸⁰

When he discusses the 'natural quality of music' it seems he is evoking the idea of what is natural in music or, as has been discussed in the first chapter, the idea of organicism as that which reflects natural life. Furthermore, he portrays his endeavours as elements that contributed to the Catalan culture. Indeed, it has already been discussed how the political and cultural situation at the time was favourable for such an undertaking. What is more, Josep Anselm Clavé had already helped the *Renaixença* movement by creating a choral movement:

One of the elements that most singularises music in Catalonia during the contemporary time was the extension of the choral movement. [...] This process started to unfold itself in the middle of the nineteenth century. The

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 294-5.

¹⁸⁰ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/06020103-585/166 (Imatges, 1930), 7. '[la meva feina] és molt més fàcil a l'estranger que aquí. A Àustria i a Alemanya, sobretot, on la gent té una tradició musical ideosincràtica, i la música hi té la mateixa importància i la mateixa naturalitat que el nostre pa de cada dia. Aquí, en canvi, he tingut de fer-me l'ambient, jo mateix, creant l'Orquestra Pau Casals i la Societat Obrera de Concerts, que he fundat per a divulgar, per a infiltrar la música, la costum i la necessitat de la música en l'esperit del poble'.

most durable impulse and the one that also left the first imprint was that of Josep Anselm Clavé.¹⁸¹

This is relevant as Casals was part of this movement that Clavé had started. In addition, Enric Morera also led a choir in Barcelona called *Catalunya Nova* in 1895 and its singers were also working men and women,¹⁸² Casals was also part of this movement. The 'working man', in what seemed to be Casals' understanding, was someone who had the ability to bring about change in society, as his simplicity made him less corruptible through power or money, and he could feel things straight from his heart:

It is my understanding that the working men at large, and getting rid of any political association, have to establish and sometimes impose themselves by their strength and number. I do not believe in the efficiency of parties, even the ones who are wealthy and full of intellectuals - I believe in simple men who see and feel things straight from the heart - the working man.¹⁸³

In this letter one can appreciate Casals' political preferences as the core of its message is aligned with left-wing politics. Casals knew that not everybody could afford to go to concert halls. Therefore, he also founded the Working Men's Concert Association, which was a concert

¹⁸¹ Cortès i Mir, *Història de la Música a Catalunya*, 100. 'Un dels elements que més singularitza la música a Catalunya durant l'època contemporània és l'extensió del moviment coral. [...] Aquest procés es començà a descabellar a mitjan segle XIX. L'impuls més durador i que deixà la primera petja es deu a Josep Anselm Clavé'.

¹⁸² Ibid., 133.

¹⁸³ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/04.02/1 unit, 1935/150 (25th March 1935), letter no. 8. The letter is in Catalan and Casals uses a word which is not easy to translate which is 'entitats'; I have translated it as 'parties' (meaning political parties or a group of people associated in an activity) as I believe that is what Casals meant here. 'Al meu entendre és l'obrer en massa i despullant-se de tot caire polític que ha de constituir-se i en certs moments imposar-se per la força de la raó i del nombre. No crec en l'eficàcia d'entitats per riques i per intel·lectuals que siguin - crec en els homes senzills que veuen i senten les coses directament - l'Obrer'.

association for those who were less fortunate.¹⁸⁴ This was also encapsulated in Anselm Clavé's movement, which also wanted to favour the working class.¹⁸⁵ Casals also seemed to direct his efforts to bringing good music to the working men so that no one was left out of the opportunity to experience great music. He was asked in an interview about the reason why he had created the Association and replied: 'I was certain that I had the unavoidable duty to help those who needed it'.¹⁸⁶ Once more, Casals uses the word 'duty'. In doing so, he is also portraying an image of the unavoidable obligation that he might have felt towards Catalan society or, as it has already been discussed, a 'moral obligation'. He seemed to want to educate society through music:

I wanted the men and women from the factories and the shops and the waterfront to be able to hear our music and enjoy it. After all, they were the people who had produced most of the wealth of our country - why, then, should they be kept from sharing its cultural riches?¹⁸⁷

Casals' words are aligned, once more, with what seems to be his political and social inclinations. Casals also wanted this Association to be owned by the working men: 'It is they themselves who will create this association and they have to feel at home with it. They will be its founders, owners and leaders'.¹⁸⁸ The first concert of the Pau

¹⁸⁴ The Working Men Concert Association lasted for ten years (1926-1936).

¹⁸⁵ It is relevant to see that 'one of the landmarks that moved Clavé was the diffusion of his ideals [...] The republican ideology was evident even in the name of its entity [Euterpe]. Cortès i Mir, *Història de la Música a Catalunya*, 104-5. 'Una de les fites que movia Clavé era la difusió dels seus ideals [...] La ideologia republicana era evident fins i tot en el nom de la nova entitat [Euterpe]'.

¹⁸⁶ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/06020103-602, Pau Casals Interview, Pau Casals. *La Vida, l'Obra, l'Anècdota*. (Barcelona, no date but approximately 1928), 12-13. 'Estava segur que tenia el deure inel·ludible d'ajudar els que ho necessitaven'.

¹⁸⁷ As quoted in Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 165.

¹⁸⁸ As quoted in Alavedra, *Pau Casals*, 307. '[Cal que] Ells mateixos es creïn una entitat i que se sentin a casa seva. Que en siguin fundadors, propietaris i dirigents'.

Casals Orchestra for the Working Men's Concert Association was in the autumn of 1928 at the Olympia Theatre in Barcelona; it was a great success and Casals felt very proud of it:

At the end of the performance, the entire audience arose and gave the orchestra a thunderous ovation. Then they started chanting my name. Those shouts of the working people of Barcelona, I think, meant more to me than any applause I had ever received.¹⁸⁹

One could argue that by winning the big mass of society over, it would be easier to construct his legacy; nonetheless, Marta Casals also confirmed that the standing ovation he received on that occasion was very special to him.¹⁹⁰ These two projects allowed Casals to have an impact on the cultural life of Barcelona and, at the same time, they show how Casals established an important foundation for what would be the construction of a symbol of peace.

ii. Casals' pacifism

Casals felt very close to the Republican side as he seemed to want to portray himself as someone who could not stand injustice. In a letter to Indalecio Prieto (1883-1962), who was one of the political leaders of the Republicans, he stated how he could not understand the UK's position in regard to Spain, and how he was campaigning to change this:

But my campaign against [the UK] had already started in 1945. [...] Once I got to England, I [was] hopeful for the rise of the Labour party to the government, [but] I found a press campaign in favour for Franco, a campaign which had coincided with the long radio silence of the BBC in respect to Spain.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ As quoted in Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 167.

¹⁹⁰ Rovirosa, Ricard, Recorded Interview with Mrs. Casals, 25th May 2016.

¹⁹¹ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/04.02/1 unit, 1946/150 (Prades, 3rd August 1946), letter no. 17. 'Pero mi campaña de protesta [hacia el Reino Unido] empezó ya en Noviembre 1945. Cuando, al llegar a Inglaterra, esperanzado por la subida de los laboristas al gobierno, me encontré con una campaña de prensa favorable a

Casals' self-imposed exile, which started in 1939 sent a clear message: he would not play in any country where there was any sort of allegiance with the Franco regime in Spain. That seemed to be a defining moment for Casals as his exile signified an objective and historical move that would position him as having a clear stance against injustice. He sent a letter to Margarita Nelken in 1949 where he explained the reasons for his exile:¹⁹²

The events [in Franco's regime] and my reaction, natural for the way I am, have driven me to extreme decisions. I understand these might be interpreted ad libitum and I even accept they might be wrong but I cannot keep on living, as happens with my art, in a way that I do not feel. [...] Our problem [Spain's situation] might be a long one. [...] I still believe the change needs to come from America and England and we will rot in exile if their governments maintain their positions saying Spanish people are the ones who need to solve their issues.¹⁹³

Casals describes his reactions as 'natural for the way I am'; this would call forth his upbringing but most importantly, it would seem to incorporate his stance against injustice as a 'natural' thing for him at this point. This would seem relevant as this change would have been brought about by the war. It is also interesting to note how Casals accepts the idea that his decisions might be thought of as 'wrong' or even extreme. He was aware that his fame was notorious

Franco, campaña que coincidió con aquel largo silencio de la BBC por respecto a España'.

¹⁹² Margarita Nelken (1894-1968), who was a writer and feminist, was a friend of Casals. She was also a member of the PSOE party in the 1930s.

¹⁹³ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/04.02/14 unitats, 1948-1956/150 (Prades, 14th May 1949). 'Los acontecimientos y mi reacción, natural en mi manera de ser, me han conducido a decisiones extremas. Comprendo que estas sean interpretadas muy ad libitum e incluso acepto que puedan ser equivocadas pero no puedo seguir en la vida, como en mi arte, otra línea que la que yo siento. [...] El problema nuestro puede ir para largo [...] Yo continuo creyendo que este cambio está en las manos de América e Inglaterra y que nos pudriremos en el exilio si sus gobiernos sostienen lo de que son los españoles que tienen que arreglar sus cosas'.

and therefore his exile would have an impact on his contemporaries. Nonetheless, this impact seemed to be sought by Casals as it made a statement that no interview nor speech could produce. At the end of his letter, though, he addresses his political preferences as he is trying to campaign for a peaceful resolution of the conflict by interpellating the American and British governments. An example of how Casals wanted to portray himself as someone who could not stand the idea of playing in a country where there was any kind of support towards the Spanish regime is from 1946, when he wrote to the editor of the Evening News, saying he would cancel his upcoming performance in London if the British government did not change its position towards Spain:

I would like to make sure that you, my English friends, understand the feeling and sacrifice this exile implies for me and at the same time, the causes that have brought me here. These are, on the one hand, the unjust and unacceptable prolongation of the suffering of my compatriots in Spain and abroad and, on the other hand, your government's attitude towards such a regime [Franco's] and the suffering it has imposed.

I hope you will understand, my friends, that, dignity and allegiance to my compatriots, make me keep my attitude [i.e. self-imposed exile] while these circumstances prevail. If a favourable change were to happen before the concert's date for the Musicians Benevolent Fund, I would be extremely happy to fly to you.

I urge you to make it happen.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/04.02/1 unit/1946/150 (Prades, 12th September 1946). 'Quisiera estar seguro que ustedes, mis amigos ingleses, se dan cuenta del sentimiento y sacrificio que representa este alejamiento y asimismo de las causas que lo motivan. Estas incluyen por una parte la prolongación injusta, inaceptable de los sufrimientos de mis compatriotas, en España y en el exilio, sometidos al vergonzoso régimen de Franco, y por otra parte, la actitud del gobierno de ustedes por respecto a dicho régimen y a dichos sufrimientos. Comprendan mis amigos, que, por dignidad y por fidelidad a mis compatriotas, he de mantener mi actitud mientras existan las actuales circunstancias. Si un cambio favorable se produjera antes de la fecha del concierto para el Musicians Benevolent Fund, con qué alegría volaría hacia ustedes. Procuren que así sea'.

Casals, once more, was campaigning in order to find a solution to the war. If that were the case, he continued, he would be 'extremely happy' to do the concert. In 1945 he also wrote a letter to Myra Hess (1890-1965) where he mentioned the 'unacceptable situation in England', i.e. its relationship with Spain.¹⁹⁵ Casals was not only writing letters but also seemed to be trying to gather support in order to defend a peaceful resolution of the conflict. In 1946, he mentioned in another letter that 'neither music nor my music console me from that [Franco's regime's] injustice and what it means to my country'.¹⁹⁶ As has been seen in the first chapter, because of his upbringing and his cultural and political context, he could not understand how the Franco regime could take democracy away from his country. It was through his music that Casals wanted to convey a message of peace:

Music will unite mankind more than any other art. Poets sing about peace; but musicians also sing about peace. Peace exists. There will come a day when peace will be found. Word and song will find peace. [...] This is the social function of music. This will be the social function of music in the future. Hope songs sung by great masses.¹⁹⁷

One could argue whether this is true or not as music has also served other purposes rather than peace. John Morgan O'Connell has stated in that respect: 'since war and peace are hard to define, the role of music in war is difficult to assess, and the issue of music for peace is

¹⁹⁵ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/04.02/1 unit/1945/150, letter in French (28th December 1945).

¹⁹⁶ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/04.02/12 units, 1943-50/150, letter in Spanish (Prades, 26th January 1946). 'Ni la música ni mi música me consuelan de la injusticia que ello [Dictadura de Franco] significa para mi país'.

¹⁹⁷ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/06020103/588 - 'Pablo Casals nos explica por qué toca tan bien el violoncelo/1935/166 (1935), 3. 'La música unirá a los hombres más que otro arte cualquiera. Los poetas cantan la paz. Pero también los músicos la cantan. La paz existe. Día llegará en que la paz sea encontrada. La palabra y el canto hallarán la paz. [...] Esta será la función social de la música en el futuro. Cantos de esperanza entonados por muchedumbres inmensas'.

awkward to study'; he goes on to say that 'ethnomusicologists may indeed be in a better position to examine with critical depth and cultural awareness the many ways in which music is used as a tool to aggravate and to appease conflict'.¹⁹⁸ On the other hand, Kathleen M. Higgins states: 'musical life inherently involves evocative expression and appreciation of what others express, and musical interactions can and often do model ideal condition of human interaction'.¹⁹⁹ Casals' words would seem to find meaning in Higgins' approach, as she expresses how music has the possibility of modelling 'an ideal condition of human interaction', and Casals' quest could also be contextualised as such.

Casals also wrote a letter to President Richard Nixon (1913-1994) in order to campaign for the peaceful resolution of the Franco regime:

The purpose of this letter is to bring to your kind attention the present situation of Spain. As many people know, I exiled myself from Spain thirty years ago in protest for [sic] the dictatorial form of government that was established there when the Republicans lost the Civil War. With much sacrifice I have always maintained my belief in democracy for my country. [...] I am hoping that your country - so noted for its struggle for freedom - will reappraise its attitude to the Franco regime in order to decide whether or not it should continue to help the harsh Spanish dictatorship, as it has been during the last thirty years. I respectfully ask your consideration of this very serious problem affecting so many Spaniards in Spain and those living in exile as well.²⁰⁰

In this letter, he constructs the idea of his exile as a political statement and in doing so consolidates his position as a

¹⁹⁸ John Morgan O'Connell, 'Music in War, Music for Peace: A Review Article', *Ethnomusicology* Vol. 55, No. 1 (Winter 2011), (112-127), p. 124.

¹⁹⁹ Kathleen M. Higgins, 'Connecting Music to Ethics', *College Music Symposium* Vol. 58, No. 3 (Fall 2018), (1-20), p. 13.

²⁰⁰ Spain, Monestir Reial de Santa Maria de Poblet, Arxiu Montserrat Tarradellas, Pau Casals: President Richard Nixon, C689_E4_94 (No place, 1969), letter 94. Original in English.

representative for the democratic cause. Furthermore, he once more campaigns for the ending of the Franco regime.

During his exile, when he finally decided to play again, his goal seemed to be to help all the refugees and those who were suffering the most during Franco's regime. One could argue that his agenda was to establish his own legend but the way in which he did so shows that this was not the case:

I wish now to play intensively and to earn a lot, a lot of money, not to keep it to myself, a thing that I have never done, but to help others, in any way that I can, to the cause of the Republic [the government before Franco's dictatorship]. My constant thought is the children, the wounded, the unfortunate of my homeland. And to give them some sort of relief [...] I have been able to send milk bottles that have been distributed among the children of the villages of Catalonia.²⁰¹

The cause of the refugees was also confirmed by Marta Casals when she stated that when she arrived in Prades in 1955 Casals was receiving boxes of clothes that they would later on separate into piles and distribute.²⁰²

Finally, he gave a speech at the United Nations in 1971, when he was awarded the Medal of Peace, which is another example of where the

²⁰¹ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/06020103-591/166, interview (1938), 3. 'Yo deseo ahora actuar muy intensamente y ganar mucho dinero, mucho dinero, no para atesorarlo, cosa que nunca he hecho, sino para ayudar, como yo pueda efectuarlo, a la causa de la República. Mi pensamiento constante son los niños, los heridos, los desgraciados de mi patria. Y para procurarles algún alivio [...] he podido organizar envíos de botes de leche, que han sido repartidos entre los niños de los pueblos de Cataluña'. One could argue that Casals shows here a sense of egotism; that does not imply that he was not sincere but rather that, like Liszt, who also gave concerts for no fee and distributed great beneficence in many parts of the world, this help them both to be great philanthropists.

²⁰² Rovirosa, Ricard, Recorded Interview with Mrs. Casals, 25th May 2016. It is also worth looking at José Manuel Rúa, 'Camí de l'exili. L'Èxode d'un poble: Una tragèdia sense precedents a la història de Catalunya', in *Breu Història de la Guerra Civil a Catalunya*, 783.

idea of constructing an image might be relevant. In this address he stated his love for Catalonia and the importance of peace in his life:

This is the greatest honour of my life. Peace has always been my greatest concern. I learnt to love it when I was but a child. [...] I have not played the cello in public for many years, but I feel that the time has come to play again. I am going to play a melody from Catalan folklore: *El cant dels ocells* - The Song of the Birds. Birds sing when they are in the sky, they sing: "Peace, Peace, Peace", and it is a melody that Bach, Beethoven and all the greats would have admired and loved. What is more, it is born in the soul of my people, Catalonia.²⁰³

This speech shows how Casals constructed the image he wanted to portray, as when he stated 'peace has always been my concern' he was conveying his attitude in front of a great audience. At the same time, he introduced *El Cant dels Ocells* which is a Catalan folksong whereby birds celebrate the nativity of Jesus. Its origin is unknown but the first written appearance is in the eighteenth century.²⁰⁴ Casals goes on to say that the song is born in the 'soul of my people, Catalonia'. This raises several questions that should be addressed. Firstly, as has already been discussed, the idea of 'his people', Catalonians or his Spanish countrymen and women, could be argued to be a construction, as historian Ulrike Sommer says.²⁰⁵ In addition, the concept of the soul should be understood in the context of the

²⁰³ As quoted at www.paucasals.org/en/-PAU-CASALS-United-Nations-speech/. [accessed 1 November 2017] It goes without saying that these words would have had a highly emotional charge but it is important to place this speech in its proper oratorical context as Casals' statement about 'birds singing peace' or 'all the greats' loving this song are simply not true. Nonetheless, it reflects how Casals used every opportunity he had to convey a particular message of peace.

²⁰⁴ <https://www.enciclopedia.cat/ec-gec-0087920.xml>. [accessed 11 December 2019]

²⁰⁵ See quote 37. Although the Catalanness of Casals' works could be also argued to be a construction, one cannot elude the reality that he used Catalan folksong that would seem to create a clear connection between the musical tradition of a specific place and Casals' music.

Catholic faith as that is the upbringing that Casals had.²⁰⁶ Therefore, it would seem that by connecting his music-making (by playing this particular Catalan folk music and becoming a ‘maker of culture’) with his people he was also trying to evangelise his audience. The fact that he wanted to do so would be relevant as his use of the word ‘soul’ would imply the Christian understanding of evangelisation.

Casals’ stance for peace is crucial to understanding his musical output. He composed *El Pessebre* during his exile and this oratorio cannot be understood unless it is read through the lens of the context of Franco's regime: he was once asked if his compositions were an evangelical work and his answer was: ‘completely’!²⁰⁷ I will return to *El Pessebre* in the third chapter below.

a. The Prades Festival

As mentioned above, while he was in his self-imposed exile, Casals refused to play in any country which would give aid to the Franco regime; facing this reality and not being able to perform in public, Casals decided to break his silence and create his own festival in Prades, France, so that his music and message could still be heard. One could argue that he felt that his political agenda was not being carried out and also that the festival would help him to construct his image of himself as an artist. Nonetheless, it is also true that Casals received many petitions from great artists who wanted to hear Casals play. Therefore, he created a festival that would combine music with a sense of ideological fight against injustice. The first Prades Festival

²⁰⁶ The idea of ‘soul’ in music can be problematic as its presence cannot be traced objectively nor critically; however, Casals uses this concept metaphorically as he evokes the Catholic understanding of the ‘soul’ to convey a togetherness or a sense of belonging of a particular group of people.

²⁰⁷ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/06020103-585/166, interview (1930).

was held in Prades (also known as Prada de Conflent), a town in the south of France, in 1950, and the last festival was in 1960.²⁰⁸

I already broke my silence a few weeks ago, as the time came to commemorate, in a fitting manner, the second centenary of the passing of Johann Sebastian Bach, greatest of musicians. A number of names of international repute, famous in the world of music, answered my distant call and joined in the memorable celebrations for which the vaults of the ancient parish church of Prades provided a worthy setting.²⁰⁹

Casals' festival was probably one of the best examples for the idea that he may be constructing his own legacy; by having great guest artists in the festival, the echo of his political petitions might be heard in the international sphere. In 'breaking his silence' he might be able to create a small oasis of good music where his message could be heard. However, this decision could not have been easy for Casals, as he had previously been very clear in regard to not performing in public at all; it would seem that the thought of being able to help his compatriots was the one that unlocked the whole festival preparations:

At first, I hesitated to agree. I wrote [Alexander] Schneider that some people might misconstrue my taking part in this festival. Sasha [Schneider] replied, "You cannot continue to condemn your art to complete silence. If you won't play in public in other countries, then why not let your fellow musicians come from other parts of the world and play with you in Prades? Your protest will remain no less clear". Schneider added that the year 1950 was the bicentenary of Bach's death and that this would be the ideal time for the event. My doubts were resolved, and I agreed to the festival. I was especially gratified by the thought that it would provide me with a means of helping my compatriots, many of whom were still in desperate need.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ Alavedra, *Pau Casals*, 372.

²⁰⁹ Spain, Monestir Reial de Santa Maria de Poblet, Arxiu Montserrat Tarradellas, Pau Casals: President Harry S. Truman, C689/E5/112 (Prades, 1950), letter 112.

²¹⁰ As quoted in Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 261.

Here Casals underlines his doubts that could also be seen as trying to overemphasise his political agenda or his intention of establishing himself as a symbol of peace. The preparations for the festival took many months and there were big expectations for it, as Bernard Greenhouse described in a letter to Casals:²¹¹

You must be busy preparing for the festival in June. There has been so much publicity, here in America, that my phone rings constantly with people who ask about living accommodation in the area about Prades. So many are interested, and intend to come.²¹²

One should also consider the possibility that the Prades Festival was an international event where Casals' portrayal of a symbol of peace took full shape, as the publicity, as Bernard Greenhouse admitted, was great. The first Prades Festival was a success. Musicians like Rudolf Serkin, Mieczyslaw Horszowski, Eugene Istomin, Isaac Stern and Joseph Szigeti played in the 1950 festival that included many works by JS Bach, including the six Brandenburg Concertos, the six unaccompanied cello suites, and clavier and violin concertos. The importance of the festival, Casals stated, was to give hope to those who were waiting for the end of the Spanish dictatorship; Casals did not establish the Prades Festivals as just another festival, but he seemed to describe it as a special retreat to gain strength to fight for freedom:

I have started the great work of preparation for the 1952 Festival - these artistic manifestations have worldwide resonance because of the outstanding performers [we

²¹¹ Bernard Greenhouse was a pupil of Casals; he had met him during the summer of 1946 and Casals' influence was very important to him: 'it has been an inspiration beyond description for me [after having received the first cello lessons from Casals], and while I all my life have had the deepest admiration and respect for your great art, now feel a more profound and personal relationship. You are a great man as well as the greatest artist.' Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/04.01/26 units, 1944-55/100, letter n.5 (Paris, November 16, 1946).

²¹² Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/04.01/26 units, 1944-55/100, letter n.12 (New York, January 24 1950).

have], [...] leaving its artistic importance aside, in order to give the impression of serenity and trust in spite of the tremendous moral crisis the world is facing and especially in regards to what is most painful to us. I will be seventy-five years old. Those are many years but not enough to make me lose my hopes for better times.²¹³

Casals seemed not to lose heart; he was aware that this festival could be a wonderful platform so that his message could resonate loudly. His only weapon, as he had stated, that of music, was the one that allowed him to portray himself as giving meaning to the moral crisis the world was facing. He used this 'weapon' when he composed *El Pessebre*, as it was a 'peace crusade' for him: 'early in 1962 I announced my intention of embarking on a personal peace crusade with *El Pessebre*'.²¹⁴ This will be discussed in greater detail in the third chapter.

b. Casals' Aesthetics

This section of the thesis will analyse two ideas: firstly, Casals' education and then Casals' aesthetics of music will be studied.

i. Casals' Education

When Casals was growing up it would have been impossible to listen to a recording of the great conductors or performers of the nineteenth or twentieth centuries, or even to go to a live concert as he

²¹³ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/04.02/14 units, 1948-1956/150 (Prades, 12th December 1951). 'Ya he empezado el gran trabajo de preparación para el Festival 1952 - Estas manifestaciones de arte tienen resonancia mundial a causa de los nombres de primera magnitud [...] poniendo de lado su importancia artística, para dar impresión de serenidad y confianza a pesar de la tremenda crisis moral que atraviesa el mundo y muy especialmente en vistas a lo que nos duele de más cerca. Voy a cumplir mis 75 años. Son muchos pero no bastantes para hacerme perder mis ilusiones en mejores tiempos'.

²¹⁴ As quoted in Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 286.

was living in a small village; therefore, his musical education was very important. His first teacher was his father, Carles Casals Ribes, who was the local church's organist and choir master:

Let me tell you that the lessons I had with my father, his wonderful guidance, his insistence in making me sing in the church's choir, his teaching of Gregorian Chant, were the solid foundation upon which I built my musical education.²¹⁵

Casals was a chorister from the age of six. Those years seemed to be very instructive for him; later on, he reflected on these years, saying: 'I could not have been anything else than a musician [...], [I also became a musician because] at home the atmosphere was full of music'.²¹⁶ He sang at the church's masses and also at the Divine Office.²¹⁷ Casals' brother Enric (1892-1986), wrote: 'I have said in the chapter "Our parents" that not only did we go to Mass on all the holy days of obligation, but we said the Rosary daily and, on certain occasions, kneeling'.²¹⁸ These religious practices seemed to inform Casals' understanding of the Catholic religion and its liturgical practices, and many of his choir compositions have a direct or indirect relationship with the Catholic liturgy. These years, then,

²¹⁵ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/06020103-602, Pau Casals Interview: *Pau Casals. La vida, l'Obra, l'Anècdota* (Barcelona, no date but approximately 1928). 'Deixeu-me dir que les lliçons del meu pare, la seva excel·lent orientació, la seva insistència en fer-me cantar a la capella de la parròquia, l'haver-me familiaritzat amb el cant gregorià, fou la base fonamental, solidíssima, de la meva educació, en tant que músic'.

²¹⁶ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/06020103-602/166, interview (approx. 1928), 2. 'Jo no podia ésser altra cosa que músic [...], [I també vaig ser músic perquè] a casa meva l'ambient era impregnat de música'.

²¹⁷ At that time, to sing the Divine Office was common practice in Spain. After the Second Vatican Council (1978) this religious practice became the Liturgy of the Hours.

²¹⁸ Casals, *Pau Casals*, 306. 'Tinc dit en el capítol "Els nostres pares" que no solament anàvem a missa tots els dies de precepte, sinó que diàriament dèiem el rosari i en unes certes ocasions agenollats'.

played an important role in his music, as he later composed a lot of music to be sung.

Subsequently, Casals studied cello at the Barcelona Municipal Music School. During those years (1888-1893), he met Enrique Granados (1867-1916) and Isaac Albéniz (1860-1909), whom he admired greatly.²¹⁹ Granados was very fond of him; in a letter from 1913, Granados finished the letter by saying 'you know how much I love you'.²²⁰ Albéniz, on the other hand, was the one who gave him a recommendation letter for the Count of Morphy, who had been a great influence on Albéniz's education as well.²²¹ Albéniz said to Casals' mother:²²²

²¹⁹ Casals played at Cafè Tost to earn a bit of money and that is where he met Granados and Albéniz. Places like coffee shops were important as they helped create a musical culture at the time in Catalonia: 'the musical activity, in the majority of the medium-sized cities and villages did not happen at the theatres, but rather it originated at the casinos, artistic societies and coffee shops [...] There, for example, started to play people such as Albéniz, Millet, Tintorer, Sadurní, Pau Casals or the same Eduard Toldrà'. Quoted in Cortès i Mir, *Història de la Música a Catalunya*, 121. 'L'activitat musical, a la majoria de ciutats mitjanes i als pobles no es produïa als teatres, sinó que s'originava als casinos, societats artístiques i cafés. [...] Allà, per exemple, començaren a tocar Albéniz, Millet, Tintorer, Sadurní, Pau Casals o el mateix Eduard Toldrà'.

²²⁰ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalaunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/04.01/4 units, 1913/99, letter 2 in Spanish (Barcelona, 1913). 'Yo ya sabes cuanto llevo a quererte'.

²²¹ The Count of Morphy, who was also known as Guillermo Morphy y Ferriz de Guzmán was 'the grandson of Irish emigrants (called Murphy), but had himself been born in Spain. After graduating in law and music, he was appointed tutor to the Infante Alfonso, the seven-year-old son of Isabel II'. Baldock, *Pablo Casals*, 37.

²²² Walter Aaron Clark also related this event: 'A few years ago, in 1891, Albéniz had been to a restaurant in Barcelona in order to listen to the young Pablo Casals, and he gave him a recommendation letter so that the teenager could visit Madrid and the Count of Morphy and could get help [from him].' Walter Aaron Clark, *Isaac Albéniz: Retrato de un romántico* (Madrid: Turner Publicaciones S.L., 2002), p. 281. 'Bastantes años antes, en 1891, Albéniz había asistido a un restaurante de Barcelona para oír tocar al joven Pablo Casals, y entregó a éste una carta de recomendación para que el adolescente visitase en Madrid al conde Morphy y recibiese su ayuda'.

Your son has a great gift, and I feel I must do whatever I can to help him. Let me give you a letter of introduction to the Count de Morphy in Madrid. He is a wonderful man, a patron of the arts, a splendid musician and brilliant scholar, he is the personal adviser to Queen María Cristina. He has much influence. He can help Pablo's career. When you are ready, take the letter to him.²²³

In 1893 Casals decided to go to Madrid using Albéniz's letter. He started studying under the guidance of the Count of Morphy, whose influence seemed to be second to none. He taught Casals composition, improvisation and, above all, the idea that music should always be understood by everyone.²²⁴ This idea seemed to have come into being while he was in Madrid under the guidance of the Count of Morphy, who would always ask him during their piano lessons to compose in a language that everyone would understand :

When I indulged in some particularly intricate harmony, for which I then had a certain fondness, he [the Count of Morphy] would put his arm about my shoulders - he always sat beside me on the piano stool - and say, gently, "Pablito, in a language of everybody - yes?" In the language of everybody! Of course, what more profound utterance could there be on the purpose of art in general? What purpose, indeed, can music - or any form of art - serve if it does not speak in a language that all can understand?²²⁵

Casals seemed to make this one of the pillars upon which he built all his pieces, later saying: 'I will only tell you that musicians, as well as writers, have to say important things that everyone can understand: this is the key and the greatness of it.'²²⁶ There is a paradox in the

²²³ As quoted in Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 48.

²²⁴ The Count also taught Casals general knowledge, as he later explained in an interview: 'he was my literature teacher, the one who prepared me to go abroad.' Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/06020103-602/166, interview (approx. 1928), 7. '[Count of Morphy] Fou el meu mestre de literatura, el que em preparà per anar-me'n a l'estranger'. Also see note 113.

²²⁵ As quoted in Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 60.

²²⁶ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/06020103-600 (INTERVIEWS)/1966/166, 43. 'Només li faré avinent que

reality that Casals would play the most complex and highly wrought scores of Bach and Beethoven (fugues and double and triple inverted counterpoint were clearly not a problem for him) while avowing that musical composition should be simple enough to be understood by the men in the street. Nevertheless, one could argue that while Casals (the performer) played complex music in the concert halls, he did not feel compelled to write in such a way (the composer); that is, although both the performer and composer have the same creative input, his artistic voice as the latter had a much simpler and tonal colour.²²⁷

What is needed is that composers have to reflect upon the idea of what it means to write music. Those who have nothing to say should do something else. And those who sincerely feel the need to compose can do so with old or new procedures, but in any case simple and comprehensible.²²⁸

Casals' words highlight his understanding of what a composer should do; he chose to write 'simple and comprehensible' music which does not mean that it is the only way to be understood by everyone but rather that it was his approach.

His first piano compositions date back to these years in Madrid, and his very first piano piece (Balada, 1893) was dedicated to the Count's wife.²²⁹ The violinist and composer Jesús de Monasterio also played

tant els músics com els escriptors han de dir coses importants que tothom entengui: aquesta és la clau i la grandesa'.

²²⁷ Casals said: 'It is possible to appreciate many works by great composers without *liking* them at all'. As quoted in Webber, *Song of the Birds*, 55.

²²⁸ As quoted in Corredor, *Converses amb Pau Casals*, 302. 'El que cal és que els compositors reflexionin sobre el que significa escriure música. Els que no tenen res a dir, que s'ocupin d'una altra cosa. I els que senten sincerament la necessitat de compondre, que ho facin amb procediments nous o vells, però en tot cas senzills i comprensibles'.

²²⁹ It is interesting for this thesis to note that when Casals was introduced to Queen María Cristina he also played the piano, as he said himself in an interview: 'That day I also played some [of my] piano compositions.' Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/06020103-602/166, interview (approx. 1928), 7.

an important and active role in the formation of the young Casals.²³⁰ He taught him chamber music but their relationship went beyond the classroom. Monasterio wrote to Casals on the occasion of Casals receiving a medal from the Queen, the 'Knight of the Royal Order of Isabel the Catholic':

My dearest pupil, [...] even though yours is still a short artistic career, I hope, and I am certain of it, this [award] will be a powerful spur to persevere in it with undivided attention and great enthusiasm. I am your good friend and professor who loves you very much,
J. de Monasterio.²³¹

Tomás de Bretón also taught Casals in Madrid as he later recalled: 'I had chamber music with maestro Jesús de Monasterio, and, moreover, I received individual composition lessons from the maestro Tomás Bretón'.²³² In order to understand the musical languages of his teachers it will be useful to analyse some of his works.²³³ There seem to be two elements that their compositions

²³⁰ Jesús de Monasterio y Agüeros (1836-1903) was a chamber music teacher at the Madrid conservatoire at the time Casals was there.

²³¹ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/04.01/2 units, 1895-1899/128/Number 5522, letter (February 16, 1895). 'Mi muy querido discípulo [...] A pesar de los pocos años que cuenta en su artística carrera, espero, y no dudo, que le servirá de poderoso acicate para proseguir en ella con aplicación constante y gran entusiasmo. Queda de V. [Vuestra merced] siempre buen amigo y maestro que mucho le aprecia, J. de Monasterio'.

²³² Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/06020103-602/166, interview (approx. 1928), 7. '[Jo anava] a la de Música de Càmera que dirigia el mestre Jesús de Monasterio i, a més a més, rebia lliçons particulars de composició amb el mestre Tomás Bretón'.

²³³ Casals did not receive cello lessons in Madrid as his teachers wanted him to become a composer: 'The maestro Monasterio and the Count of Morphy decided that instead of going to cello lessons I should go to chamber music. I found it odd. However, I could not do anything else but obey. When I think about the conduct of those good friends, I cannot find any other explanation than to believe that they wanted me to become a composer'. Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/06020103-602/166, interview (approx. 1928), 8. 'El mestre Monasterio i el comte de Morphy varen resoldre que en lloc d'anar a classe de violoncel anés a la de Música de Càmera. Jo ho trobava molt estrany. Però no em

specially show: the use of a tonal language and the centrality of folkmusic in their works.²³⁴ The first element that Casals' professors seemed to teach Casals was to compose in a tonal language. Tomás Bretón's string quartet in D (example 1) shows how he did so:²³⁵

Allegro moderato non tanto

Example 1, String quartet in D, bb. 1-4. D, G, A.

The harmonic progression establishes the key (D) by using a classical harmonic transition. It is also the case of his Piano Trio in E (example 2) where he also uses a simple harmonic progression to establish the key (E) within the first two notes and then he rests on the subdominant chord in order to develop the second phrase of the trio.²³⁶

quedava altre remei que obeir. Quan penso amb la conducta d'aquells bons amics, no trobo altre explicació sinó creure que em volien dedicar a la composició'.

²³⁴ These observations are based on the study I have made of their works.

²³⁵ There is not a composition date.

²³⁶ The Piano Trio in E was composed in 1893 precisely when Casals moved to Madrid.

Allegro comodo

The image shows a musical score for three instruments: Violin, Violoncello, and Piano. The Violin and Violoncello parts have a melodic line with a 'p' (piano) dynamic marking. The Piano part is mostly rests, with a 'p' marking on the first staff.

Ex. 2, Piano Trio in E, bb. 1-6.

The second idea that his teachers seemed to convey to Casals was the importance of the folk music.²³⁷ The zarzuela *La Verbena de la Paloma* (The Feast of the Virgin of La Paloma, 1894) by Tomás de Bretón is a good example as it portrays a rhythmic and folkloric melody that evokes, as the title indicates, a festive spirit with people in the main square talking in front of the tavern (example 3):²³⁸

²³⁷ It is important to see how Spanish folk music was also present in other parts of Europe. Falla wrote: 'The excellence of the natural, Andalusian music has been revealed by the fact that it is the only one used by foreign composers in a continued and abundant way'. Manuel De Falla, 'Influencia del canto jondo en la música moderna europea', *Litoral* No. 35/36 (Enero - Febrero 1973), (38-41), p. 38. 'La excelencia de la música natural andaluza queda revelada por el hecho de ser la única utilizada por los compositores extranjeros de manera continua y abundante'. Carol Hess also writes: 'since all artistic manifestations were directed towards the masses (and since music was as susceptible to politicization as any other aesthetic utterance) the barriers that commonly separate different musical styles were blurred, with "popular" and "art" music often assuming equal status and attracting the same audience'. Carol A. Hess, 'Silvestre Revueltas in Republican Spain: Music as Political Utterance', *Latin American Music Review* Vol. 18, No. 2 (Autumn - Winter 1997), (278-296), p. 281.

²³⁸ Casals went to the opening night of this zarzuela in Madrid: 'Did you know that I went to the opening night of *La Verbena de la Paloma*? The Count of Morphy came with me. Tomás Bretón, the author of this famous - and delicious- zarzuela, was my composition teacher in Madrid, and Jesús de Monasterio, my chamber music teacher'. As quoted in Corredor, *Converses amb Pau Casals*, 58. '¿Ja ho sap, que vaig assistir a l'estrena de *La Verbena de la Paloma*? El comte de Morphy m'hi acompanyà. Tomás Bretón,



Ex. 3, La Verbena de la Paloma, bb. 1-5

The syncopated rhythm on the left hand suggests the festive spirit of the villagers, whereas the folkloric melody of the right hand evokes the quotidian ambience of the scene. The direction towards the accent in bar 2 in the right hand, also helps to imagine the movement of the dance; it is also noteworthy to compare bar 2 and bar 4 as the latter does not have an accent and therefore the musical impulse would be different, thus suggesting a new transition to the imagined dance. Furthermore, Jesús de Monasterio's *Étude Artistique de Concert* n. 15 (1878) shows another folkloric melody (example 4):



Ex. 4, Étude artistiques de concert n. 15, bb. 1-3

The syncopated rhythm on the left hand suggests a controlled movement (the tenor line helps to create this idea) which is juxtaposed with a very sensuous right hand melody which plays with two interesting elements: firstly, the diminished fifth in the first bar (D minor) introduces the leading note (c#) creating a folkloric colour.

l'autor d'aquesta famosa -i deliciosa- sarsuela, era a Madrid el meu professor de composició, i Jesús de Monasterio, el meu professor a la classe de música de cambra'.

Secondly, the rhythm of the right hand in the second bar suggests an 'oriental' movement so well portrayed in the music of Albéniz and Granados.²³⁹ These examples have shown what context Casals' education took place in and it will help the reader to understand Casals' compositions with a more precise musical understanding of his formation.

Casals' formative years per se ended in Madrid; he never stopped practising nor learning music, but the essence of his musical language was established during these years.²⁴⁰

ii. Casals' Musical Aesthetics

As well as Casals being situated within the cultural and political context of his time, he would also have been influenced by contemporary aesthetics, which would have had an impact on his understanding of art, especially during his education.²⁴¹ This context

²³⁹ If one thinks of Albéniz' *Iberia*, one will find lots of different examples of this kind of rhythm. For instance in *Rondeña* and *Almería* (Book 2) one will be able to locate a few examples. At the same time, if one listens to Granados' *Goyescas* one will also be able to find many rhythms like this one (for example, *El Amor y la muerte* has a few). Furthermore, Scott explains the complexity of term 'orientalism': 'Orientalism is never quite the case of "anything goes". It is possible to mix signifiers of difference in a confusing manner; for example, it would be possible to write a calypso using Liszt's "Hungarian" scale. Moreover, Orientalist signs are contextual. For example, a mixture of 6/8 and 3/4 is not a sign for Spanish in William Byrd's madrigal "Though Amaryllis Dance in Green", but it is in Bernstein's "I Want to Be in America" (from *West Side Story*)'. Derek B. Scott, 'Orientalism and Musical Style', *The Musical Quarterly* Vol. 82, No. 2 (Summer, 1998), (309-335), p. 331.

²⁴⁰ He was given a special grant to go to study to the Brussels Conservatoire but he refused it. I will explore his musical language further below.

²⁴¹ This does not imply that contemporary aesthetics are a unified body of work. Moreover, it is not possible to establish which philosophers Casals studied when growing up, although it is important to grasp that he had a solid education in Madrid as he was under the guidance of the Count of Morphy, who said: 'I have two sons [...] Alfonso the Twelfth [future King of Spain] and Pablo Casals!'. Kirk, *Pablo Casals*, 77. His lessons were not only confined to musical subjects: 'He [the Count of Morphy] undertook to teach me everything he could about life and the world in which I lived-language

would have gone back to the nineteenth century, which was a period in history where ‘the great man theory’ defined the history of music. As Warren Dwight Allen writes, this ‘was the guiding concept for the music histories of this period, just as it was the inspiration for other forms of art’.²⁴² Moreover, the importance of ideas such as individualism, humanism, nature, beauty, sound and emotions were pivotal concepts that shaped the aesthetics of music in the nineteenth century. It is through comparing them that one will see the differences between these concepts and the philosophers who uttered those ideas, and can grasp the essence of their thinking. As Allen stated: ‘All scientific procedure involves comparison. Without the latter, no valid inferences can be made’.²⁴³ I will attempt to paint a picture of the different philosophies that might have influenced Casals in order to establish a framework for his own aesthetics of music. Furthermore, I will establish four categories that will be useful in order to interpret Casals’ understanding of music: beauty, emotion, the Dalhaus principle and language. These concepts will now be explored and then incorporated in the analysis in the third chapter.

a. Beauty and humanism: a religious perspective

The idea of individualism played a key role in the development of the nineteenth century music thanks to the shift in understanding from a

and literature; art and geography; philosophy and mathematics; the history of music, yes, but also the history of man’. Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 60. Therefore, it is highly plausible that Casals would have been aware of the major philosophical and aesthetical trends of the nineteenth century.

²⁴² This vision is only appropriate to describe the philosophical context that Casals might have learnt during his lessons with the Count of Morphy. Warren Dwight Allen, *Philosophies of Music History: A Study of General Histories of Music 1600-1960* (New York: Dover Publications, 1962), p. 87.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 321.

theocratic society, as in the eighteenth century and earlier, to an individualistic one (although religion was still part of some people's faith) where the values of goodness and justice were placed at the core of the people's belief system.²⁴⁴ In order to grasp Casals' understanding of beauty, one should access this reality through the understanding of his human-centred endeavours.²⁴⁵ Charles Moeller writes:

The three theological virtues [faith, hope and charity] incarnate in us the world of divine love; [they] implant in our souls that sanctifying and living humanity of Christ, who is the heart of the world.²⁴⁶

Through the exercise of these virtues, Christians throughout the world attempt to be closer to Christ and, therefore, be closer to a Christian humanism, which is rooted in the humanity of Christ:

The One who is the Beauty itself let himself be slapped in the face, spat upon, crowned with thorns; the Shroud of Turin can help us imagine this in a realistic way. However, in his Face that is so disfigured, there appears the genuine, extreme beauty: the beauty of love that goes "*to the very end*"; for this reason it is revealed as greater than falsehood and violence.²⁴⁷

Casals seemed to understand his humanitarian efforts from a human-centred point of view:

²⁴⁴ The Catalan painter Santiago Rusiñol also said: 'the deepest joy [...] always comes from beauty, as from beauty is born the ardour of noble aspirations, the eagerness to dignify oneself to the beauty's solemn look'. Rusiñol, *Oracions*, 81. 'El goig més pur [...] sempre ve de la bellesa, com de la bellesa neix l'ardiment de nobles aspiracions, l'afany de dignificar-se a sa mirada solemne'.

²⁴⁵ See note 155.

²⁴⁶ Charles Moeller, *Literatura del Siglo XX y Cristianismo: El Silencio de Dios* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1955), p. 547. 'Las tres virtudes teologales [fe, esperanza y caridad] encarnan en nosotros el mundo del amor divino; injertan en nuestras almas esa humanidad santificante y viva de Cristo, que es el corazón del mundo'.

²⁴⁷ Pope Benedict XVI stated these words to the 'Communion and Liberation Meeting' at Rimini on 24 August 2002.

www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_20020824_ratzinger-cl-rimini_en.html. [accessed 28 May 2020]

Every child should be taught to realize: “I am a miracle – and *he* is also a miracle. I am a unique being; there never has been a person like me since the beginning of the world – nor will there be until our world comes to an end. And he, too, is unique and will be so until our world will end. Therefore, *I cannot kill him* – and *he cannot kill me*.” Only in this way can we do away with the impulse for wars.²⁴⁸

Furthermore, Ratzinger also points towards the same direction when he says: ‘humanitarian gestures, which break with violence and see a fellow man in the opponent and appeal to his own humanity, are necessary, even when they seem at first to be a waste of time’.²⁴⁹ It is within the connection of humanity and the divine where Casals appeared to establish his understanding of humanism:

I cannot believe that these marvels which surround us – the miracle which is life – can come from nothingness. How can something come from nothingness? The miracle must come from somewhere. It comes from God.²⁵⁰

It seems that Casals could be seen as a Christian humanist as he saw his activism as a reflection of his love for his contemporaries but also for God. It would also be useful to consider the relationship between beauty and God at this point.²⁵¹ Augustine discussed the matter of music aesthetics in great detail and as the Catalan theologian and composer Jordi-Agustí Piqué stated: ‘Augustine legitimised the conception that the aesthetic pleasure or the joy of beauty, of music, helps the soul to elevate itself to the beauty of God’.²⁵² Augustine

²⁴⁸ Blum, *Casals and the Art of Interpretation*, 210.

²⁴⁹ Joseph Ratzinger, *Western Culture, Today and Tomorrow: Addressing the Fundamental Issues* (San Francisco: Libreria Editrice Vaticana and Ignatius Press, 2007), p. 113.

²⁵⁰ Blum, *Casals and the Art of Interpretation*, 210.

²⁵¹ This reflection will be particularly useful when analysing Casals’ Montserrat motets. This will be further explored in the third chapter.

²⁵² Jorge Piqué Collado, *Teología y Música: Una contribución dialéctico-trascendental sobre la sacramentalidad de la percepción estética del Misterio (Agustín, Balthasar, Sequerí; Victoria, Schönberg, Messiaen)*, (Roma: Ed. Pontificia università gregoriana, 2006), p. 119. ‘Agustín legitimó la

himself said: 'Could love be anything else than what is beautiful?'²⁵³

He went on to say:

The beauties that, from the artist's soul, go through their hands, are an emancipation of that beauty which is superior to our souls, which my soul sighs towards night and day. But the creators and the searchers for these external beauties they get the same rule of approval that they have found, but they do not acquire the rule to benefit from it. And this rule is there, but they cannot see it; otherwise they would not have to go farther, and they would save all their strength for You.²⁵⁴

It is in the midst of this reality where one will be able to grasp Casals' understanding of beauty: 'the deepest feelings of the soul. Music must not only satisfy the intellect, it must be beautiful and comprehensible'.²⁵⁵ Casals seems to understand beauty in relation to the 'marvel' that is humanity and, at the same time, his Catholic roots appear to have had an impact on him as he could be described as a Christian humanist.²⁵⁶

concepció que el plaer estètic o el gozo de la bel·leza, de la música, ajuda al alma a elevar-se a la bel·leza de D'us'.

²⁵³ Agustí d'Hipona, *Confessions* (Barcelona: Proa, 2007), p. 95. 'Potser estimem res més que el bell?'.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 304-5. 'Perquè les bel·leses que, de l'ànima de l'artista, passen a les seves mans són una emancipació d'aquella bel·lesa que és superior a les nostres ànimes, cap a la qual sospira la meua ànima nit i dia. Però els creadors i els recercadors d'aquestes bel·leses exteriors treuen de l'eterna bel·lesa la regla mateixa de l'aprovació que hi troben, però no en treuen la regla per a servir-se'n. I aquesta regla hi és, però no la hi veuen; altrament no haurien d'anar més lluny, i guardarien tota llur força per a vós'.

²⁵⁵ United Kingdom, British Library, *Title Unknown*, Produced by BBC Radio 3. C1398/1460 (London, 1977). As it has already been discussed, Casals' use of the word 'soul' seems to evoke his Catholic upbringing as we have just discussed (see also footnote 206). Also, when he states that it should be 'comprehensible', he seems to be implying his own understanding of music as it will be discussed on the third chapter. Casals also said: 'for me, music continued to be an affirmation of the beauty capable of being created by man; the same man who was now perpetrating so many crimes and unleashing so much suffering'. It is important to see how he connects beauty and humanity by distinguishing's one's ability to do good or evil. As quoted in Webber, *Song of the Birds*, 67.

²⁵⁶ Casals' uses three words that are important. 'Soul' could be understood as evoking the reality of his Catholic faith but, at the same time, his

Furthermore, the humanistic approach to beauty will shed light on Casals' motets and his oratorio *El Pessebre*. As Casals mentioned: 'a classic work [...] still talks to us and moves us, men of our time, and it is with our sensitivity, with our feeling of beauty, that we have to face it'.²⁵⁷ This will be further explored below.²⁵⁸

b. Emotion: metaphor and sublime

The Romantic era moved away from the 'classical' idea of structure and form and switched to the exploration of feelings. Liszt, for example, seemed to see a link between creative things (such as simple things like objects or more complex ideas such as creation itself) and art which arouses feelings: 'the inner and the poetic sense of things, that ideality which exists in everything, seems to manifest itself pre-eminently in those artistic creations that arouse feelings and ideas'.²⁵⁹

commitment towards peace. This reality then would define his endeavours as someone who is a Christian humanist. Moreover, when he uses the word 'music' and 'beautiful' he seems to be establishing the connection between what he tries to do through his art (his campaigning for peace as a composer and performer) and his understanding of beauty (centred on the idea of Christian humanism).

²⁵⁷ As quoted in Corredor, Josep Maria, *Converses amb Pau Casals* (Girona, 2012), 323. 'Una obra clàssica [...] segueix parlant-nos i emocionant-nos, a nosaltres, homes del nostre temps, i és amb la nostra sensibilitat, amb el nostre sentiment de la bellesa, com ens hi hem d'enfrontar'.

²⁵⁸ Ratzinger's words will be useful in order to connect the beautiful and emotion as one seems to affect the other: 'the encounter with the beautiful can become the wound of the arrow that strikes the heart and in this way opens our eyes, so that later, from this experience, we take the criteria for judgement and can correctly evaluate the arguments'.

www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfait_h_doc_20020824_ratzinger-cl-rimini_en.html. [accessed 28 May 2020]

²⁵⁹ Quoted in John Williamson, 'Progress, Modernity and the Concept of an Avant-Garde', in *The Cambridge History of the Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. by Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 299. Liszt also gave emotions a fundamental role in music as he thought that it could free one's own spirit: 'only in music does feeling, actually and radiantly present, lift the ban which oppresses our spirit with the sufferings of an evil earthly power and liberate us [...] Only in music does feeling, in manifesting itself, dispense with the help of reason and its means of

In contrast, Hanslick did not like the idea of adhering feeling to music as he wanted to preserve the purity of what was beautiful in music; he went on to write that music ‘invades’ those who listen:

Even if we have to grant to all the arts, without exception, the power to produce effects upon the feelings, yet we do not deny that there is something specific, peculiar only to it, in the way music exercises power. Music works more rapidly and intensely upon the mind than any other art. [...] The other arts persuade, but music invades us.²⁶⁰

Peter Kivy comments on Hanslick’s idea of music by saying that ‘music, as an art, *cannot* either arouse or represent the garden-variety emotions. *Therefore*, it cannot be the sole or primary purpose of music, as an art, either to arouse or to represent the garden-variety emotions’.²⁶¹ Scruton introduces the importance of the listener as someone who might also influence the music that is heard: ‘it is plausible to suppose, therefore, that a theory of expression must incorporate a theory of our response to it’.²⁶² One could argue that

expression, so inadequate in comparison with its intuition, so incomplete in comparison with its strength, its delicacy, its brilliance’. Franz Liszt, ‘From Berlioz and His “Harold Symphony”’, in *Source Readings in Music History*, ed. by Oliver Strunk (New York: Faber and Faber, 1952), p. 850. It is important to see how both Liszt and Casals were Catholic.

²⁶⁰ Eduard Hanslick, *On the Musically Beautiful* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1986), p. 50.

²⁶¹ Peter Kivy, *Introduction to a Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 22.

²⁶² Roger Scruton, *The Aesthetics of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 157. Huss also reflects upon it: ‘A listener may only react to an emotion he perceives to be present in the music. The emotional meaning a composer, performer or conductor intends to instil in or express through the music is of no relevance whatsoever here – a listener cannot react to a meaning of which he is not aware on some level’. Fabian Gregor Huss, ‘On the Beautiful in Music, or Emotional Fly in the Musical Ointment’, *The Musical Times* Vol. 149, No. 1902 (Spring, 2008), (39–46), p. 40. Leo Samama also discusses this issue: ‘that is what music can do: unleash emotions in ourselves, our own emotions. The result of this is that when listening to the same music, one listener may respond emotionally and the other not. This has nothing to do with taste, but everything to do with psychology, with our character, with our experiences and associations and any number of highly

one might not understand a particular piece of music but that would not prevent someone from experiencing the ‘emotions’ conveyed by such an artwork. Therefore, the image of what we perceive as sound might be unclear but not the aftermath of that experience (musical pleasure or displeasure): ‘we agree that music has the power to move us, but this is a different matter from saying that a particular musical event ‘means’ a particular mental state or ‘describes’ a particular natural phenomenon’.²⁶³ Moreover, Nick Zangwill concludes that emotion should only be helpful if used as a metaphor:

The nature and value of music will elude us so long as we are mired in emotion. Once we are liberated from emotion we can see music as a world quite unto itself, a world with features that we describe with emotion metaphors, which may give music a value that we can experience with intense delight and even ecstasy.²⁶⁴

Casals seemed to give emotions an important role in his music (both as a performer and as a composer)²⁶⁵ and Zangwill’s approach will be useful to explore the role the former gave to emotion. Casals stated:

Art is as limitless as nature, and we can love music from the beginning. Music that speaks to the heart is rare nowadays. There are too many examples of those who are afraid not to be called modern.²⁶⁶

personal factors’. Leo Samama, *The Meaning of Music* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), p. 97.

²⁶³ Hugh Bredin and Liberato Santoro-Brienza, *Philosophies of Art and Beauty: Introducing Aesthetics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p. 188.

²⁶⁴ Nick Zangwill, ‘Music, Metaphor, and Emotion’, *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* Vol. 65, No. 4 (Autumn, 2007), (391–400), p. 399.

²⁶⁵ Casals said: ‘I compose because I like to compose’. As quoted in Taper, *Cellist in Exile*, 87.

²⁶⁶ Figueres, *Entrevista a la Guerra*, 344–45. ‘L’art és tan il·limitat com la natura, i podem estimar la música des del començament. La música que parli directament al cor és rara, avui dia. Són massa nombrosos els que escriuen música i temen no ésser tinguts per moderns’.

He uses a metaphor when describing what he thinks of music (one that speaks to the heart),²⁶⁷ but he also points towards what he calls modern music. Casals said: '[I have finally come to a definite conclusion] I will have nothing to do with what is called "contemporary music"'.²⁶⁸ There seems to appear once more the paradox between the Casals performer (who sometimes played contemporary works) and the Casals composer who did not share the aesthetics of his time.²⁶⁹

There is another approach that will be important to grasp Casals' understanding of emotions: the sublime.²⁷⁰ Sander van Maas writes: 'the essence of music should be sought in its primal capacity to express (in indeterminate but elevated terms) what is beyond the reach of any language'.²⁷¹ Casals seems to use the word sublime to define 'what is beyond the reach of any language' or as it will be explored on the last section of Casals' musical aesthetics, the ineffable:

²⁶⁷ Although music cannot speak to the heart literally it is a metaphor that has been used by many. For instance, Samama also describes music in the same way: 'music goes from heart to heart, and nothing can touch us more deeply. No other art form is capable of moving us so directly'. Samama, *The Meaning of Music*, 95.

²⁶⁸ As quoted in Webber, *Song of the Birds*, 57. Casals also said: 'we have to interpret Mozart – or any other master – following the emotions that his or her music gives rise to in us, and we have to deal with this with determination, following our most intimate impulses. It is possible that we might be wrong; notwithstanding, it is better to freely give oneself to emotion than to feel restrained by prejudices that prevent one from feeling the music'. As quoted in Corredor, *Converses amb Pau Casals*, 237. 'Hem d'interpretar Mozart –com qualsevol altre mestre– segons les emocions que ens desperta la seva música, i ens hi hem d'enfrontar amb determinació, seguint els nostres impulsos íntims. És possible que ens equivoquem; així i tot, val més abandonar-se lliurement a l'emoció que sentir-se lligat de peus i mans per prejudicis que impedeixen de sentir-la'.

²⁶⁹ See p. 81.

²⁷⁰ This will be further explored on the last section of Casals' musical aesthetics. See p. 99.

²⁷¹ Sander van Maas, *The Reinvention of Religious Music: Olivier Messiaen's Breakthrough Toward the Beyond* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2009), p. 84.

Men without musical culture are incomplete. They are rough. And I extend this concept to collectivities, it can be said that human societies who do not experience the sublime emotions of music frequently are also rough and incomplete.²⁷²

He connects the idea of culture and music once again and in doing so he links the experience of music and the divine.²⁷³ Casals used composition as a means to react to his political context but he did so by composing in a tonal language:²⁷⁴

But each day, in the morning when I was freshest [...] I endeavored to compose for a certain number of hours. In spite of our privations, and the doubts and sorrows that afflicted us, the work nourished my spirit. In the midst of the savagery of war I was writing music about the Prince of Peace [*El Pessebre*], and if the suffering of man was part of that tale, it also spoke of a time when man's long ordeal would be ended and happiness would be his at last.²⁷⁵

Casals' oratorio evokes what will be discussed in the next section as it is a work composed as a reaction to a specific situation (Spanish Civil War) but without carrying the signature of its time.

²⁷² Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/06020103, On Pablo Casals, *Caras y Caretas* journal (no date). 'Los hombres sin cultura musical son hombres incompletos. Son ásperos. Y extendiendo este concepto a las colectividades, se puede decir también que son ásperas e incompletas las sociedades humanas que no experimentan con frecuencia las emociones sublimes de la música'.

²⁷³ When Casals was asked if he felt a religious emotion in the presence of works like Handel's *Messiah*, Haydn's *The Creation* or Bach's *Passions*, he said: 'to my understanding, [I feel an emotion which is] totally religious. In what this emotion has of humility and adoration'. As quoted in Corredor, *Converses amb Pau Casals*, 224.

²⁷⁴ Casals addressed a class of composition students in New York in 1971 and he said: 'sincerity, a rigorous sincerity with oneself, is an indispensable element for the craft of composition. All of you know what music is and what is not. And if you do not listen to your feelings, you will waste time, you will lie to yourselves and you will end up not using your life'. As quoted in Corredor, *Converses amb Pau Casals*, 418. 'La sinceritat, la rigorosa sinceritat amb un mateix, és un element indispensable per al treball de composició. Tots vosaltres sabeu el què és música i el que no ho és. I si no escolteu els vostres sentiments, perdreu el temps, us enganyareu a vosaltres mateixos i acabareu per inutilitzar la vostra vida'.

²⁷⁵ As quoted in Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 243-4.

c. Dalhaus principle

Carl Dahlhaus stated that in order to analyse an artwork one would need to understand the epoch that it came from as its imprint would permeate somehow: 'the principles of esthetic judgment, no less than works of art themselves, show the imprint of the epoch from which they come. They carry its signature'.²⁷⁶ A composer as unknown as Casals in terms of the *Zeitgeist* does not show signs of, what could be called, 'the Dalhaus principle'. Nonetheless, in other ways Casals most certainly 'carried the signature' of his epoch as his commitment to world peace and his passionate activism was part of his age:

As a man, the artist will never lack opportunities to intervene, if one thinks that one ought to intervene, in the conflicts of one's time. Art, however, cannot be a slave of those conflicts; no matter how dark the epoch, art should always bring a message of elevation and hope.²⁷⁷

Casals's words define the tension between two realities: the man who should help his fellow companions and the artist who should not be corrupted by the realities of his time. These two would seem to define Casals as he chose to lobby for world peace but, at the same time, he also decided to write music outside the paradigm of twentieth-century music.

d. The universality and ineffability of music as a language

Finally, the nineteenth century placed great importance on the relevance of music as a language as the means to express ideas: 'The

²⁷⁶ Carl Dahlhaus, *Esthetics of Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 90.

²⁷⁷ As quoted in Corredor, *Converses amb Pau Casals*, 300. 'Com a home, a l'artista no li faltaran ocasions d'intervenir, si és que creu que ha d'intervenir, en els conflictes del seu temps. L'art, però, no pot ésser esclau dels conflictes; per ombrívola que sigui l'època, l'art ens ha de portar un missatge d'elevació i d'esperança'.

idea of music as a universal language has mainly come down to us in the residue of turn-of-the-nineteenth-century German nationalist romantic justifications for instrumental music.’²⁷⁸ In order to explore the idea of whether music is a language or not, one needs to define the essence of what a language is:

Language is essentially an information-carrying medium, intelligible in principle to every rational being, and governed by rules which organize a finite vocabulary into a potential infinity of sentences. It is not obvious that any of those things is true of music.²⁷⁹

Scruton observes that the differences between a language and music might not be small.²⁸⁰ Kivy stated that absolute music possesses ‘the potential for being used to underlie a text or dramatic situation’: ‘One could, for example, write a program for a work of absolute music just because it is an expressive structure that *could* fit numerous programs or dramatic plots’.²⁸¹ That is not to say that music could be understood as a language but rather that through program music one might be able to fit an expressive structure. Scruton, on the other hand, refused the connection between language and music on the grounds of different roles in their respective rules:

There are [...] no rules which guarantee expression, even if a background of rule-guidedness may be necessary for the highest expressive effects. Rules have a different role from

²⁷⁸ Matthew Gelbart, ‘“The Language of Nature”: Music as Historical Crucible for the Methodology of Folkloristics’, *Ethnomusicology* Vol. 53 (Fall, 2009), (363–395), p. 364.

²⁷⁹ Scruton, *The Aesthetics of Music*, 172. He also adds: ‘Language is unique to rational beings: maybe it is the thing which *makes* them rational. It is language which provides us with an articulate picture of the world, and which permits us to think abstractly, so emancipating our thought from present experience and present desire’. Scruton, *The Aesthetics of Music*, 171.

²⁸⁰ Sacks also writes: ‘it [music] has no concepts, makes no propositions; it lacks images, symbols, the stuff of language. It has no power of representation. It has no necessary relation to the world’. Oliver Sacks, *Musicophilia: Tales of Music and the Brain* (London: Picador, 2011), p. ix.

²⁸¹ Kivy, *Introduction to a Philosophy of Music*, 198.

the grammatical rules of language. If you rewrite the rules [...] then you change *the possibilities of expression*.²⁸²

He also pointed out that the ‘meaning of a piece of music is given not by convention, but by perception’ and how only the person ‘whose aesthetic experience comprehends the “experience of meaning”’ could understand the music correctly.²⁸³ Scruton and Jankélévitch both noted how the possibilities of expression could not be easily defined by a ‘musical language’. The latter, though, went on to say:

Music is, then, inexpressive not because expresses nothing but because it does not express this or that privileged landscape, this or that setting to the exclusion of all others; music is inexpressive in that it implies innumerable possibilities of interpretation, because it allows us to choose between them.²⁸⁴

In light of these words, Jankélévitch and Scruton were pointing towards two different places as the second one could not guarantee an expression of music but the first one could but the possibilities were innumerable. Jankélévitch concluded: ‘in brief, the musical mystery is not “what cannot be spoken of,” the untellable, but the *ineffable*’.²⁸⁵ Jordi-Agustí Piqué also reflects on this idea of the ineffable which brings the Mystery into the equation:

Music and text identify themselves to mutate the immaterial to material, to reveal that which is unrevealed, to make comprehensible that which is uncomprehensible. Music can achieve this emotion because it shares with the Mystery the same incorporeality, the same ineffability, the same intangibility, the same ephemeral being of the revelation moment of the perception of the Mystery.²⁸⁶

²⁸² Scruton, *The Aesthetics of Music*, 210.

²⁸³ Ibid., 210.

²⁸⁴ Vladimir Jankélévitch, *Music and the Ineffable* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), p. 74.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 72.

²⁸⁶ Piqué Collado, *Teología y Música*, 27. ‘Música y texto se identifican para hacer material lo inmaterial, para desvelar lo indesvelable, para hacer comprensible lo incomprensible. La música puede conseguir esta emoción

Piqué connects the ineffable with the Christian Mystery which is the Eucharist. That is how he connects music and text in that particular context.²⁸⁷ Ultimately, Dahlhaus suggests that there might be the possibility of understanding music as a language if one is to do two things:

If music is striving to become like language, eloquent and expressive-and ever since the late eighteenth century the principle of expression has been indeed the driving force of music history- then it must do two things: on the one hand, in order to make itself understood, music must develop formulae (in opera a whole vocabulary took shape, which overflowed into instrumental music); on the other hand, as 'outpouring of the heart' and expression of someone's own inner being, expressivity demands avoidance of whatever is usual and taken for granted.²⁸⁸

Firstly, he explains that music should develop 'formulae' in order to become like a language. There is a recent Harvard study that shows that music is indeed universal which seems to open the possibility of music as a universal language.²⁸⁹

Music is universal but clearly takes on different forms in different cultures. [...] Music exists in every society [...] it varies substantially in melodic and rhythmic complexity and is produced worldwide in at least 14 behavioral contexts that vary in formality, arousal, and religiosity. But music does appear to be tied to identifiable perceptual, cognitive, and affective faculties, including language (all societies put words to their songs), motor control (people in all societies dance), auditory analysis (all musical

porque comparte con el Misterio la misma incorporeidad, la misma inefabilidad, la misma intangibilidad, el mismo ser efímero del momento de revelación de percepción del Misterio'.

²⁸⁷ This will be relevant when studying the Montserrat motets in the third chapter.

²⁸⁸ Dahlhaus, *Aesthetics of Music*, 23.

²⁸⁹ It is relevant to mention that there are many who would object to the idea of music as a universal language. Langer would be one of them: 'Music has not the characteristic properties of language-separable terms with fixed connotations, and syntactical rules for deriving complex connotations without any loss to the constituent elements'. Susanne K. Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key: A Study in the Symbolism of Reason, Rite, and Art* (New York: The New American Library, 1954), p. 188.

systems have some signatures of tonality), and aesthetics (their melodies and rhythms are balanced between monotony and chaos).²⁹⁰

This study shows that music is universal as it seems to connect information from different societies from all over the world.²⁹¹ At the same time, three dimensions of ‘formulae’ appear to be in place: formality, arousal and religiosity. Secondly, Dalhaus also connects language and the ‘expression of someone’s own inner being’. Nettl also discusses this issue: ‘musical systems, “musics”, do exist as separable units. But they are more readily connected with each other, and also more readily understood at least in certain respects by foreigner or novice, than are true languages’.²⁹² He does not state that music is a language but highlights how “musics” sometimes appear to connect people more easily than languages.

It has been valuable to research this subject because it brings light to the idea of language as a metaphor to communicate a message to the audience,²⁹³ and it also shows different perspectives which will be useful when exploring Casals works: the ineffable in relation to Casals’ motets and also the idea that music could be a universal

²⁹⁰ Samuel A. Mehr et al., ‘Universality and diversity in human song’, *Science* Vol. 366 (22 November 2019), (970: 1-17), p. 15.

²⁹¹ The study goes on to conclude: ‘music is in fact universal: it exists in every society (both with and without words), varies more within than between societies, regularly supports certain types of behavior, and has acoustic features that are systematically related to the goals and responses of singers and listeners’. Ibid., 970. In 2000, Bredin and Santoro-Brienza also wrote: ‘music, despite its cultural diversities and complexities, is practised by all human races, and is arguable the most universal of all the arts’. Hugh Bredin and Liberato Santoro-Brienza, *Philosophies of Art and Beauty: Introducing Aesthetics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p. 163.

²⁹² Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-Three Discussions* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2015), pp. 36-7.

²⁹³ Paul Roberts also talks about the relationship between language and metaphor: ‘language allows us to do this so naturally that we are often unaware of it: we slip back and forth between factual statement and descriptive metaphor as we attempt to convey our responses clearly’. Roberts, *Images*, 78.

language as Casals used this metaphor regularly, as it connected the message he wanted to deliver with the essence of the feelings he wanted to convey:

Music, this marvellous universal language, understood by everyone, everywhere ought to be a source of better communication among men. This is why I make a special appeal to my fellow musicians everywhere, asking each one to put the purity of his art at the service of mankind for the peace that we all desire and wait for.²⁹⁴

Casals' point of view shows how he understood music as a universal language. That is not to say that he thought that music could buy him a piece of bread but rather that it was a medium 'of better communication among men'; his message seemed to resonate with that of peace. This has been explored in the second chapter and will be further developed in the third.

²⁹⁴ United Kingdom, British Library, *Casals: Musician of the century*, Produced by Thomas Frost. 1LP0180760 (1966). Sacks explains how music can have a powerful impact on people: 'it [music] may be especially powerful and have great therapeutic potential for patients with a variety of neurological conditions. Such people may respond powerfully and specifically to music (and, sometimes, to little else)'. Sacks, *Musicophilia*, xiii. Although Casals would not seem to imply that music could help patients, his commitment as an artist points towards the direction of music having a powerful impact on those who listened to his performance but also to his music (especially his oratorio *El Pessebre*).

III. CHAPTER III: Casals' Music

As it has been seen in the first chapter, Casals' upbringing was enclosed in a few Catalan cultural movements (namely, *la Renaixença*, Noucentisme and Modernism) of which the exaltation of Catalanism was a predominant feature. The Spanish Civil War was the result of great social tensions that culminated in the Franco regime and Casals' self-imposed exile. In the second chapter, Casals' thought was studied and this has probably shown the relationship between Casals' ideas and his particular social and historical context and how his education shaped his understanding of the aesthetics of music; moreover, beauty, emotion, the Dalhaus principle and language were incorporated into the discussion as they could shed light on Casals' aesthetics. These characteristics seem to bring about a combination of elements that will be discussed below: Casals' use of the piano when composing (especially the significance that this may have for this thesis), Casals' use of tonal music as means to convey a message, the use of folk music as a way to globalise the Catalan culture and the political dimension of his music.

A piece of music needs to be understood in its specific context which has helped to create it; for instance, *Cançó a la Verge* cannot be fully grasped unless it is understood in the context of the abbey of Montserrat (the piece is devoted to the Black Madonna) and the particular setting of the Vespers.²⁹⁵ However, as it has been discussed in the second chapter, Casals' compositions seem to enclose the Dalhaus principle as his music carries the signature of its time (*El Pessebre* is a reaction to the Spanish Civil War) but it does not reflect the way in which the majority of music was created in the twentieth

²⁹⁵ Casals composed this piece for the Escolania de Montserrat's choir, which is a defining element for the motet. This will be further explained below.

century.²⁹⁶ What is more, Casals stated that he did not want his music to be published:

What has happened is that I have always declined to let my compositions be published. In this regard, I have adopted a categorical attitude. After my death they will be found and it shall be seen if they have any value. I have made an exception with some of my religious compositions that I have offered to the Montserrat Abbey (for which, as you know, I feel a deep affection). These compositions have been published by the Catalan Benedictines of Montserrat, who for many centuries have enjoyed a well deserved prestige in the musicological sphere.²⁹⁷

This lack of concern for publication could be considered in terms of the difference between publication and performance. Casals was not interested in the former one but he allowed the Montserrat Abbey to sing his music and he also conducted his oratorio worldwide.²⁹⁸ The way in which he portrayed his understanding of composition would seem to be not as an end in itself but rather as a means to convey his ideas. One could argue that if he did not care for his music then why should one study it? While this is a fair and valid question, the fact that Casals expressed his desire not to publish his music does not follow that his music could have not been significant to him as he seemed to use it as a 'maker of culture'.²⁹⁹ At the same time, while

²⁹⁶ See p. 96.

²⁹⁷ As quoted in Corredor, *Converses amb Pau Casals*, 81. 'El que passa és que sempre m'he negat a deixar publicar les meves composicions. Quant a això, he adoptat una actitud categòrica. Després de la meva mort ja les trobaran, i ja veuran si tenen cap valor. He fet una excepció amb algunes composicions religioses, que he ofert a l'Abadia de Montserrat (per la qual, com vostè sap, sento un gran afecte). Aquestes composicions han estat publicades pels benedictins catalans de Montserrat, que des de fa segles gaudeixen d'un merescut prestigi en l'esfera de la musicologia'. One could argue that Casals might have thought that his compositions were of little value but although his works are unknown, his 'O vos omnes' is performed regularly and most of his motets are still performed today at the Montserrat Abbey. See footnote 10.

²⁹⁸ See [Anon.], 'Broadcasting', *The Musical Times* Vol. 104, No. 1447 (September, 1963), (646), p. 646.

²⁹⁹ See quote 161.

Casals was composing tonal music, most of his contemporary composers were engaging in a very different compositional discussion, usually a post-tonal musical language and this will also be explored below.

The particular cultural activity that concerns this thesis encompasses the field of performance-led research and autoethnography, as the current analysis of Casals' works would not be the same without the interpretation of them. The performance of these works is an essential way of understanding them as music and as a cultural activity. The interpretation of a piece of music is always a 'dynamic endeavour' and a responsible scrutiny is needed:³⁰⁰ it is dynamic, as one cannot state categorically that one owns the 'right' way of performing a piece of music. The cultural context of various performances might be different, and therefore the performance might need to claim, in Kramer's phrase, a different 'expressive act'. Kramer's view of interpretation is useful here; he discusses musicological interpretation but, I suggest, this idea is applicable to actual performance as the same issues ('urging truth claims') appear when one faces a work, whether it is through a musicological analysis or a performance:

Responsible interpretation also involves a principled refusal to monumentalize its own efforts, while at the same time sparing no efforts; a willingness to allow the object of interpretation its measure of resistance; a readiness to admit that interpretation, too, is an expressive act, urging truth claims - which is not the same as exhibiting the truth - while also exerting power of pressure on behalf of the interpreter's values.³⁰¹

Kramer's intention is to allow the validity of multiple interpretations, all with a justified claim of sincerity, awareness of evidence (truth) and responsibility as no single interpretation can make a claim to

³⁰⁰ This term is borrowed from Kramer

³⁰¹ Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice*, 16.

being the truth.³⁰² Through a critical understanding of one's own particular reading of a subject, one can interpret the connection between the music and the culture at the time of the composition of a piece or, even, during the actual performance of it: interpretations 'convince by their power to sustain a detailed scrutiny of a text that also reaches deep into the cultural context'.³⁰³ Through a 'detailed scrutiny', one can convey a meaningful performance but one should always acknowledge the reality that performance will be a 'dynamic endeavour' and, in addition, that its 'truth claims' will vary.³⁰⁴ It is, nonetheless, in the cultural context where one can see that while interpreting music, the interpreter becomes something more than just a product of culture; while performing a piece of music, one also becomes a 'maker' of culture and becomes a living part of the process.³⁰⁵ That would seem to be aligned with Casals' cultural context as Catalonia was involved in the exaltation of the arts. Through the interpreting of music, one becomes oneself an 'agent of culture'; this is important because it opens a window for a dialogue between the culture at the time of Casals' life and the culture that surrounds a performance or interpretation of Casals' works now;

³⁰² The word truth might need clarification; here it elicits a sense of honesty and rigour (evidence) towards the music making process.

³⁰³ Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice*, 16.

³⁰⁴ Philosopher Bertrand Russell stated: 'the truth is that both [the world of universals and the world of existence] have the same claim on our impartial attention, both are real, and both are important to the metaphysician. Indeed no sooner have we distinguished the two worlds than it becomes necessary to consider their relations'. Bertrand Russell, *The Problems of Philosophy: an Introduction to Philosophical Thinking* (London: Polit Press, 2010), p. 76. One could argue that the world of universals could be the composer's original idea (that is, Kramer's exhibiting an elemental truth), and the world of existence could be the performer's interpretation of a work (the 'truth' of a score). It is within the relationship between the two where one might find some 'truth'. Furthermore, it is important to understand that, in Casals' context, the word 'truth' has a religious context as it has been explored in the second chapter.

³⁰⁵ See quote 161.

such a dialogue, in turn, makes a performance a dynamic endeavour: they feed each other. It is in this light that one cannot separate the analytical aspect of research and the performance side of it, as they are intertwined. While performing a piece of music, one is reliving it and recreating it; this makes the analytical part of the process a living process, too. Through an awareness of one's own (perhaps limited) reading of a performance and its cultural background, one might nevertheless be able to state some sort of 'truth'.

a. A selection of Pau Casals' works

The works that will be analysed in this thesis are the piano works, the Montserrat Motets and *El Pessebre*.³⁰⁶ These works have a chronological relationship, as can be observed by looking at the compositions' dates.³⁰⁷ The first piano work (Balada) was composed in 1893 and the last one (Alla Menuetto) in 1955; the Montserrat Motets were composed between 1932 and 1959 and *El Pessebre* was composed between 1943 and 1960. Therefore, all three sets of works overlap with each other and also follow a linear evolution in terms of

³⁰⁶ The full list of the works that will be analysed here is the piano works (1893-1955) (Balada (1893), Allegro en Fa # m (1893), Quatre romances sense paraules (1894), Primer preludi orgànic (1895), Petita Masurca de Saló (1895), *Instantànea* (1895), Segon preludi orgànic (1895), *Pàgina íntima* (1898), Tercer preludi orgànic (1898), Sardana Festívola (1906), Cançó de bressol I (1935), Cançó de Bressol II (1942), Cor de Pastors (1942), Poema de bressol (1943), Prélude (1946) and Alla Menuetto (1955)), the Montserrat Motets (1932-1959), (Salve Montserratina (1932), Rosarium Beatae Virginis Mariae (1932), O Vos Omnes (1932), Ave Maria de l'Abat Marcet (1934), Tota Pulchra (1942), Cançó a la Verge (1942), Recordare Virgo Mater (1942), Nigra Sum (1943), *Eucarística* (1952) and Oració a la Verge de Montserrat (1959)) and *El Pessebre* (1943-1960). To see a full list of his works, see www.paucasals.org. [accessed 9 October 2017]

³⁰⁷ Casals composed the piano works in the first place, followed by the Montserrat motets and the oratorio.

their style.³⁰⁸ Secondly, there is a progression in the way that Casals wrote for choir and, more importantly, for piano. It is important to note, at this point, that Casals' brother, Enric, wrote: '[*El Pessebre*] was written for piano and voice [choir], as Pau Casals used to write when he wanted to get rid of thoughts that would make him suffer'.³⁰⁹ This particular ensemble (piano and choir) seemed to be dear to Casals and therefore has constituted another defining element for the choice of works. Nevertheless, the most important reason for this selection has arisen after my research and performance. These have led me to understand that each of these works belong to a unique category. The piano works represent the private persona of Casals; that is, it is music that he did not perform in public (as these works had not been published until 2012) but also it is the music that represents his own local context.³¹⁰ The pieces represent different aspects of his roots but, most importantly, they explore the Catalan folk music and Casals' understanding of the piano. The Montserrat motets represent the sacred aspect of Casals' persona, meaning that these motets were performed in Montserrat's abbey during his lifetime and they seem to be focused on the idea of simplicity and beauty. *El Pessebre*, I will argue, represents the culmination of these two previous sets of works; from the private persona (his upbringing and his context as a musician), to the sacred: he composed his oratorio where he not only did not shy away from the performance of this work but made it 'a peace crusade'. By doing so, he seemed to transcend the local impact

³⁰⁸ By linear evolution I mean an orderly, chronological line of events.

³⁰⁹ Casals, *Pau Casals*, 249. '[*El Pessebre*] va ésser escrita per a piano i cant, com Pau Casals acostumava a escriure per lliurar-se de pensaments que el feien sofrir'.

³¹⁰ It seems that the piano works were not performed by anyone until the Boileau editorial published them. Nevertheless, Casals appears to have performed some 'pieces' in private for the Princess Isabel in Madrid in 1893 (it is not clear which ones). Moreover, that is not the case for the Montserrat motets and *El Pessebre* as it has already been discussed. See Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 58.

of the Catalan culture by composing a work where the Nativity story was narrated in Catalan and using Catalan folk music.³¹¹

i. Piano Works

The piano works can be seen as representing what I have defined as the ‘local’ and ‘personal’ Casals. They represent the first compositions Casals composed and therefore there are a lot of influences in them from his musical education;³¹² most of these works were composed at the beginning of his career and its influences consist of the use of improvisation and intuition as a means of composing, a tonal musical language and the introduction of folk music style into his compositions. Casals made a choice when he chose a tonal musical language, with a very ‘classical’ use of harmonic structures and rhythms (a very different musical language from the one prevailing at the time), as he portrayed his compositions as wanting them to be able to convey a message of peace; that seemed to be his priority. It is through his piano works where he started to explore the possibilities of the piano that would culminate in *El Pessebre*. Marta Casals said: ‘my husband always composed at the piano’.³¹³ This particular insight allows this research to see Casals’ works from a pianistic point of view, even though

³¹¹ Casals seems to transcend the local impact of the Catalan culture by using Catalan elements such as the language and its folk music and performing it all over the world (a language that even in 2013 was only spoken by the 80.4% of the total population of Catalonia, which was 7.5 million people). Furthermore, the fact that he uses the Nativity, which for him as a Catholic is the story of Christ, is also another component that seems to transcend the regional impact of what he was doing by aiming to make it a global phenomenon as there are 1.2 billion Catholics in the world. This will be further explored below.

https://llengua.gencat.cat/web/.content/documents/publicacions/altres/arxiu/EULP2013_angles.pdf [accessed 1 June 2020]. See also: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-21443313> [accessed 1 June 2020]

³¹² These influences are tonality and folk music.

³¹³ Rovirosa, Ricard, Recorded Interview with Mrs. Casals, 25th May 2016.

Casals was not a concert pianist. Furthermore, the fact that Casals decided to compose a set of solo piano pieces (and not pieces for cello for instance) also shows the centrality of the piano in Casals' understanding of music. Casals toured as an accompanist to Susan Metcalfe and therefore his knowledge of the instrument could not have been superficial.³¹⁴ That is not to say that he was the only composer who did this; however, this enables this research to understand Casals' pianistic works, from a performers' point of view, as someone who composed for an instrument that he understood. It is also relevant to note that it was part of the Catalan culture at the time to write music for piano: 'the majority of composers wrote piano music, with saloon pieces that remade the trendy arias and the circumstantial pieces'.³¹⁵ Casals composed a few pieces like these: *Petita masurca de saló, instantánea* and *Pàgina íntima*. At the same time, the piano was becoming a fashionable instrument at the bourgeois households: 'the piano was an almost indispensable element in a bourgeois house [...] the number of pianos augmented, which would mean the creation of a specific musical repertoire as a pedagogical demand'.³¹⁶ Casals seemed to explore the piano palette through these piano works that would seem to allow him to compose *El Pessebre* with a richer piano writing.

Furthermore, I have consulted the following manuscript sources: the Catalonia National Archive, Montserrat Abbey's Archive, Poblet Abbey's Archive and the British Library. Firstly, the Catalonia National Archive, which is the main one, holds most of Casals' letters, compositions, documents and interviews. These have been truly

³¹⁴ Casals said: 'at one of my concerts in Berlin in 1913, I met the well-known American singer, Susan Metcalfe [...] Afterwards we gave a number of concerts together in Europe and the United States, at which I played as her accompanist'. As quoted in Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 142.

³¹⁵ Cortès i Mir, *Història de la Música a Catalunya*, 126.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 125.

beneficial as they have shed light on my understanding of Casals' persona and piano writing.³¹⁷ Secondly, the Montserrat Abbey's Archive holds all the correspondence between Casals and the monks and also a few of Casals' original scores. Thirdly, Poblet's Abbey Archive holds letters and documents related to Casals (especially the ones during Tarradellas' government). Finally, the British Library has important recordings of interviews that have also been enriching for this research.

ii. Montserrat Motets

The Montserrat motets were composed to be sung at the Benedictine Abbey of Montserrat during the liturgy (mainly to be sung after the Salve, a chant to Our Lady of Montserrat that takes place every day) and the role of the piano is very limited, as it is doubling the voices most of the time. They are straightforward pieces but Casals seems to use its tonal musical language to portray music that would seem to be more accessible to listen to.³¹⁸ He would also seem to use homophonic textures to create 'introspective moments' and a focus on the text to build a bridge from spoken words to 'the mystery of music'. The idea of the ineffable will be particularly suitable here as Casals would try to portray his motets as connecting emotion to the perception of the Mystery of the Liturgy through the sharing of their ephemeral essences.³¹⁹ Casals composed these motets for the abbey, as a letter to Fr. Pinell and Fr. Ferrer relates:

I always think of you - so much that I do not know if I could resist the emotion of reencountering Montserrat and [seeing] you - with the other choirboys [escolanets]- in that

³¹⁷ One of the limits of my thesis is that I have not been able to do a revised edition of Casals' works; it could be a good contribution to the world of academia.

³¹⁸ The relationship between the idea of accessible music and the experience of the Mystery is relevant here.

³¹⁹ See quote 286.

ambience for my 'home'. God will grant me to see Catalonia, don't you think? And to make music together. I am so happy and grateful that you are continuing to sing my 'Rosary' and some of the other small works [obretes] - with the wish to bring you as soon as I can the ones I have done for you in exile, which means that you still don't know 'Cançó a la Verge', or 'Tota Pulchra', 'Recordare', 'Nigra sum', or an 'Invocació'. There are some bits of my oratory *El Pessebre* that you will also be able to sing.³²⁰

Casals' affection for the abbey seemed to be deep, as many of his letters to the Benedictine monks show.³²¹ In a letter to Fr. Ireneu Segarra, Casals was delighted to be asked to conduct his motets at the abbey:

I congratulate you all for the purchase of the bells...who knows if one day I will be able to listen to them. I did not know that the recording [you mention] was of my religious compositions. So be it. In regards to my conducting these works, I wish that I could!!!³²²

What is more, he composed these motets to be sung by 'Escolania de Montserrat' (the Montserrat Abbey children's choir), for whom he made an exception and allowed them to publish them. These motets,

³²⁰ Spain, Biblioteca del Monestir de Montserrat, Pau Casals i Defilló, P. Ireneu Segarra/Correspondència, letter 2 (Prades, 24 October 1947). 'Jo penso en vostès sempre - Tant, que no sé si podria resistir l'emoció de retrobar-me a Montserrat i amb vostès- amb els escolanets- en aquell ambient per a mi 'casià'. Déu voldrà encara que jo vegi encara Catalunya, no els sembla? I que fem música plegats-. Estic tan content i agraït que continuïn cantant el meu Rosari i les altres obretes -amb el desig de portar ja mateix les que he fet per a vostès en el exili fa que no coneixin encara la 'Cançó a la Verge', com 'Tota Pulchra', com 'Recordare', com 'Nigra sum', i com una 'invocació'. Alguns fragments del meu Oratori del Pessebre que també podran cantar'.

³²¹ This affection is clear in all of the unpublished letters kept in the Montserrat Abbey's archive.

³²² Spain, Biblioteca del Monestir de Montserrat, Pau Casals i Defilló, P. Ireneu Segarra/Correspondència, letter 10 (Prades, 28 November 1955). 'Els felicito per l'adquisició de les campanes...qui sap si algun dia les podré sentir. No sabia que es tractava de la grabació de les meves composicions religioses. Que així sigui. En quant a dirigir-les jo mateix, que més voldria jo!!!'. It is important to see that in Catalan the expression 'so be it' does not have a negative connotation (in this context) and it would mean something like 'amen to that'.

nonetheless, feature a much deeper development of Casals' musical language, mainly in his use of textures and phrasing.

iii. El Pessebre

Joan Alavedra wrote a poem entitled 'Poema del Pessebre'; when Casals heard it he thought it was 'lovely':

For Christmas his daughter [Alavedra's], she was six or seven or eight, begged her father to write something on the Pessebre, on the Nativity for her. [...] He showed it to me and I said this is very lovely. It is very lovely. Why you don't continue on the same theme: Nativity. And he began to continue, continue. And it arrived the moment that I began to put music in it.³²³

The joy was mutual, as Alavedra wrote a letter to Casals confirming how happy he was with the first part of the progress on *El Pessebre*:

I would be so pleased if you would continue with the composition of this work [*El Pessebre*], until you give it [the poem] a music that I find extraordinary. [...] I only ask that the bits that are still missing are as good as the ones [you have] already composed.³²⁴

The key element of *El Pessebre* was its intention to be part of a 'peace crusade', as Casals stated, and the way Casals envisioned this was through an oratorio in Catalan about the Nativity. This seems to be the kernel of this work as through the use of a universal theme such as the Nativity with the combination of the Catalan language as the language of the oratorio, it would seem that Casals was constructing an image that would transcend the local impact of his music and his message: 'this oratorio has, in fact, the currency of the eternal

³²³ United Kingdom, British Library, *Casals: A portrait for radio*, Produced by CBC Studios, 1CD0196768 (January 17, 1974).

³²⁴ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/04.01/33 units, 1942-1958/72, letter in Catalan (L'Estartit, 10th September 1958), letter 33. 'Em plauria molt que continués la composició d'aquesta obra [*El Pessebre*], fins a donar fi a una música que jo trobo tan extraordinària. [...] Només demano que els fragments que falten estiguin a l'alçada dels ja compostos'.

invocation: "Peace on earth to people of good will".³²⁵ In this phrase there is the essence of the category of this work (that of the international sphere of Casals' works): he was trying to transform a universal message (that of Christianity as expressed in the Gloria) by using Catalan folk music and the Catalan language.³²⁶ *El Pessebre* seems to be the culmination of Casals' works. Here, the piano part is not just an accompaniment but rather a conversational partner who is part of a dialogue between equals, the choir on the one hand, and the piano on the other.³²⁷ *El Pessebre* is for soloists (soprano, alto, tenor and baritone), choir and piano, and is structured in a prologue and four parts relating the story of the Nativity.³²⁸

³²⁵ As quoted in Corredor, *Converses amb Pau Casals*, 419. 'Aquest oratori en realitat té per divisa l'eterna invocació: "Pau en la terra als homes de bona voluntat"'. I will return to *El Pessebre* later.

³²⁶ The Gloria is part of the Roman Rite of the Mass. It is the text that is recited or sung after the Kyrie during Sunday Mass or festivities outside the Lenten or Advent seasons.

³²⁷ It is important to note here that it was Enric Casals who made the orchestral part of the oratory and therefore, this research will be focused on the original version by Pau Casals for piano, choir and soloists. Casals wrote to his brother in 1965: 'Christmas is coming and I think with more intensity of you and of Catalonia where these festivities are celebrated with devotion and patriotic feeling. Enric: I think also in my *Pessebre* which is also yours, as you have put in a great work with so much love that I, probably, would have never found the time to do'. As quoted in Casals, *Pau Casals*, 163. 'Ve el Nadal i amb més intensitat penso en vosaltres i en Catalunya on es celebren amb devoció i sentiment patriòtic aquestes festes. Enric: penso també en el meu *Pessebre* que també és teu i que amb tant d'amor hi has posat un treball magnífic que probablement jo no hauria trobat el temps per fer-lo'.

³²⁸ The specific movements of *El Pessebre* are: Prologue (Prelude and The Annunciation to the Shepherds), Part I: On the way to Bethlehem (The Man at the Well, The Fisherman, The Man who Plows, the Star, the Man and the Woman who Carry the Grapes and the Woman who spins), Part II: The Caravan of the Three Kings (The Caravan, the Three Pages, Chorus of Camels and Chorus of the Three Kings), Part III: The Manger (Intermezzo, the Mother of God, Saint Joseph, the Mule in the Stable and the Ox in the Stable) and Part IV: The Adoration (the night of the Birth, the Tears of the Infant Jesus, the Arrival of the Shepherds, Offerings of the Three Kings and the Shepherds, Hosanna and Gloria). For a detailed analysis of the structure of the work see Vázquez-Ramos, 'Pablo Casals', 47-49.

In the following sections I will highlight different elements of Casals' writing that shaped these works, and will offer an interpretation of Casals' musical language.

b. Approaches to Casals' compositions

This thesis will research two approaches to understand Casals' music: the centrality of the piano in Casals' music and simplicity as a means for universal understanding. The former one will be divided into Bach's influence on Casals and improvisatory style and the latter will be divided into sacred music and folk music.

i. The centrality of the piano in Casals' music

Casals' piano works were first published in 2012 and therefore, the connection between piano and Pau Casals is yet to be established. It is well-known that Casals' career was that of a cellist and this research does not suggest otherwise. However, there is something to be said in regards to the centrality that the piano had in Casals' music. I will explore four ideas that will shed light to this particular insight. Firstly, the fact that he composed at the piano, as it has already been explored, is important insofar as it shows the relevance he gave to the instrument. Although it is clear that many other composers did this, it does not follow that one cannot place the piano as an important element of Casals' understanding of music making. Secondly, how the piano pieces represent the private or intimate Casals. This research is trying to bring forth the importance of each of the set pieces (piano works, Montserrat motets and *El Pessebre*) in order to better comprehend Casals. Thus, I argue that he seemed to explore the nature of his upbringing by composing these pieces: one can see the use of folk music in them which is connected

to his experience of listening to this kind of music at the main square in Sant Salvador; the tonality of his musical language represents the importance that his teachers gave to it and how he explored this as a composer and later on chose to compose using such a musical language at the time that he did so and the improvisatory element that constituted one of the ways in which the Count of Morphy taught Casals.³²⁹ These elements show how the solo piano works represent an important part of the development of Casals as a composer and therefore one that will unveil a new facet of his. Thirdly, Casals seemed to use the piano in order to learn new pieces on the cello; this process would entail him first learning it at the piano and only then at the cello:

Just today, when you have arrived, I was studying a Bach recitative. I have been working on it for a few weeks now, first at the piano, then at the cello. The complete intuition of the work does not come to me quickly, I can feel that I will capture it as I wish it to be, but I still have not mastered it with all its plenitude.³³⁰

This practice shows how the piano was part of his ‘intuition process’ to master a piece which would seem to demonstrate how profound was the role of the piano in Casals’ music making. Fourthly, the performance aspect of these works. This research could not have happened if it were not for the performance element in it. Although it is possible to comprehend the intellectual nature of these ideas without the performance element they would constitute another musicological analysis of Casals’ works; that is not to say that it

³²⁹ This evidence does not state that Casals was unique in this sense; what this analysis is trying to convey is what makes Casals the musician and composer that he was.

³³⁰ As quoted in Corredor, *Converses amb Pau Casals*, 314. ‘Avui mateix, quan vostè ha arribat, jo estudiava un recitat de Bach. El treball des de fa algunes setmanes, primer en el piano, després en el violoncel. La intuïció completa de l’obra no em ve de seguida: pressento que acabaré per captar-la tal com desitjo, però encara no he arribat a dominar-la en tota la plenitud’.

would not be a valid one but rather, that the present research that is being carried out could not have happened. The essence of it is entrenched on the understanding that only by performing these works can one grasp Casals' compositional imagery.

Casals was a well-known cellist but it is important to note that he was also a good pianist. He considered himself one, as he said:

Some people will be surprised by this, but I have never felt fully fulfilled with the cello. The servitudes that it imposes oblige one to an exhausting work, and the uncertainty of the concerts slaves the body to a nervous exhaustion. On the other hand, I feel as comfortable in front of the cello as seated at the piano or with a baton in my hand. To make music is what interests me, what my soul demands as the bread we eat.³³¹

Casals is portraying himself as equally comfortable with these three facets of music making but that does not mean, I argue, that Casals was a concert pianist. Nonetheless, it does confirm the idea that one could regard Casals as a pianist and not just someone who played the piano occasionally;³³² Casals' education included the learning of the

³³¹ As quoted in Corredor, *Converses amb Pau Casals*, 136-7. 'Per més que algunes persones se n'estranyin, mai no m'he quedat del tot satisfet amb el violoncel. Les servituds que imposa obliguen a un treball extenuant, i la incertesa dels concerts sotmet l'organisme a un veritable esgotament nerviós. Per altra banda, jo em sento en el meu element tant davant el violoncel com assegut al piano o amb la batuta a la mà. Fer música és el que m'interessa, allò que exigeix el meu esperit com el pa que mengem'. Cook corroborates this when he writes: 'learning an instrument, particularly at an advanced level, can be one of the most rigorous of all modes of disciplining the human body'. Nicholas Cook, *Beyond the Score: Music as Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 314.

³³² See note 314. Ventura Gassol relates how Casals was once asked about his piano skills: 'when one of them [Swiss musicians visiting Casals] asked you if you played the piano, you, taking the likes of a big boy who has been asked a similar question, [you] replied with a small smile: no... no..., I play it as well as the cello!'. Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/04.01/56 units, 1927-1956/97 (Les Fablores, 9th December 1953), letter no. 15. 'En preguntar-vos un d'ells si vós tocaveu el piano, vós, prenent l'aire d'un gran infant al qual se li fes una pregunta semblant responguereu amb un somriure lleu: no... no..., el toco com el violoncel!'. This quote, I suggest, does not show that he actually played both

piano, and his father taught him the Well-Tempered Clavier: ‘my father was the first one who taught me some of the aspects of the great musical art. It is true he taught me The Well-Tempered Clavier, which is a foundation to all sorts of music’.³³³ Casals seemed to play the piano every morning.³³⁴ Moreover, there are three accounts that document how Casals composed at the piano. The first account of this is by Marta Casals;³³⁵ the second one is by Josep Maria Corredor, the writer of one of Casals’ books: ‘Just a few moments ago he [Casals] just stood from the piano, where he was giving the last touches to a few pages of *El Pessebre*’.³³⁶ The last one can be found in a letter from Eugene Istomin:

I also told Steinway send a piano for your use while you are there [Puerto Rico] as perhaps you might wish to compose and certainly will make a little music with someone you might share the house with.³³⁷

The influence of Casals’ own piano playing can be seen in his compositions; for instance, in his *Romança III* (example 5) one can

instruments to the same level of perfection but rather that he was able to play the piano.

³³³ As quoted in Corredor, *Converses amb Pau Casals*, 35. ‘El meu pare va ésser el primer que em féu conèixer alguns aspectes del gran art musical. És cert que m’ensenyà *El clavecí ben temperat*, aquest fonament de tota mena de música’. The relationship between Bach and Casals will be further explored below.

³³⁴ There is also an account of Casals’ love for playing the piano every morning: ‘Still today, when every morning - before reestablishing contact with the immortal message of J. S. Bach - I open the windows of my room and I contemplate the colour symphony of Mount Canigó, I feel the same need to give thanks, to venerate and I would even say to kneel’. As quoted in Casals, *Pau Casals*, 283. ‘Encara avui, quan cada matí - abans de reprendre contacte amb el missatge immortal de J. S. Bach - obro les finestres de la meva cambra i contemplo la simfonia de colors del Canigó, sento la mateixa necessitat de regraciar, de venerar i quasi diria d’agenollar-me’.

³³⁵ See quote 313.

³³⁶ Corredor, *Converses amb Pau Casals*, 408. ‘Fa uns moments que s’ha aixecat del piano, on donava els darrers retocs a unes pàgines d’*El Pessebre*’.

³³⁷ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/04.01/14 telegrams/1950-1956/104, (Tobago, 16th March 1955), letter no. 14.

observe how the piano writing suits the hand:



Example 5, *Romança III*, bb. 1-4.

The left hand comfortably plays the bass line within the range of an octave which would easily fit a pianistic hand. The melody is written as a legato line but also includes part of the accompaniment, which is off-beat. Only by playing this melodic line, I argue, can one grasp Casals' understanding of the piano as it can be observed how the music would fit the right hand perfectly. The right fingering for this would be (the melodic line only): five, four, three, four, three, three and five. This would enable the performer to fit the accompaniment within Casals' indication of the slur and produce the accent on the second bar which also helps to feel how the melody gravitates towards the dominant seventh chord in the third bar. Casals achieves this by using very simple means: tonality, articulation, musical direction and rhythm. Furthermore, in *Nigra sum* (example 6) one can see how the musical lines also suit the hands; one can see, I argue, how Casals composed this piece at the piano as the choral writing is part of the accompaniment.

Moderato

The musical score is for a piece titled 'Nigra sum' by Casals, measures 1-5. It is in 2/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The tempo is marked 'Moderato'. The score consists of three staves: Soprano, Alto, and Piano. The lyrics are 'Ni-gra sum, ni-gra sum, sed for - mo - sa,'. The piano part includes dynamics 'mp' and 'marc.'.

Example 6, *Nigra sum*, bb. 1-5.

At the same time, one can observe how Casals seems to be exploring his understanding of beauty in this motet by shaping the melodic lines through simple means: the first three bars are only a dialogue in form of straightforward intervals (thirds and sixths) but then when the word *formosa* (beautiful) appears, Casals seems to be playing with the harmony so that this word is stressed (the musical phrase also gravitates towards this point). He does so by creating a harmonic tension with the suspension on the piano part (f#) that emphasises the dominant chord (B) which is also answered with another suspension on the alto part which resolves in bar 5. Casals also seems to be aware of two different musical spheres. The first bar of the choir part evokes, I suggest, an idea of stillness (one could also go as far as saying that it represented a moment of contemplation of the beauty of the Mystery). Nonetheless, the piano part seems to create a dialogue between the stillness of the choir part and the movement on the piano's (made simply by playing an E chord with a passing note). Casals' *El Pessebre* shows how Casals developed his piano and choral writing and each of them become two equal partners. In doing so, one

can now grasp, I suggest, the evolution of the role of the piano in his choral works. In the ‘Annunciation of the Shepherds’ (example 7) one can see how the choir and piano are two separate conversational parts:

The image displays a musical score for two parts: Soprano and Piano. The Soprano part begins at measure 98 with the lyrics "Pas - tors, - cor - reu!". The Piano part starts at measure 98 with a "scendo" marking and a "f" dynamic. The Piano part features a "crescendo" marking and a "p" dynamic. The Piano part includes a "crescendo" marking and a "p" dynamic. The Piano part includes a "crescendo" marking and a "p" dynamic.

Example 7, *El Pessebre, The Annunciation to the Shepherds*, bb. 98-103.

It is also interesting to note how the dialogue happens in this case: the piano, I suggest, incites the rhythm on the soloist part by its articulation and its similar rhythm. The two E chords (6 and 6/4) in bar 99 in the piano part incite the soloist to sing *pastors* but more importantly *correu* as this rhythmic succession starts slower in the piano part (the third beat of bar 99 is a quaver) and gets faster in the soloist's part (the rhythm here is a semiquaver) which evokes, I argue, the idea of *correu* (run). Then the piano part initiates a run of

demisemi-quavers which, I argue, evokes the idea of running and completes the dialogue between the soloist and the piano. All of this is done very simply but one could argue that the effect is accomplished.

Furthermore, the field of performance-led research has also informed this thesis as performing these works has helped me to understand them. It has also given me a reflexive positioning as per Mani: 'the kind of research that I engage in is 'artistic research' and the fact that I engage in it from within the paradigm makes my positioning 'reflexive' - an insider-outsider, the observer/observed'.³³⁸ In addition, autoethnography has also been important as there is a connection between Casals and myself: we are both from Catalonia. The term autoethnography could be defined as such:

The term *auto* is commonly used in the academy when referencing publications in which the author presents critical reflections and interpretations of personal experience. In contrast, *ethnography* is commonly referenced as a key qualitative approach to studying the rules, norms, and acts of resistance associated with cultural groups. Consequently, the hybrid term, *autoethnography*, is intended to name a form of critical self-study in which the researcher takes an active, scientific, and systematic view of personal experience in relation to cultural groups identified by the researcher as similar to the *self* (i.e., us) or as *others* who differ from the self (i.e., them).³³⁹

These two elements have helped me define the centrality of the piano in Casals' music. This will shed new light to the understanding one can have of Casals' compositions. One can see how Casals' piano writing evolves from the piano works (representing the private

³³⁸ Charulatha Mani, 'Singing across Cultures: an Auto-ethnographic Study', *International Review of Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* Vol. 48, No. 2 (December 2017), (245-264), p. 246.

³³⁹ Sherick Hughes, Julie L. Pennington and Sara Makris, 'Translating Autoethnography Across the AERA Standards: Toward Understanding Autoethnographic Scholarship as Empirical Research', *Educational Researcher* Vol. 41, No. 6 (August/September 2012), (209-19), p. 209.

Casals) to the Montserrat motets (which stand for the sacred where he explores the idea of beauty) and culminates in *El Pessebre* (which corresponds with the international), where both parts are developed and serve as the means, Casals would argue, to communicate a message of peace.

a. Bach's influence

Bach was one of the biggest influences Casals ever had; he played two preludes and fugues from the Well-Tempered Clavier at the piano every day, which is a remarkable thing considering he was a cellist:

And then I play, every day of my life, even if I feel that I am going to die, a couple of preludes and fugues of the Well Tempered. Every day of my life! Bach. The sun is always the sun.³⁴⁰

He also admired the six cello suites; it took him twelve years of practising before he felt he was ready to perform one of them in public:

They [the six cello suites] became my most cherished music. I studied and worked at them every day for the next twelve years. Yes, twelve years would elapse and I would be twenty-five before I had the courage to play one of the suites in public at a concert.³⁴¹

He went on to say how important the cello suites were for him as he thought they were the essence of Bach:

How could anyone think of them as being cold, when a whole radiance of space and poetry pours forth from them! They are the very essence of Bach, and Bach is the essence of music.³⁴²

Casals practised the cello suites almost every day and his performance of them is one of the reasons why he is considered a

³⁴⁰ United Kingdom, British Library, *Casals: A portrait for radio*, Produced by CBC studios. 1CD0196768 (January 17, 1974).

³⁴¹ As quoted in Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 46-47.

³⁴² As quoted in *Ibid.*, 47.

towering artist of the twentieth century. Casals expressed his preference for Bach on many occasions, but there are three elements which seem particularly important for Casals' view of the composer, and which can give the reader, I suggest, a sense of Casals' admiration for him. The first one is Bach's relationship with his audience: 'Bach has not been understood. And Bach accepted not to be understood and he never did something to impress the public. He never did that.'³⁴³ The second idea can be summarised as Casals' view of Bach's profundity: 'Bach is forever and nobody, nobody will reach the greatness and the profoundness and the diversity of Bach. He is the God of music. The image of what I dream in music and what I say in music.'³⁴⁴ Finally, he defined Bach's music as being full of diversity and freedom of thought and expression:

For me, Bach is like Shakespeare. He has known all and felt all, [...] he is everything. Everything [...] except a *professor*. Professor Bach I do not know. When people ask me how I play Bach, I say, 'I play him as the pianist plays Chopin'. There is such fantasy in Bach - but fantasy with order.³⁴⁵

It is important to see how Casals thinks of Bach in terms of Chopin as the latter represents one of the pinnacles of piano music. By stating so, I argue, Casals shows how central the piano was to his thinking. He continued:

He [Bach] was the great musician, the poet, the elegant musician. Bach is everything, he is a volcano. [...] Bach has been misunderstood. Some people have tried to make him

³⁴³ United Kingdom, British Library, *Casals: A portrait for radio*, Produced by CBC studios. 1CD0196768 (January 17, 1974). It seems that Casals might be signalling his own context; he might be addressing the issue of 'not being understood' either as his compositions did not reflect the twentieth century paradigm. Nevertheless, his goal was to be understood by everyone so that his impact could be bigger and therefore his campaigning for peace could be a success. He resolved that tension by composing in a tonal language and by using Catalan folk music.

³⁴⁴ United Kingdom, British Library, *Tribute to Pablo Casals*, Produced by BBC Radio 3. C1398/0964 (London, October 28, 1973).

³⁴⁵ As quoted in Taper, *Cellist in Exile*, 33.

become a cold and mechanic musician, they have disfigured what is human and expressive [in Bach].³⁴⁶

Casals thought that 'First comes Bach - then all the others'.³⁴⁷

There are, therefore, three elements in Casals' compositions, I argue, that pay tribute to Bach: the use of a tonal language itself, the idea of beauty related to God and the use of imitation.³⁴⁸ In the following examples I will highlight these three elements, which create, in my reading, a bridge between Bach's music and that of Casals'. The first element, the use of a tonal language, is relevant especially since Casals composed in the twentieth century. His admiration for Bach made him choose the same tonal language that Bach (as many others) used. Example 8 shows the use of a tonal language in a style through which, with its very linear bass line and its straightforward harmonies, Casals is making, I argue, a deliberate allusion to a Bach chorale, and suggesting how Bach's music was very important to him. Furthermore, the fact that he uses the word 'prelude' is also important as it has been discussed how Casals' practised The Well-Tempered Clavier.



Example 8, Segon Preludi Orgànic, bb. 1-5.

³⁴⁶ Spain, Montserrat, Arxiu de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Pau Casals (P. Ireneu Segarra), document in Catalan (Prades, 6th-9th November 1952), 6. 'Ell fou el gran music, el poeta, el músic elegant. Bach ho és tot, és un volcà. [...] S'ha falsejat a Bach. Se l'ha volgut fer un músic fred i mecànic, se l'ha desfigurat en el què té d'humà i d'expressiu'.

³⁴⁷ As quoted in Lloyd Webber, *Song of the Birds*, 49.

³⁴⁸ The fact that Casals composed in a tonal language does not make him only connected to Bach; however, I suggest that it was because of Casals' profound admiration of the German composer in particular that he chose to pay tribute to him.

In this example (8), the right hand creates a natural arch, or as Casals liked to call it, ‘rainbows’:

Music in general is a succession of rainbows, [by this he meant a natural crescendo to the middle of a musical phrase and then a natural decrescendo towards the end of it]. Well, nearly all the music is like that. And one observes... [one] only needs observation but it is already a guide as to have variety.³⁴⁹

Example 9 shows, for comparison, a chorale from Bach’s *Orgelbüchlein*, where the first phrase encompasses a sixth (f-d). Casals’ example also features a sixth (a flat-f), but it is the very linear melodic lines in Casals’ Prelude where one can see the resemblance between the two. It is also worth mentioning that both the first and third bars in Casals and in Bach have an upwards stepwise motion outlining a third.

Example 9, *Gottes Sohn ist kommen*, *Orgelbüchlein*, bb. 1-4.

The second element, the idea of beauty related to God, can be seen in *Cançó a la Verge* (example 10) where Casals uses a great deal of stepwise movement.

³⁴⁹ United Kingdom, British Library, *Casals: Musician of the century*, Produced by Thomas Frost. 1LP0180760 (1966). This idea is something that Casals used in many of his masterclasses. The rainbow concept helps the performer shape the phrase melodically but also understanding the harmonic tensions that are present in it; example (32) highlights how there is one big rainbow from bar one to bar five; but there are also two smaller rainbows, as Casals would call them, from bar one until bar two and then from bar three until bar five.

Poco andante

Veus

Piano

f

Vos - tre_al - tar_o - lo - rós té cla - rors d'al - ba - da,

Example 10, *Cançó a la Verge*, bb. 1-4.

In this example, Casals uses the simplicity of a stepwise movement in order to create a clean melodic line so that the religious words can ressonate with the audience.³⁵⁰ Casals, in my reading, seems to be deliberately picking up on Bach's ideas, as example 11 shows.

S
A
T
B

In dir ist Freu - de in al - lem Lei - de, O du stü - sser Je - su Christ!
durch dich wir ha - ben himm - li - sche Ga - ben, der du wah - rer Hei - land bist:

Example 11, *In dir ist Freude*, *Orgelbüchlein*, bb. 1-8.

At the same time, the key of *Cançó a la Verge* is C major, and its purity and centrality in the music might suggest to us the first prelude of the Well-Tempered Clavier. They are two very different pieces of music, but the identity of C major is portrayed in both examples in a 'simple' way, which is, I argue, what Casals was trying to accomplish in this motet - Casals was trying to emulate the mood of Bach's prelude.

³⁵⁰ I am not implying that this is the only way to do so but rather that Casals chose to do so in this fashion.

While Casals also composed contrapuntal pieces, he did not try to recreate the great fugues by Bach; however, he did use contrapuntal lines in order to pay tribute to him. In example 12, taken from *El Pessebre*, for instance, Casals uses imitation in order to stress the message of the text: 'I cannot go on; it's almost the dawn and we are so weary'. The fact that he is talking about the three pages and uses a fugue with three parts is not arbitrary; it is also noteworthy to analyse the importance of the text in this particular instance, as Casals defines the three most important words ('som', 'món' and 'passa') and places them in the strong beat of each bar, thus emphasising the importance of the text in Casals' compositions.³⁵¹

³⁵¹ The words 'som', 'món' and 'passa' could more literally be translated as 'are', 'world' and 'step'.

109

Tenor

Baritone

Piano

En - ca-ra no_hi

En - ca-ra no_hi som? És la fi del món! No faig cap més pas-sa.

En -

115

T.

Bar.

Pno.

som? És la fi del món! No faig cap més pas - sa.

ca - ra no hi som, no_hi

dolce

Example 12, *El Pessebre, Els tres patges*, bb. 109-17.

As Casals recalled at the end of his life: 'I need Bach at the beginning of the day almost more than I need food and water;'³⁵² Casals' music cannot be understood, in my reading, without grasping how important Bach was for him.³⁵³ Casals was an artist interested in the

³⁵² As quoted in Lloyd Webber, *Song of the Birds*, 49.

³⁵³ These three ideas (tonality, beauty as related to God and imitation) are not unique to Bach. Nonetheless, Casals' preference for the German composer makes his use of these attributes a reflection of Bach's music. Casals also discusses: 'How beautiful, how lovely! Bach! Everything, every feeling, every [feeling one can find in Bach's music]...lovely, tragic, dramatic, poetic...everything...every feeling; [in Bach's music one can find] the most profound of every feeling'. United Kingdom, British Library,

expression of emotion and found in Bach what he believed was the purity of all feelings. What is more, it was through Bach's inspiration, I suggest, where he found the image of what he dreamt of in music.³⁵⁴ It is an 'image' that Casals was seeking, not a replica and nor was he trying to sound like Bach. He found in the German composer the 'greatness and profoundness' that he needed in order to compose in the twentieth century.

b. Improvisation and intuition as a compositional process

Casals was taught improvisation while he studied under the guidance of the Count of Morphy:

Every day I stayed to have lunch at his [the Count of Morphy's] house; after eating, we would go to his living room and the Count asked me to improvise at the piano.³⁵⁵

It appears that these lessons had an impact on him as some of the compositions he wrote in Madrid have an embedded idea of 'immediacy'.³⁵⁶ He translates this thought into sounds by composing music that seems to fit the hand and, at the same time, have short

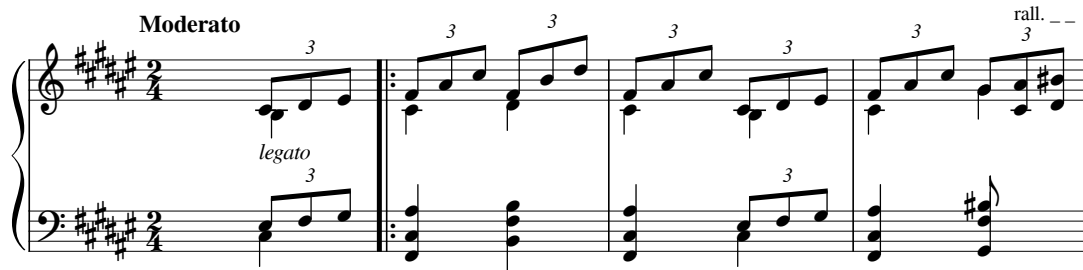
Casals: Musician of the century, Produced by Thomas Frost. 1LP0180760 (1966).

³⁵⁴ See quote 344. One could argue that this is a very naïve thing to say. However, as it will be seen in quote 425, Casals' sense of sensibility and simplicity, what will later be called *seny*, makes a case for his understanding of Bach.

³⁵⁵ As quoted in Corredor, *Converses amb Pau Casals*, 62. 'Cada dia em quedava a dinar a casa seva; després de l'àpat, anàvem a un saló i el comte em feia improvisar al piano'.

³⁵⁶ John Rink writes: 'one of the defining features of improvisation is its immediacy: the overriding goal is usually the *effect* of the sounding music rather than the cohesion and durability of an underlying musical conception'. John Rink, 'Chopin and Improvisation', in *Chopin and His World*, ed. by Jonathan D. Bellman and Halina Goldberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), p. 250.

motifs that he seems to develop intuitively.³⁵⁷ Two examples of this are *instantánea* (instantaneous, 1895) and *Pàgina Íntima* (1898).



Example 13, *Instantánea*, bb. 1-3.

In example 13, there is a simple harmonic progression (moving from dominant to tonic, then subdominant, tonic, dominant and back to tonic), which points toward the direction of Casals' choice for the title 'Instantly'. One can also see how the triplet pattern is a constant feature in this piece and, also, the melodic motifs are very pianistic, or rather, they suit the hand position (they are essentially arpeggiated chords).³⁵⁸

In Casals' *Balada* (example 14) there is also a similar compositional process; the left hand plays a pedal point on an F (which is the tonic) while the right hand has short bursts of energy (both bars 1 and 2 are using arpeggiated forms of IV-I). This also points towards the idea of a pianistic improvisation, as it fits the hand perfectly.³⁵⁹ At the same

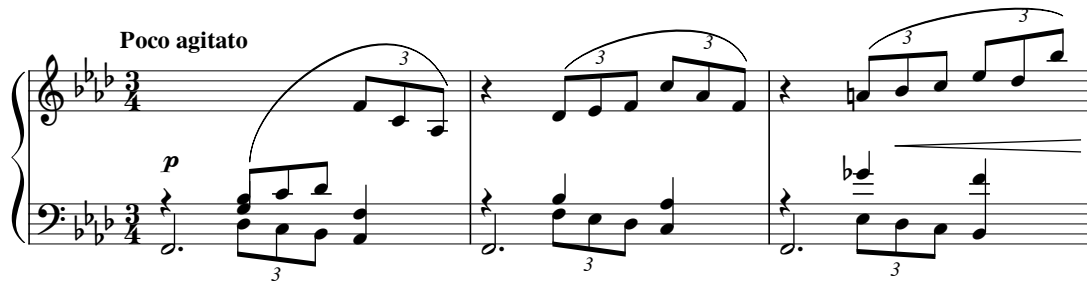
³⁵⁷ I use the term 'intuition' as Taruskin describes it: 'by trusting their individual instincts [...] people could gain direct access to the all-encompassing wisdom of God'.

<https://www.oxfordwesternmusic.com/view/Volume4/actrade-9780195384840-div1-005002.xml?rskey=2fJeD8&result=1> [accessed 3 June 2020]

³⁵⁸ It is relevant to mention here how Casals' *Eucarística* is also an example of this intuitive approach towards composition as can be seen in the introduction when he creates a 'bell like' effect through arpeggios.

³⁵⁹ I am not implying that Casals' compositional process was only that of improvisation but rather that his pianistic awareness of the keys helped him to shape some of his compositions. It is interesting to note how

time, the short melodic motifs also corroborate the sense of improvisation that one has while playing the piece.



Example 14, Balada, bb. 1-3. The harmonies are as follows: F, B flat 6/4, F, B flat 6/4.

It is also important to see how the musical motifs also convey three different ideas. The first one is a statement, I suggest, that is emphasised in the second bar. But then, in the third one, the idea flourishes and is expanded. This corroborates, in my reading, how the improvisatory element in Casals' music (especially in his piano works) was born of the pianistic experience of improvisation (it was not just an intellectual or compositional exercise). What is more, Casals explained that intuition played an important role in the way he understood composition and performance:

It has always been my viewpoint that intuition is the decisive element in both the composing and the performance of music. Of course technique and intelligence have vital functions – one must master the technique of the instrument in order to exact its full potentialities and one must apply one's intelligence in exploring every facet of the music – but, ultimately, the paramount role is that of intuition. For me the

Mompou said: 'without the piano I cannot do anything. The physical contact with the ivory keys is indispensable for me'. As quoted in Roger Prevel, *La Música y Federico Mompou* (Barcelona: Ed. Plaza y Janés, 1981), p. 171. 'Sin piano no puedo hacer nada. El contacto físico con las teclas de marfil me es indispensable'.

determining factor in creativity, in bringing a work to life, is that of musical instinct.³⁶⁰

It was through the piano works, I suggest, that Casals explored the pianistic possibilities that, later on, he would need for his oratorio. What seemed to be leading these explorations was intuition and, hence, it is important to understand how he thought, in my reading, of these ‘quick impressions’.

In Casals’ ‘Allegro’, this can be observed as the motifs are short and, again, also fit the fingers.

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled 'Allegro'. The score is written for piano and is in 2/4 time. It begins with a piano introduction marked 'f deciso'. The tempo then changes to 'Allegro' with a 'mf' dynamic. The right hand (r.h.) plays a series of triplets, while the left hand (l.h.) plays a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The score ends with a 'f r.h.' dynamic marking.

Example 15 , Allegro, bb. 1-10.

³⁶⁰ Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 97. Mompou also described a kind of intuition when relating his compositional process: ‘I am convinced –I repeat– of the form that I carry inside...[it is] as a fluid that comes from outside, that one receives or grasps as if one were a sort of a psychic. In my case, music does not go from the inside to the outside, but rather inwards from the outside, me being the intermediary who realises the idea that has been received from the outside’. As quoted in Santiago Kastner, *Federico Mompou* (Madrid: Ed. CESC, 1946), p. 58. ‘Estoy convencido –repito– de la forma que llevo dentro de mí... como un fluido que viene de fuera, que recibes o captas como si se tratase de una especie de médium. En mi caso, la música no va de dentro para fuera, sino de fuera para dentro, siendo yo el intermediario que realiza la idea recibida del exterior’.

After a very short introduction (example 15), Casals starts a triplet motif that expands over an interval of a fifth on the right hand, and a descending fourth as well as a middle voice that seems to incite the excitement of the 'Allegro' on the left hand. Once he has established the key of F # minor in the introduction, he seems to let intuition go free and plays with this intervallic motif.

Casals composed at the piano and through improvisation and intuition, especially in his piano works, he found a way, I argue, to create his voice in his musical output.

ii. Simplicity as a means for understanding

Casals chose to construct an idea of what his music wanted to convey: his primary goal seemed to be understood by everyone.³⁶¹ This begs all the questions as one could hardly argue that complexity could not convey a message.³⁶² Picasso's *Guernica* might help the

³⁶¹ Michael Tanner and Malcom Budd describe the relationship between music and its audience: 'an experience that someone cannot articulate need not lack strength or detail, and no transformation of the experience needs to occur if its subject acquires the capacity to render it in words'. Michael Tanner and Malcolm Budd, 'Understanding Music', *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society, Supplementary Volumes* Vol. 59 (1985), (215-48), p. 247. This is important as Casals seems to seek an impact and 'understanding' on his audience but not an accurate structural analysis of his works. See quote 294.

³⁶² The definition of the term simplicity has been discussed for many centuries. Aristotle wrote in his *Posterior Analytics*: 'it may be assumed that, given the same conditions, that form of demonstration is superior to the rest which depends upon fewer postulates or hypotheses or premisses'. As quoted in Hugh Tredennick, *Aristotle: Posterior Analytics* (London: William Heinemann LTD, 1960), p. 147. Aquinas, diversely, reflected on simplicity in relation to God in the first part of his *Summa*: 'God then is altogether simple: there is in him no distinction of spatial parts, of form and matter, of nature and individuality, of nature and existence, of genus and difference, of subject and properties'. As quoted in *St Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologiae: A Concise Translation*, ed. by Timothy McDermott (Notre Dame: Christian Classics, 1989), p. 16. Newton went on to connect nature and simplicity: 'Nature does nothing in vain, and more is in vain when less will serve; for Nature is pleased with simplicity, and affects not the pomp of superfluous causes'. As quoted in Leonard K. Nash, *The Nature of the*

reader to contextualise the idea of simplicity that this research has found. This famous painting represents the bombing of the first defenseless civilian city ever (1937). Picasso's painting is not simple at all and represents the complexity of the twentieth century: 'this complexity results both from the formal structure and the use of conventional symbols'.³⁶³ Moreover, Picasso 'clearly identified *Guernica* with the Republican struggle'.³⁶⁴ This would show great similarity with Casals' *El Pessebre* as they both supported the Republican cause. Nevertheless, Picasso's complexity, as didactic as it may be, could be thought of as the expression of what Casals was reacting to. It is here where one can find an answer to the difficult balance between complexity and simplicity: 'there seems to be solid evidence for concern to maintain a balance between complication in one direction and simplicity in another'.³⁶⁵ Casals and Picasso might have had completely different artistic expressions but they both seemed to seek to convey a message by finding their own balance. Therefore, Casals appeared to choose a tonal language because he seemed to find in it his weapon:

Natural Sciences (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1963), p. 181. In addition, Einstein linked simplicity to science: 'the grand aim of all science, which is to cover the greatest possible number of empirical facts by logical deductions from the smallest possible number of hypotheses or axioms'. As quoted in *Ibid.*, 173. What is more, it is also relevant to see how Chopin also described simplicity: 'simplicity is everything. After having exhausted all the difficulties, after having played immense quantities of notes, and more notes, then simplicity emerges with all its charm, like art's final seal'. As quoted in Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger, *Chopin: pianist and teacher as seen by his pupils* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 54. Casals seems to use the term 'simplicity' in order to reflect a reaction to complex music and as an attribute of God. See quote 268. This will be further explored below.

³⁶³ Werner Hofmann, 'Picasso's "Guernica" in Its Historical Context', *Artibus et Historiae* Vol. 4, No. 7 (1983), (141–169), p. 141.

³⁶⁴ Kathleen Brunner, "'Guernica": The Apocalypse of Representation', *The Burlington Magazine* Vol. 143, No. 1175 (February, 2001), (80–85), p. 80.

³⁶⁵ Dahlhaus, *Esthetics of Music*, 92. Dalhaus also states in the same context: 'does greater complexity always mean greater merit?'. *Ibid.*, 91. Dalhaus goes on to define the tension between complexity and simplicity.

I used every meaningful opportunity to raise my voice in the cause of peace [...] I felt the need to act with deeds, not words. All my life, music had been my only weapon.³⁶⁶

Casals here seems to be constructing the idea that through music he was able to act and affect change in society: 'What is said sincerely, with one's heart, is understood by everyone'.³⁶⁷ At this point it is important to define the aesthetics of simplicity; it has already been observed how complexity and simplicity might define each other by contraposition. Nonetheless Dahlhaus describes an idea that might be relevant here:

If composers themselves did not seek a compensating simplicity that would lessen the strain of listening to music, then it was the public that neglected one of the aspects of tonal structure - such as harmony in Bach's works - in order to concentrate on another - counterpoint.³⁶⁸

Casals seemed to define his aesthetics of simplicity by 'lessening the strain' on his audience when listening to his music or creating music that was accessible and therefore could be understood without any 'strain'. His musical language therefore could be defined as having diatonic harmonies, melodies that normally have a clear tonal centre, simple (as opposed to complex) rhythms, and whenever he wrote music with a text, he would always stress the text through the music. It was in this simplicity where he felt a message would be best delivered: 'I will say nothing complicated, only elemental things - as everything ought to be - beginning with life. But you must know that the simplest things are the ones that count'.³⁶⁹ Casals is constructing his musical language that might be addressing criticism of his

³⁶⁶ As quoted in Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 286.

³⁶⁷ As quoted in Casals, *Pau Casals*, 243. 'El que es diu sincerament, amb el cor, ho comprèn tothom'.

³⁶⁸ Dahlhaus, *Aesthetics of Music*, 92. Dahlhaus discusses his concern for the tension between simplicity and complexity.

³⁶⁹ As quoted in Lloyd Webber, *Song of the Birds*, 85.

contemporaries but he seemed to be consistent in the way in which he did so.

Casals uses a simple melody with a syncopated rhythm in the bass that can be read as expressing the soft movement of a cradle in *Cançó de Bressol II* (Lullaby Song II, 1942). He seems to achieve this peaceful atmosphere with the combination of three simple elements: a straightforward melodic line (tonal, and in close, mostly conjunct intervals), a syncopated rhythm in the left hand and a diatonic harmonic structure (based around tonic and dominant harmonies). He also uses suspensions (as in b.3) to perhaps help recreate the idea of the movement of the baby's bed.



Example 16, *Cançó de bressol II*, bb. 1-5. The harmonies are as follows: G, D4/2, G6, G and G7.

At the same time, from the pianistic point of view, it is relevant to see the dialogue between the bass and the tenor line. It is in the midst of this dialogue where, one could argue, Casals seemed to find the musical movement and direction in a very still and quiet piece of music. In 1974, Casals commented again on the way in which he composed so that it would be easy to understand:

The papers that say that this is music of the past. [...] I don't mind what they say, I know. One must be simple, simple. [...] Not once I have seen the public [during *El Pessebre*'s performances], well, indifferent. Every time I

have seen people weeping. They are touched. Because it is simple. And because they understand it. You see?³⁷⁰

This is, perhaps, one of the most clear examples where Casals would seem to be addressing criticism. Notwithstanding, he seemed to stick to his idea of simplicity. Another element that described this aspect of his musical language was his use of essential means to emphasise the words in music.³⁷¹ In example 17, Casals seems to describe the appearance of the angel to the shepherds, and uses a soloist in this recitative in order to tell the story with the most minimal means possible (the fact that it is a soloist it would also seem to be an evocative image of the angel). An example of the ‘painting’ of the text is the use of an ascending perfect fourth in bar 5 where Casals seems to be describing how the angel ‘goes on top of the tree branch’ to sing a song to the shepherds;³⁷² it is precisely when the text uses the word ‘posa’ (‘land on’) where he paints the music with words by using this very simple means.³⁷³ Also, in the third bar, Casals uses an ascending

³⁷⁰ United Kingdom, British Library, *Casals: A portrait for radio*, Produced by CBC Studios, 1CD0196768 (January 17, 1974). My own performances of *El Pessebre* and Casals’ works have consistently made an impact on the audience.

³⁷¹ It is important to note that although this could be said about many other composers, it is still relevant to the way in which Casals seemed to understand his music.

³⁷² Casals uses a technique that was common practice in Madrigals and consequently he might be imitating them as *El Pessebre* is too a religious work. Ornat Lev-er writes: ‘during the sixteenth century writers on music began to draw precise comparisons between sounds and colours in order to demonstrate their ideas’. Ornat Lev-er, *Still-Life as Portrait in Early Modern Italy: Baschenis, Bettera and the Painting of Cultural Identity* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), p. 75. Furthermore, Irving Godt describes word painting itself: ‘we define word painting as the representation, through purely musical (sonorous) means, of some object, activity, or idea that lies outside the domain of music itself’. Irving Godt, ‘An Essay on Word Painting’, *College Music Symposium* Vol. 24, No. 2 (Fall, 1984), (118–129), p. 119.

³⁷³ It is important to note that the English translation here uses the words ‘then sweetly’ but a closer translation to the Catalan would be ‘it lands on’; it is understandable that sometimes the poetic meaning of the translation

minor third to describe how the angel flies ('vola') to the shepherds, and, the interval also reaches an 'f', the highest note of this phrase. Moreover, it is a natural f which creates a colour that, one could argue, could be describing the fear that the shepherds might feel at the sight of an angel; this also constitutes an example of how Casals' words and music were closely related.

Recit.

Un àn - gel d'a-les dau - ra - des - vo - la al re - cer dels pas - tors, - es po - sa dalt de la bran- ca - i els can - ta a-ques-ta can - çó.

Example 17, El Pessebre in F, L'Anunciació als Pastors (The Annunciation to the Shepherds), bb. 1-8.

At the end of *El Pessebre*, Casals uses a homophonic sonority that might seem to express how, as the text says, all peoples should sing 'peace to the earth' (example 18); the voices move at the same time (with very few exceptions), which seems to recreate the idea of all peoples singing at once. At the same time, the harmonic progression is straightforward. Another element that one could observe in the Gloria is how it seems that when the choir sings the first 'Peace' the contrary motion might suggest the gathering of all peoples to sing together. Furthermore, in bar 49 when Casals uses the word 'terra' all voices are going in one direction which would seem to represent the portrayal of his desire to unite mankind in a quest for peace.

prevails from that of the literal one but, in this case, this point needs to be made. Casals uses an ascending perfect fourth (A-D) in order to describe the angel's movement.

21 Lento Piu mosso

Bass 1

Bass 2

Piano

Ja hi ha temps per tre - ba - llar!

ra - da.

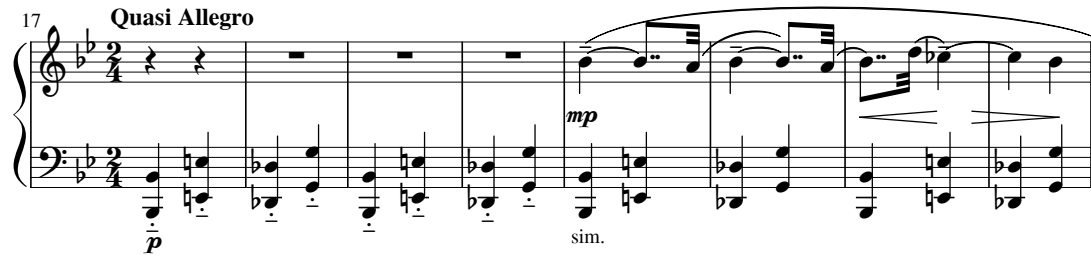
No ho cre - gueu. Mi - reu què em pas - sa:

p *mf*

Example 19, *El Pessebre, L'Home que llaura*, bb. 21-4.

In the following example (example 20) Casals uses an augmented fourth interval and an articulation that seems to describe the camel's movement as it is part of 'The Caravan'. With a very simple interval and articulation Casals seems to evoke the moving of the caravan. What is more, the rhythm of the right hand might suggest the moving forward of the caravan and its slurs deserve some consideration. From the pianistic point of view, Casals seems to understand how pianistically one would need to find the right impulse to define these articulations appropriately when starting another slur from the demisemiquaver thus promoting the correct technical movement.³⁷⁵

³⁷⁵ The slurs will help a pianist to define how to distribute one's weight in order to shape this musical phrase.



Ex. 20, *El Pessebre, La Caravana*, bb. 17-24.

Casals also explored the ineffable through the beauty of music and the Mystery. In the next section these ideas will be explored.

a. Sacred music

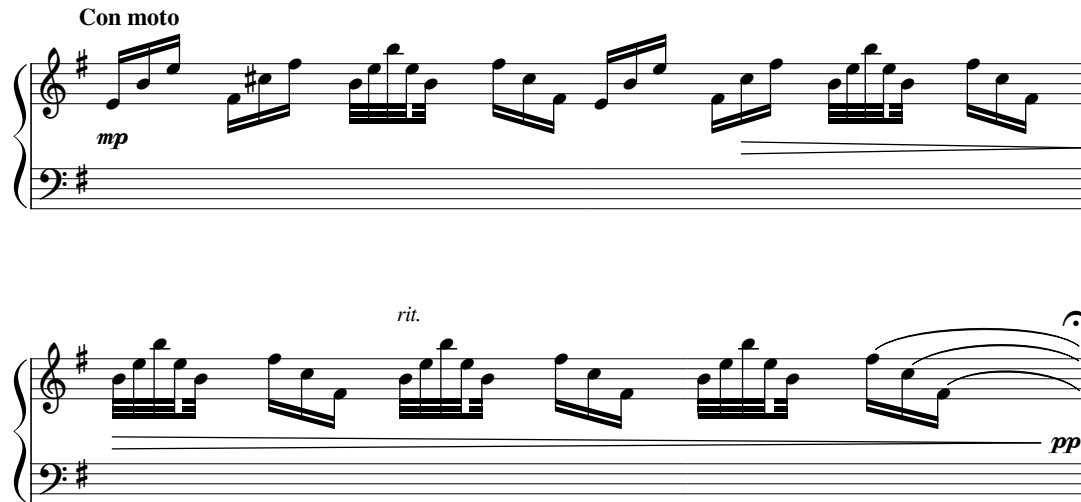
Casals' Montserrat motets are sacred works as they were intended to be performed during the Catholic liturgy. It is in these works where, I argue, one will explore the connection between the ineffable and the Mystery. The opening of one of Casals' pieces, *Eucarística* (1952) seems to portray the awareness of the relationship between time and space in the particular context that it would have in the setting of the church of Montserrat's Abbey. This could very well be said of any church but this particular piece seemed to be composed thinking about this particular church. There are different elements to consider; the silence before the beginning of the piece: this could also be understood as the contemplation of the Mystery and the preparation for what is about to happen (the liturgy); the arpeggiated notes played by the organ (or piano), followed by the echo of those chords in the church (in this case Montserrat Abbey's) and concluded by another silence. It is important to note how Casals used the space to create a particular sonority and resonance. In this motet, he used three arpeggiated chords, E minor (m) root position, F#m and Em second inversion to convey the idea of bells ringing (see Example

21).³⁷⁶ This is done very simply, showing an awareness of a church such as Montserrat's. Casals also incorporates the echo as part of the texture, as he writes a slur at the end of the last arpeggio, indicating that one should listen to the reverberating sound of the organ (as it is written in the score) or piano.³⁷⁷ The fact that he is recreating bells is also important, as this motet was composed to be sung after the Salve;³⁷⁸ it is part of the monastic tradition to ring the bells for all the hours of the Liturgy of the Hours and therefore, in a way, he is recreating the actual bells that would let the monks know they were about to enter into the divine office, as well as, at the same time, preparing his audience for the motet. One could argue that this could also be the dialogue between the ineffable and the Mystery: it could be perceived that in the contemplation of the silence and the arpeggiated chords there is the rhythm of a dialogue between the beauty of the ineffable and the beauty of the Mystery. If one is to select the first note of each arpeggio, one will see how there are two different musical movements that also might suggest this dialogue: the first one encompasses E, F#, B, F#, E, F#, B, F# and the second one is formed by B, F#, B, F#, B, F#.

³⁷⁶ Casals said: 'The organ [or piano] arpeggios at the beginning and at the end [of *Eucarística*] evoke the heaven's bells'. As quoted in Spain, Biblioteca del Monestir de Montserrat, Pau Casals i Defilló, P. Ireneu Segarra/Correspondència, document 1 (Montserrat, 10th January 1953), 4. 'Els arpegis de l'orgue al començar i a l'acabar insinuen les campanetes del cel'.

³⁷⁷ These works can be performed equally on the piano or on the organ. This particular insight would be equally applicable to a performance on the piano.

³⁷⁸ I am aware that it could be argued that this statement is only a conjecture but I think that Casals' words help one consider this possibility.



Example 21, *Eucarística*, bb. 1.

Another important aspect of the simplicity of Casals' works is the importance he seemed to give to the words of his music. In *Cançó a la Verge* (Song to the Virgin, 1942), for instance, while accompanying the words with simple harmonies, such as tonics (in root position and first inversion), subdominants, and dominant sevenths (in second and third inversion); he also wrote this first phrase to be sung in unison, a homophonic texture which helps to grasp the words with clarity (example 10). Casals also explored the use of a homophonic texture with all parts singing the same notes. This is, I suggest, a powerful way to communicate the text of the piece in a simple way, which reads 'Recordare Virgo Mater' (Remember Virgin Mother) and represents a plea of the faithful at the hour of need (example 22). This last 'Alleluia' is the final prayer and the fact that all the voices remain still might suggest an attitude of reverence or of fear of God.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁹ These research does not state that this had never been done before but rather that this was the way in which Casals seemed to understand his Sacred motets.

40

Soprano
Al - le - lu - i - a.

Alto
Al - le - lu - i - a.

Tenor
Al - le - lu - i - a.

Baritone
Al - le - lu - i - a.

Bass
Al - le - lu - i - a.

Piano
p *pp*

Example 22, *Recordare Virgo Mater*, bb. 40-3.

In this other motet (example 23), Casals seems also to evoke a sense of prayer, as both the dynamics (*pp*) and text (the Rosary) suggest a sense of transcendence. It is also interesting to note how there is no third in the G chord which therefore creates a sombre colour.

14

Soprano

Alto

Tenor

Baritone

Piano

pp

Je - sus.

pp

Je - sus.

pp

Je - sus.

Example 23, *Rosarium Beatae Virginis Mariae: Ave Maria 1*, bb. 14.

Casals also composed the Montserrat motets in the context of the tradition of the music that had been sung in the abbey for many centuries.³⁸⁰ One of these monks who composed these pieces was Fr. Anselm Ferrer (1882-1969), whom Casals had met.³⁸¹ Casals' sacred works, I argue, could be incorporated in this tradition as they share the same quest for the ineffable in the Mystery and a similar musical language.

³⁸⁰ Marta Casals said that Pau Casals spent many days at a time in the abbey studying the scores and talking with the monks. Rovirosa, Ricard, Recorded Interview with Marta Casals, 25th May 2016.

³⁸¹ There are letters that show this evidence. Fr. Anselm Ferrer was one of the many monks who were part of this tradition. To name a few: Fr. Joan Cererols (1618-1680), Fr. Anselm Viola (1738-1798), Fr. Narcís Casanoves (1747-1799), Fr. Ireneu Segarra (1917-2005), Br. Odilò Maria Planàs (1925-2011), Fr. Gregori Estrada (1918-2015) and Fr. Jordi-Agustí Piqué (1963-).

one could argue, rejoice in one same place: in the wife of Christ, that is, the Church.

b. Folk music

Casals seems to have admired the simplicity of folk music, and it might have resonated with the way he thought music should be composed.³⁸² In 1937, he was asked about the kind of pieces he liked composing the most, and he replied: 'the popular [folk music] and religious [pieces]'.³⁸³ He was very fond of Catalan folk music, and had heard it in the main square of Sant Salvador as a young boy: 'in those days, bands of itinerant musicians wandered from village to village [...] they played in the streets and at village dances [...]'.³⁸⁴ It is in these

³⁸² Sibelius discusses the matter of folk music saying: 'if one calls a piece of music stylish when it says all that it wants to convey –which is a creative original idea above all but also a unified harmonic development of it– then the folksong in all its simplicity and modesty has a style so pure that one seldom finds it in art music'. *Jean Sibelius*, ed. by Daniel M. Grimley (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), p. 321. Nettl also writes: 'the simplicity of style essential in most folk and primitive music tends to confirm the statement that unifying factors are more essential in unwritten traditions than in those with notation'. Bruno Nettl, 'Unifying Factors in Folk and Primitive Music', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* Vol. 9, No. 3 (Autumn, 1956), (196–201), p. 197.

³⁸³ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/06020103-590/166, interview (1937), 11. 'Por las populares y religiosas'.

³⁸⁴ As quoted in Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 33. It was customary in Spain at that time to have lots of live music in the street and, especially in the main square of the village. Celebrations such as Christmas, Holy Week or the popular festivities of each town would mean lots of music. It is interesting to note how the following quote depicts a similar ambience of Spain at the beginning of the twentieth century, when describing the director Albert Carré's work: 'the atmosphere is created with an extraordinary intensity. Those lights, that sun, the nasal twang of bagpipes, the roguish joy of dance orchestras in the public square, the guitars of the blind men in the moonlit court, those costumes which, following every gesture, evoke rejuvenated Goya paintings, everything is compelling and imperious'. Gauthier-Villars, 'La habanera; Ghyslaine', in Samuel Llano, 'Hispanic Traditions in a Cross-Cultural Perspective: Raoul Laparra's "La habanera" (1908) and French Critics', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* Vol. 136, No. 1 (2011), (97–140), p. 135.

gatherings where, I suggest, Casals' love for folk music was born;³⁸⁵ he might have enjoyed playing these melodies himself, as he later recalled: 'I learned to play many of the songs my father wrote, as well as popular melodies that reached our village from the outer world.'³⁸⁶ This idea of the 'outer world', one could argue, helps to explore the idea of Catalan folk music being from the 'inner world' or the 'private and local' world. Furthermore, it seemed to be Casals' exile that made his preference for Catalan music all the more relevant in his music, as he stated that he missed Catalonia: 'to submerge ourselves again in the landscapes with our pure, children's gaze, what a joy, what a consolation! How painful it is to see me deprived from these for all these years of exile'.³⁸⁷ He also added:

The wonderful folk-music of Catalonia is almost unknown in this country [the UK], [...] our music, [which is] so rich in colour which so well describes the mountains, plains and shores of Catalonia and especially the fine spirit of our people.³⁸⁸

Casals seems to be constructing, I will argue, the connection between the inner and outer world or, what is the same, the transition from his piano and sacred works to *El Pessebre*. Casals seemed to be a 'deeply proud' Catalan;³⁸⁹ he stated so on several occasions but there was a particular instance that stands out for its importance: Casals' acceptance speech at the United Nations in 1971 as it was a moment in which the idea of constructing his legacy was relevant as the

³⁸⁵ Furthermore, 'during the twentieth century, the popular song still was the cornerstone of the Catalan associationism and [Catalan] culture'. Cortès i Mir, *Història de la Música a Catalunya*, 116.

³⁸⁶ As quoted in Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 34.

³⁸⁷ As quoted in Corredor, *Converses amb Pau Casals*, 41. 'Submergir-nos de nou en els paisatges que havien contemplat les nostres mirades pures de nens, quina alegria, quin consol! Que em dol de veure-me'n privat durant aquests anys d'exili'.

³⁸⁸ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/04.02/1 unit/1936/150, (London, 19th November 1936), letter no. 6.

³⁸⁹ As quoted in Khan, *Joys and Sorrows*, 64.

exposure he received was notorious.³⁹⁰ Casals seemed to find in Catalan folk music a source of inspiration but also a way to imprint his roots in his music. Ventura Gassol (1893-1980), who was a poet and a good friend of Casals, told him in a letter: ‘your works [have] an inspiration and a Catalan [feeling] to such a degree that [they] have told the world that [...] Catalonia is not dead, nor will ever die!’.³⁹¹ This letter also points towards the idea that the political dimension of folk music in Casals’ understanding of music might be an important one as it might have been a defining element to transition from the local to the global.

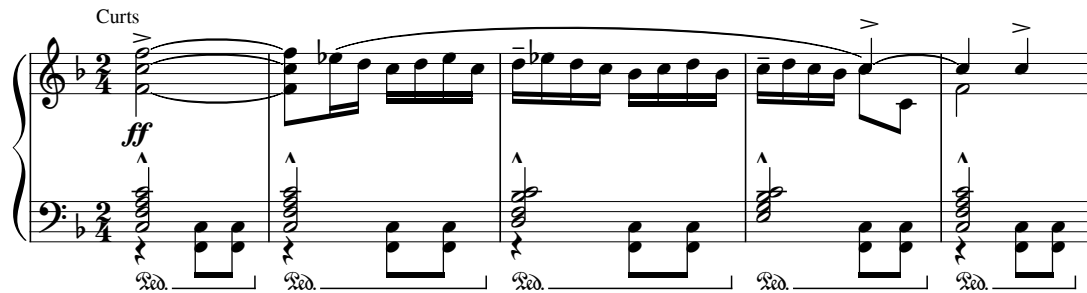
This inclination for folk music can be observed in some of his pieces, and there are three different ways in which he used folk music in his compositions: he composed four *Sardanes* (a traditional Catalan dance) for piano;³⁹² secondly, he borrowed material from some Catalan folk songs, and thirdly, he wrote many pieces with a resemblance to Catalan folk music. An example of the first category is *Sardana Festívola* (1909), in which Casals used one of the traditional *Sardana* rhythms (crotchet, two quavers and crotchet) to

³⁹⁰ Casals said: ‘This is the greatest honour of my life. Peace has always been my greatest concern. I learnt to love it when I was but a child. When I was a boy, my mother – an exceptional, marvellous woman-, would talk to me about peace, because at that time there were also many wars. What is more, I am Catalan’. As quoted in www.paucasals.org/en/-PAU-CASALS-United-Nations-speech/. [accessed 1 November 2017]

³⁹¹ Spain, Sant Cugat, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Pau Casals, MS 367/04.02/56 units, 1927-1956/97 (St. Martin le Bleu, 27th November 1951), letter no. 11. ‘Les vostres obres d’una inspiració i d’una catalanitat tals que han dit al món que, [...] Catalunya no és morta, ni morirà mai’.

³⁹² It is important to highlight the importance of composer Josep Maria Ventura or also known as Pep Ventura as his role in the evolution of the *Sardana* was key: ‘this process [of the evolution of *sardana*] occurred in a rather small geographical area within northern Catalonia around the middle of the nineteenth century and can be traced to the efforts of particular musicians, among whom Pep Ventura played a particularly important role’. Josep Martí i Pérez, ‘The Sardana as a Socio-Cultural Phenomenon in Contemporary Catalonia’, *Yearbook for Traditional Music* Vol. 26 (1994), (39–46), p. 40.

compose this traditional Catalan dance, which ‘reflects the lively enthusiasm and inner poignancy of the Catalan people’ (example 25).³⁹³



Example 25, *Sardana Festívola* in F, bb. 1-5.

The *Sardana* played an important role in *noucentisme* and in the Catalan modernism: ‘from 1902 Catalanism had spread it [*Sardana*] as a national dance’.³⁹⁴ Because of this the Franco regime tried to suppress its Catalanism from them: ‘the new regime had adopted the system of getting rid of them from any Catalan varnish and to integrate them in the officially programmed events, as an exhibition of Spanish folklore’.³⁹⁵ A *Sardana* is usually in duple rhythm, in 2/4, 4/4 or 6/8 time:

Each *Sardana* consists of two musical sections which repeat themselves according to a definite pattern and are danced to different choreographies. The *Sardana* is always accompanied by a *cobla* [...] a musical band partially of folk provenance that consists of eleven musicians playing twelve instruments [...] a flute (*flabiol*), [...] a small drum

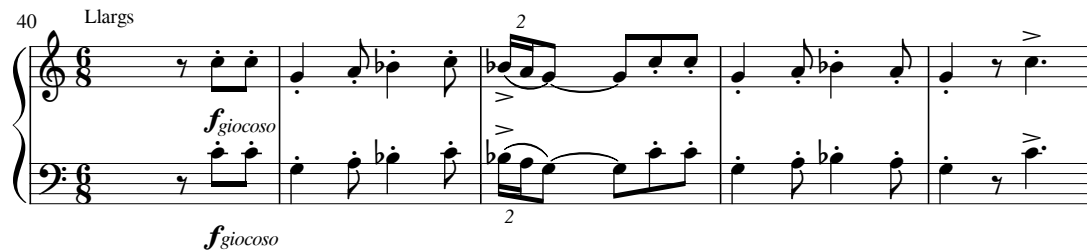
³⁹³ C. H., ‘Editor’s Introduction: Pablo Casals and Catalan Folk Music’, *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council* Vol. 5 (1973), (1-5), p. 3.

³⁹⁴ Cortès i Mir, *Història de la Música a Catalunya*, 139. ‘Des del 1902 el catalanisme l’havia difós com a dansa nacional’.

³⁹⁵ Fabre, Jaume, ‘El llarg hivern del 1938-1939. La vida quotidiana a la Catalunya franquista durant la Guerra Civil’, in *Breu Història de la Guerra Civil a Catalunya*, 818. ‘El nou règim va adoptar el sistema de despullar-les de qualsevol vernís de catalanitat i integrar-les en els actes programats oficialment, com una mostra de folklore espanyol’.

(*tamborí*), [...] two *tibles* (a folk oboe) and two *tenores* (a kind of English horn).³⁹⁶

Casals structured the *Sardana* in two sections as well, the first section being in 2/4 and the second one in 6/8; it is important to note how Casals follows this structure; here it can be seen how example 26 is in 6/8 and example 25 is in 2/4 (both are taken from *Sardana Festívola*):



Example 26, *Sardana Festívola* in F, bb. 40-44.

Casals stated that he was very fond of this dance as it evoked a feeling of 'brotherhood' among the people who danced it. He said:

[The *Sardana* is] much more than a dance. It is a national self-expression, optimism, joy of life, philosophy, moral elation, almost religion. The joined hands become a symbol of brotherhood, the gradually waxing animation seems to thrill with the encircling forces of nature, the eyes enchanted, as it were, are 'fixed upon the infinite'.³⁹⁷

In discussing the 'joined hands' he seemed to be constructing a deeper metaphor for society. The *Sardana* in its metaphorical essence could be considered a perfect example of the union that Casals seemed to be asking for in order to fight against the Franco regime.

³⁹⁶ Martí i Pérez, 'The Sardana as a Socio-Cultural Phenomenon in Contemporary Catalonia', 39.

³⁹⁷ As quoted in, C. H., 'Editor's Introduction: Pablo Casals and Catalan Folk Music', 3.

As an example of the second category of Casals' use of folk material, he also seemed to borrow folk melodies for his pieces;³⁹⁸ he mostly recreated their outlines or their melodic intervals, but rarely used the original song exactly. For example, in *Petita Masurca de saló* (1895, Example 28) he uses the melody from *Carnestoltes Quinze voltes*, changing the original song from C major to a minor context.³⁹⁹



Example 27, *Carnestoltes Quinze voltes*, bb. 1-8.

He uses the dotted quaver and semiquaver rhythm, which is also present in the original song (Example 27) and, at the same time, keeps the same spirit of the song. In this example (28), Casals uses a pedal point (C) as the dominant of F minor in bars 1-4.



Example 28, *Petita Masurca de Saló*, in F minor, bb. 1-4.

³⁹⁸ Stanley Brandes argues that the *Sardana* might not be part of the Catalan folklore: 'Both the *Sardana* and *Pep Ventura* have become symbols of national resistance against the overbearing power of Castile. It is for this reason that scholars insist so vehemently upon *Pep Ventura*'s Catalan origins. Of course, neither the *sardana* nor *Pep Ventura* is inherently Catalan. It is merely attributes with which they are invested that make them so, and that have endowed them for the past hundred years with symbolic salience and emotional appeal'. Stanley Brandes, 'The *Sardana*: Catalan Dance and Catalan National Identity', *The Journal of American Folklore* Vol. 103, No. 407 (January-March, 1990), (24-41), p. 38.

³⁹⁹ The exact translation of this is difficult to give as *Carnestoltes* is one of the giants who takes part in the Catalan Carnival procession. *Quinze voltes* means fifteen laps. *Petita Masurca de saló* means Small Saloon Mazurca.

In the next example (Example 29), though, he borrowed a complete melody (*Melodia Pelegrí*) and composed a *Sardana* using this traditional song.⁴⁰⁰



Example 29, *Sardana* “Melodia Pelegrí”, bb. 1-8.

In this *Sardana*, he also used the traditional structure of having two sections. In the following example (example 30), Casals changes in the second section to a 2/4 metre:



Ex. 30, *Sardana* “Melodia Pelegrí”, bb. 18-27.

⁴⁰⁰ It seems that this melody has been transmitted by word of mouth and it is difficult to track its actual origin. *Pelegrí* means pilgrim so it is plausible that the origin came from a pilgrim who toured around Catalonia singing songs.

Casals also used folk music as a more general inspiration for his music (the third category); in these examples, he did not borrow an actual melody, but he borrowed the essence of the folk songs. For instance, in the opening bars of *El Pessebre*, Casals writes in one of the styles and rhythms of a *Sardana* (example 31);⁴⁰¹ the orchestration (made by Casals' brother, violinist Enrique Casals) has a *gralla* or *xirimia* start the melody, as would happen in some *Sardanes*.⁴⁰² The first marking on the score is also part of the orchestral version, which is a part for a percussion instrument that gives the *Sardana*'s pulse.⁴⁰³



Example 31, *El Pessebre*, Preludi, bb. 1-17.

⁴⁰¹ In this example Casals uses a 2/4 metre as he used in example 25 and 30. The slur that connects the semiquavers to the quavers and the dotted quavers are good instances of the *Sardana*'s style as well as their articulation.

⁴⁰² The gralla is a traditional Catalan double reed instrument; it is also known as xirimia, 'the old spanish name of the shawm [...] the shawms being known simply as the tiple and the tenora'. Anthony Baines, 'Shawms of the Sardana Coblas', *The Galpin Society Journal* Vol. 5 (1952), (9-16), p. 11.

⁴⁰³ Although this thesis is only concerned with the original piano version, it is interesting to note this feature as it highlights the character of the piece.

Casals also composed a *Sardana* in the middle of *El Pessebre* (the offerings of the three kings and the shepherds); here (example 32), Casals uses the *Sardana* to evoke a simple scene: the shepherds dancing in front of Jesus; it is interesting to note how he seems to be using a popular dance after the three kings have given their offerings to Jesus. The text reads: ‘Now, if little Jesus would like, I will play for Him the flute, and this I do very gladly. And if we want to be gay come now and join all your hands, dance together a Sardana’.⁴⁰⁴ The scene depicts a contrast between the kings and the shepherds and the link is a traditional dance (*Sardana*) that, it seems, makes everyone equal in front of the manger. Furthermore, the use of the Nativity and the Catalan folk music seems to be transcending the local impact of Catalan culture throughout *El Pessebre*.

The musical score for Example 32, *El Pessebre*, *Els Tres Reis*, measures 221-32, is presented in two systems. The first system (measures 221-226) features a Flute part and a Piano part. The Flute part begins with a rest in measure 221, followed by a melody in measures 222-226. The Piano part plays a rhythmic accompaniment throughout. The second system (measures 227-232) features a Flute part and a Piano part. The Flute part begins with a melody in measure 227, followed by a rest in measure 228, and then a melody in measures 229-232. The Piano part plays a rhythmic accompaniment throughout. The score is in 6/8 time and B-flat major.

Example 32, *El Pessebre*, *Els Tres Reis*, bb. 221-32.

⁴⁰⁴ Casals, *El Pessebre*, 154.

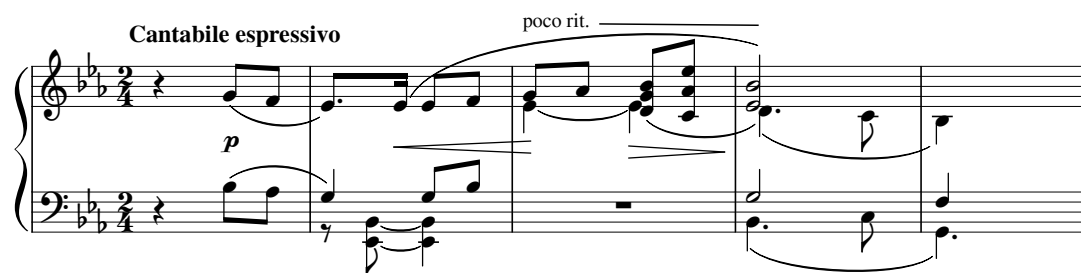
Casals' music is very much part of the Catalan culture, and this folk music style helps to underline that his compositional manner is very different to some of his contemporaries in Europe and America. What is more, Danielle Fosler-Lussier offers an important insight:

European and American musicians were called upon to act as advocates for one of the two competing visions of modernity: aestheticist modernism in the West and socialist realism in the East. Each of these traditions encompassed ideas about how composers should relate to the rest of society, how their music should sound, and what the music should mean to its audiences. Under these circumstances, to compose a musical work in a particular style meant to take a position and aesthetics debates of the day. To listen meant to evaluate not only the work, but also the composer. Was he progressive or reactionary? Participating in a dominant trend or rebelling against it?⁴⁰⁵

She states several things that need to be discussed: firstly, although Casals was not part of the socialist realism, he seemed to have strong leftist inclinations. Secondly, when she says that listeners evaluate the work and the composer, it seems to be relevant to this research. Thirdly, she also asks an important last question; in Casals' case, it would also seem to define his case. There are three composers who shared a similar use of folkloric music but also shared an ideal of 'simplicity' (although in very different ways); these three composers are: Béla Bartók (1881-1945), Frederic Mompou (1893-1987) and Robert Gerhard (1896-1970).

Firstly, fellow Catalan Frederic Mompou, also used folk music as a source of inspiration. For example, he composed *Cançons i Danses* (Songs and Dances, 1918-1972), a group of pieces where each one borrows a Catalan folk song, as in example 33, which borrows the melody of '*Rossinyol que vas a França*' (Example 34):

⁴⁰⁵ Danielle Fosler-Lussier, *Music Divided: Bartók's Legacy in Cold War Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), p. xi-xii.



Example 33, *Cançó i Dansa* no. IX in E flat major, bb. 1-4.

The piece uses a simple and straightforward harmonic sequence, as much of Casals' music does (as discussed earlier), but the colour of the music is more indebted to French impressionism. Mompou himself mentioned how Fauré was the reason why he started composing: 'without knowing it, there were in me some latent forces that were just waiting for a pretext to be awakened. Fauré was that pretext; Debussy and Ravel could have also been that pretext'.⁴⁰⁶



Example 34, *Rossinyol que vas a França*, bb. 1-3.

Casals and Mompou seemed to share a love for Catalan folk music; nonetheless, Mompou explored the colours of impressionism in many of his works, for example, *Impressions Íntimes* (1911-1914) and *Música Callada* (1959-1967), and 'created a highly personal idiom, aiming for maximum emotional expression through minimal

⁴⁰⁶ As quoted in Montserrat Albet, 'Año Mompou', *El Ciervo* Vol. 42 No. 505 (1993), (25-28), p. 26. 'Sin saberlo debían de existir en mí unas fuerzas latentes que solo esperaban un pretexto para despertar. Fauré fue este pretexto. También hubieran podido serlo Debussy o Ravel'.

means'.⁴⁰⁷ Mompou also connected his thought (idea of eternity) with his music:

The melodical structure of Mompou's phrases respond to a process in which there is a beginning, a sensitive point and a prolongation to get to the end or dissolution of the phrase. This movement is exactly the same that Mompou uses in order to illustrate his concept of *Eternity: beginning, limit and end*.⁴⁰⁸

This reality indicates the different compositional processes that they both had: whereas Mompou focused on how to convey the idea of eternity in his music, Casals was composing music that could have an impact on people and could help him in his pursuit of peace.

Secondly, fellow Catalan Robert Gerhard also dwelt on Catalan folk music in his compositional output.⁴⁰⁹ However, he transformed the folk music in his works in a more thorough way than Casals ever did. He also had a very different understanding of the musical language, as he understood the 'history of music as the history of dissonance'.⁴¹⁰ Gerhard had 'a key influence [...which] was that of Bartók, whose abstract transformations of folkloric elements [...]

⁴⁰⁷ [Anon.], 'Frederico Mompou', *The Musical Times* Vol. 128 No. 1735 (1987), p. 511. Jankélévitch also describes *Música Callada*: 'Federico Mompou gave the name *Musica Callada* to a suite of nine small "pieces" that I would have called nine "silences", in which the *soledad sonora* of St. John of the Cross is given a chance to sing. Music rises up out of silence, divine music'. Jankélévitch, *Music and the Ineffable*, 140.

⁴⁰⁸ Adolf Pla i Garrigós, 'Frederic Mompou: Música i Pensament, la Fluïdesa de l'Ésser i la Creativitat Musical (1893-1987)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2015), p. 364. 'L'estructura melòdica de les frases de Mompou respon a un procés en el qual hi ha un inici, un punt sensible i una prolongació per arribar al final o dissolució de la frase. Aquest moviment és exactament el mateix que Mompou utilitza per il·lustrar el seu concepte d'*Eternitat: principi, límit i fi*'.

⁴⁰⁹ He was also known as Roberto Gerhard; however, as he was originally born in Valls (Tarragona) the Catalan name will be used here.

⁴¹⁰ As quoted in Diego Alonso Tomás, 'Unquestionably Decisive: Roberto Gerhard's Studies with Arnold Schoenberg', in *The Roberto Gerhard Companion*, ed. by Monty Adkins and Michael Russ (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), p. 43.

provided the Catalan composer with a clear model'.⁴¹¹ Folk music was important for Gerhard: 'Folk-like materials helped Gerhard assert his identity. It is significant that he only referred to them in the pieces that he considered important'.⁴¹² For instance, in his *Dansa de les Majorales* from his ballet *Soirées de Barcelone* (1936-8), one can recognise the Catalan folk song *Aquestes Muntanyes* (These Mountains), which is straightforwardly in D major (Example 35); Gerhard harmonises it bitonally, using two different keys (F sharp major and A major).⁴¹³

The image shows a musical score for 'Dansa de les Majorales' from 'Soirées de Barcelone'. It consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in D major (F# major) and the piano accompaniment is in A major. The piano part is marked 'cantabile' and 'crescendo'. The lyrics are: 'I a-ques-tes mun-ta-nyes que tan al-tes són me'n pri-ven de'.

Example 35, *Soirées de Barcelone*, *Dansa de les Majorales*, bb. 1-3.

One can see here how Gerhard juxtaposes two different keys at the same time (a level of dissonance which Casals never explored), while using the Catalan folksong source. Gerhard intended *Soirées de Barcelone* to become a 'document of Catalan culture':

Gerhard's score [*Soirées de Barcelone*] is 'deliberately Catalan' (and by implication Republican) in sentiment, drawing heavily on sources in Catalan popular music (patriotic melodies, folk songs and ritual dances), many of which were strongly charged with symbolism. He clearly

⁴¹¹ Julian White, 'Catalan Folk Sources in "Soirées de Barcelone"', *Tempo*, New Series, No. 198 (1996), (11-21+72), p. 14.

⁴¹² Tomás, 'Unquestionably Decisive', in *The Roberto Gerhard Companion*, ed. by Adkins and Russ, 46.

⁴¹³ White, 'Catalan Folk Sources in "Soirées de Barcelone"', 14.

intended the ballet to become as important a document of Catalan culture as Stravinsky's *Petrushka* or *Rite of Spring* is of Slavic, and, like Stravinsky, Gerhard aimed for ethnic authenticity.⁴¹⁴

Although Gerhard and Casals both used folk music in their compositions, Casals did not seem to compose with archival interests, that is, trying to show a particular interest in folk music research; at the same time, they also had two different ideas of what the musical language was about, as Gerhard pushed his music towards atonality whereas Casals' musical language seemed to be based on tonality.

Thirdly, Béla Bartók probably represents the paramount example of folkloric music research in the twentieth century. His music was 'the result of an unerring eye for musical qualities latent in the folk material that could be brought into conformity with the modernistic concepts that attracted him'.⁴¹⁵ Bartók's approach to his folk sources was very different to that of Casals, as he went about recording folk music in a much more comprehensive way than Casals ever did:

When preparing these folk melodies for publication, I discovered in 1932 that my transcriptions of the records were not sufficiently exact. This meant the revision of all the old notations and even the making of entirely new transcriptions of some of the recorded melodies.⁴¹⁶

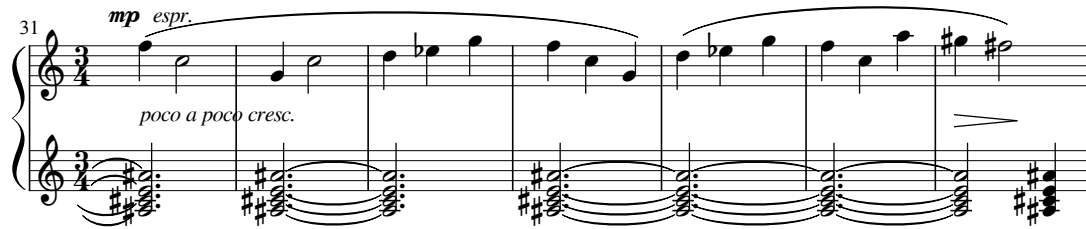
For instance, in *Four Dirges* (1912) Bartók used an original folk song (example 36) within an otherwise atonal musical language. Bartók

⁴¹⁴ Julian White, 'Promoting and Diffusing Catalan Musical Heritage: Roberto Gerhard and Catalan Folk Music', in *The Roberto Gerhard Companion*, ed. by Adkins and Russ, 66.

⁴¹⁵ Richard Taruskin, 'A Precarious Symbiosis', *The Oxford History of Western Music*, Oxford University Press (New York, n.d.).
www.oxfordwesternmusic.com/view/Volume4/actrade-9780195384840-div1-007003.xml?rskey=BamUaD&result=2. [accessed 5 November 2017]
Fosler-Lussier also stated: 'Music was compelling not only in its own right, but also because of the position it claimed within a system of contested values'. Fosler-Lussier, *Music Divided*, 164.

⁴¹⁶ As quoted in Benjamin Suchoff, 'Bartók's Rumanian Folk Music Publication', *Ethnomusicology* Vol. 15, No. 2 (1971), (220–230), p. 222.

used the perfect 4th as a recurrent motif, which he took from the original song (example 37).



Example 36, *Four Dirges* Op. 9a, no. 2, bb. 31-37.

Mi - kor gu - las - lé - geny vol - tam

Gu - la mel - lett el - a - lud - tam.

Example 37, *Mikor Gulaslégeny voltam*, bb. 1-4.

In *Allegro Barbaro* (1911) one can see Bartók's 'constancy of principle and drive for innovation'.⁴¹⁷ Bartók's love for rhythmic identity and modal sounds is clear here (example 38), as well as his use of folk song (as can be seen from bar 5). This use of folk song (either inspired by or using actual ones) is a distinctive trait of Bartók. This work is the first one where the use of folk music becomes crucial to the piece's essence:

⁴¹⁷ John Weissman, 'Bartók's Piano Music' *Tempo*, No. 14 (1949-50), (8-19), p. 9.

[*Allegro Barbaro*] is Bartók's first large-scale independent composition for the piano in which the spell of folk music, determining his style in regard to both its technical apparatus and intellectual values, becomes consistently recognizable.⁴¹⁸

The sound of the phrygian mode can also be perceived in this example, which also points towards the idea of how folk music 'determines Bartók's style'.



Example 38, *Allegro Barbaro*, bb. 1-13. Phrygian mode (G - A - C (B#))

Bartók and Casals seem to share their use of folk music as a means to compose music, but Bartók's 'drive for innovation' and his musical language make Casals' music very different from his. At the same time, Bartók shared Casals' ideal for a 'common language':

Unless modern art music, however maximalistic, rested on a "natural" basis, by which Bartók meant something that would now be more likely called a social basis, its style would be "unthinkable". Composers and their audiences had to speak a common language, and that language had

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., 13.

to be determined by “nature” - that is, a social consensus that subsumed the individual.⁴¹⁹

However, their understanding of a ‘common language’ was radically different, as Bartók’s quest for a musical language had very little to do with Casals’ quest for simplicity.

Casals might have had some similarities with Mompou, Gerhard and Bartók but he differed from all of them; an interesting article from the San Francisco Chronicle sums up how Casals’ music and person seemed to embody a unique concept of simplicity and vocation:

Casals is the only composer who is alive who can write music as if the twentieth century never existed and be taken seriously. *El Pessebre* is thrilling, great and elevated in its highest degree.⁴²⁰

Casals seemed to make a conscious choice to ignore what was happening in the compositional scene of the twentieth century, but he seemed to do so in order to remain faithful to his ideas.

It was not only in his compositions that Casals seemed to seek simplicity; his favourite encore, mentioned already, was *El Cant dels Ocells* (Song of the Birds), a Catalan folk song. He believed that the simplicity of this song would also help him to send a message that

⁴¹⁹ Taruskin, ‘A Precarious Symbiosis’.

www.oxfordwesternmusic.com/view/Volume4/actrade-9780195384840-div1-007003.xml?rskey=BamUaD&result=2. [accessed 5 November 2017]

⁴²⁰ As quoted in Alavedra, *Pau Casals*, 393. It has not been possible to track down the original article from the San Francisco Chronicle. ‘Casals és l’únic compositor vivent que pot escriure música com si el segle XX no hagués existit i fer-se prendre seriosament. *El Pessebre* és emocionant, genial i elevat en el grau més alt’. Another review states that ‘it was a moving experience to see and hear the 92-year-old Casals conduct part of his work, designed to bring a message of goodwill and longing for peace to men all over the world’. [Anon.], ‘Festivals’ *The Musical Times* Vol. 110, No. 1521 (November, 1969), (1161-1163+1165), p. 1162. Finally, a recent review states the importance to rediscover this work: ‘I did not grasp the full musical scope of *El Pessebre* until, with the Auditorium’s acoustics, I saw a well-prepared orchestra, the OBC [Barcelona city orchestra], with a very lovable Orfeó Català [and] well conducted by an American, Lawrence Foster’. Jordi Maluquer, ‘Glory of the Lord’, *El Ciervo* Vol. 54, No. 647 (February 2005), (39), p. 39.

would be understood. This song reminded Casals of the Spanish Civil War:⁴²¹

Where I go, Catalonia is always with me. I have played that
[El Cant dels Ocells] hundreds of times, hundreds of times!
And every time I am so moved, so moved because with it,
it comes all the tragedy of my country.⁴²²

This is another example of the idea of Casals' construction of an image of someone who is a Catalan symbol. The song's simplicity seemed to have spoken to him and there are many accounts that praise Casals' performance of it.⁴²³ He went on to say that the song's beauty would have been praised by Bach and Beethoven had they known it: 'the Song of the Birds is a Catalan folksong so beautiful that I always think that Bach and Beethoven would have admired [it] for its beauty, for its form'.⁴²⁴ The ease of the melody and the background of its origin as a Catalan song made it the perfect candidate for his favourite encore. This combination of origin (its historical context) and simplicity was important for Casals; furthermore, it also seemed to give him another way to transcend

⁴²¹ Casals' performance of *El Cant dels Ocells* has transcended his own time as, even today, this melody is used in public events where there is a call for peace. In the aftermath of the Barcelona terrorist attacks (17th August 2017) it was used in an anti-terrorism protest, as reported in the Guardian: 'There was total silence when two cellists played El Cant dels Ocells (Birdsong), the traditional children's song made famous by the cellist Pablo Casals who went into exile at the end of the Spanish civil war. The song has come to symbolise the dark years of repression under the Franco dictatorship'. As quoted at

www.theguardian.com/world/2017/aug/26/spain-attacks-thousands-march-through-barcelona-in-show-of-defiance. [accessed 1 November 2017]

⁴²² United Kingdom, British Library, *Tribute to Pablo Casals*, Produced by BBC Radio 3. C1398/0964 (London, October 28, 1973). Casals here seems to elude Spain. What is more, Casals' love for Catalonia has been discussed but that does not preclude that he could not care for his Spanish comrades.

⁴²³ One of the most famous accounts is when he played for President Kennedy at the White House in 1961.

www.nytimes.com/1973/10/23/archives/casals-the-master-cellist-won-wide-acclaim-in-career-that-spanned.html. [accessed 1 November 2017]

⁴²⁴ United Kingdom, British Library, *Tribute to Pablo Casals*, Produced by BBC Radio 3. C1398/0964 (London, October 28, 1973). See footnote 203.

the local impact that a Catalan folksong might have had. The composer Robert Gerhard (1896-1970) described Casals as a simple man and went as far as to call him a 'Catalan peasant'; I suggest he meant that Casals' music was simple as well as that Casals was a simple man:

There is a Catalan word that, significantly enough, has no equivalent at all in the Castilian (or Spanish) language: the word '*seny*'. It is not exactly 'wisdom', not 'common sense', but in its fullest psychological meaning the inclination to take an eminently 'sensible' view of affairs. Casals' art is instinct with this quality [sic]; I believe it is the one which has always preserved his art from the dangers of self-willed effects, [...] Indeed when I listen to the calm utterance of a Catalan peasant or look at his way of tilling the land with an economy and loving care that reveals an almost disinterested sense of beauty, or when I behold the fine architectural simplicity of the most humble dwelling of the Catalan peasant or fisherman, I feel acutely conscious of the underlying identity between the human attitude disclosed in these things and that which one can observe in Pablo Casals.⁴²⁵

Casals' simplicity also seems to be defined by this word (*seny*). As it has been researched, Casals devoted an important part of his life to campaigning for peace through his performances and his oratorio. His musical language was based on tonality as he thought that it would convey his humanitarian convictions more easily. That could also be part of the definition that Gerhard portrays: someone who has a sensible view of affairs and therefore uses his voice as an artist to lobby for peace. His music is one that does not seek to relate to twentieth century music but rather one that is a reaction to it. Casals did so as a conscious choice and this should not be separated from the lens which one uses to understand his music.

⁴²⁵ As quoted in Taper, *Cellist in Exile*, 42-3. The word *seny* (which Gerhard uses to describe Casals) is a combination of wisdom, sensibility and intelligence.

The third chapter has researched how the centrality of the piano, autoethnography, tonality, folk music, sacred music, and the political dimension of Casals' music are key elements, in my reading, to understand his music.

IV. CHAPTER IV: Conclusion

In this conclusion I will attempt to answer the questions I raised in the introduction and point towards the applications of my doctoral thesis. The initial question of this research was if a case could be made for the reassessment of Casals' place in the history of the twentieth century music but also in the struggle against totalitarianism.

In the first chapter, I analysed what Casals' context was. In understanding his Catalan roots and the Spanish conflict, one can understand the uniqueness of Casals as a figure. In this sense, it is important to point out that there is no other composer who did what he did, in the way in which he did it. That is, his roots as a Catalan choirboy and his use of Catalan folk music configured him to fight against the Franco regime in the way in which he did.

The second chapter, where I discussed Casals' thought, has shed light on a better comprehension of how Casals saw society and what his political views were. Although he was not part of any political party, his left-wing inclinations are clear and his Catholic roots also allow the reader to grasp how important humanism and pacifism were to him. The Pau Casals Orchestra and the Working Men Concert Association show his deep concern for Catalan society and his interest in its least privileged members. Furthermore, one has been able to see how Casals' musical education shaped his understanding of musical aesthetics and his music namely the use of a tonal musical language as an answer to his belief that simplicity was the only way to convey a message of peace, his use of folk music as a way to transcend its local sphere and the political dimension of his music as a 'peace crusade' to fight the Franco regime.

The third chapter, the one in which I discussed Casals' music, has shown an analysis of his piano works, Montserrat motets and *El Pessebre* through the lenses of two approaches: the centrality of the piano in Casals' music and simplicity as a means for understanding. It has been shown how the improvisatory and intuitive compositional process and Bach's influence have shaped the centrality of the piano in Casals' music and the importance of the sacred music, as an exploration of the idea of beauty, and the role of folk music in Casals' work, have been analysed. One has also been able to see what the connection between these works is. The piano works represent the private Casals insofar as they reflect Casals' upbringing and the importance of folk music; the Montserrat motets represent the sacred which explores the idea of beauty and the ineffability of the Mystery; *El Pessebre* is the culmination of the two: on the one hand its private persona has become public and the exploration of the piano writing has come to its culmination; and on the other hand, the sacred and the exploration of beauty has found its culmination in the Incarnation (Catholic humanism) as seen from the Catalan perspective. The evolution of the role of the piano in his music has also been explored, showing how it found its fuller expression in *El Pessebre*, where its dialogue with the choral part was that of two equals.

I would like to address some of the questions that have arisen in the thesis at this point. Firstly, I think Casals constructed an image of an artist who was fighting a 'peace crusade' but the most important element, in my reading, is to grasp that this could be said of most public figures as it is a natural process of someone who has such a big drive for peace.⁴²⁶ I believe the evidence points towards the idea that Casals was honestly fighting against the Franco regime and he

⁴²⁶ This would also be the case of someone who is passionate about any other cause.

did so with his music. Secondly, what makes Casals unique is the understanding of his context and the way in which he decided to react against a particular situation of his life, namely the Spanish Civil War and the Franco regime. Thirdly, he had critics who did not understand why he composed in the way in which he did it but my reading suggests that he did so as a conscious and personal choice and it was not because of a lack of skill but rather, because he believed that through simplicity, as a reaction to complexity, he could best transmit a message of peace in the context of the struggle against totalitarianism. Fourthly, Casals' choosing a tonal musical language was a bold choice in the twentieth century; nonetheless, it evokes the simplicity that he sought in his music, especially if it is taken in its historical context. Fifthly, I believe one of the kernels of my thesis is the understanding of a political dimension in Casals' work inasmuch as he used his performances and his music to campaign for peace. It is within this understanding that one can grasp the validity of Casals' music today and my own performances enlighten this reality. Sixthly, my reading is that he had a desire to transcend the local impact of Catalan folk music and its culture as a result of the cultural movements that he had lived as a choirboy. Seventhly, I believe that one can only understand Casals' music from a pianistic point of view as this research has shown. It is through the eyes of the performance-led research and autoethnography when one can fully grasp what these compositions are about; through the interpreting of Casals' music, one becomes an 'agent of culture' and, consequently, one creates a dialogue between the culture at the time of Casals' life and the culture that surrounds a performance of Casals' works now. Finally, a case can be made for the reassessment of Casals' legacy as his music is a testament to someone who devoted an important part of his life to peace.

There are three applications that this research might have; firstly, a revision of the role of Casals' *El Pessebre* in today's culture as, although it bears little resemblance to twentieth-century music, the message it conveys is still valuable today as I have experienced in my performances. Secondly, it is through a study like the one I have done here, where one can fully understand the depth of a composition. One cannot play a piece of music without understanding its context to the level of depth that I have attempted in this thesis. Thirdly, an edition of Casals' works would be a good continuation of the research I have conducted here. Finally, Casals' understanding of music points toward the construction of a more just society through art creation. Casals' stated how art makes humanity complete and I suggest that through art it is possible to build a society based on the values of justice, compassion and beauty.

Casals was a Catalan choirboy who became a great cellist and an artist of peace, and his music is still valid today insofar as it attempts to touch the core of our humanity: goodness, justice and, ultimately, the search for what is simply beautiful in the world and in ourselves through artistic creation.

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VI. Appendix

DMUS FINAL RECITAL

Pau Casals: An Artist Of Peace An exploration of Casals' ideas as shown in his piano and choral compositions

Ricard Rovirosa Cabré

Final recital for the Degree of Doctor of Music
Guildhall School Of Music And Drama
May 2018

PROGRAMME:

Piano Works by P. CASALS (1876-1973):

Ballade (1893)
Second Organic Prelude (1895)
Festive Sardana (1909)

Montserrat Motets by P. CASALS:

Nigra Sum (1943)
Cançó a la Verge (1942)
Salve Monterratina (1932)

El Pessebre (1945-1960) by P. CASALS:

Prelude
The Star
The Caravan and The Three Pages
The Mother of God
Saint Joseph
The arrival of the Shepherds
Hosanna
Gloria

Laura Ruhí i Vidal, soprano
Mercè Bruguera i Abelló, mezzo
Eduard Mas i Bacardit, tenor
Josep-Ramon Olivé i Soler, baritone
Ricard Rovirosa i Cabré, piano



Soprano Laura Ruhí Vidal graduated from the Master Opera Course at the Guildhall School, having completed her BMus (Hons) and being awarded an Artist Fellowship at the same institution. During her studies, Laura appeared as Aphrodite in *Phaedra* (Henze), Norina in *I pazzi per progetto* (Donizetti), and Bathsheba in *The cunning peasant* (Dvořák), all three productions at the Silk Street Theatre; also sang the roles Feu and Rossignol in *L'enfant et les sortilèges* (Ravel) at the Barbican Hall, and Mustardseed in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Britten) at the Barbican Theatre.

Notable appearances include Papagena in *The Magic Flute* (Mozart) with MidWales Opera, Zerlina in *Don Giovanni* (Mozart) with Opera Project, Barena in *Jenůfa* (Janáček) at the Longborough Opera Festival, Gretel in *Hansel and Gretel* (Humperdinck) with GSO, and Girl in *East of the Sun, West of the Moon* (James Garner) at the contemporary opera festival Tête à Tête.



Mercè Bruguera's repertoires ranges from early music to the most recent and contemporary compositions. This Barcelonian mezzo-soprano, born in 1995, began her studies with Mireia Pintó in Barcelona until she was accepted in September 2016 by The Royal Academy of Music to work with the renowned mezzo-soprano Catherine Wyn-Rogers.

In opera, she made her debut with the title role of Orfeo in Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* in the main theatre of Tarragona, Spain, in the summer of 2016, where she was well reviewed. She

also has a wide range of experience as a recital and oratorio singer, her last performance was Mozart Requiem in Verona with the Italian National Orchestra and the Chamber Choir of Europe in April 2018.

She is delighted to be supported by the Santander Universities UK Scholarship for her BMus programme and the Royal Academy of Music Scholarship for her MA study programme starting on September 2018.



Eduard Mas Bacardit is currently in his second year of the Opera Course at the Guildhall School of Music & Drama, studying with Janice Chapman. He has appeared as a soloist with the London Symphony Orchestra, London School Symphony Orchestra and Orchestra Purpur and participated in masterclasses with Christa Ludwig, Elly Ameling, Helmut Deutsch, Roger Vignoles, Julius Drake and Wolfgang Holzmair.

In 2012 he was awarded the Kathleen Ferrier Society Bursary for Young singers and he was a finalist in the 2017 edition of the Kathleen Ferrier Awards. Eduard's studies are generously supported by The Amar-Franses & Foster-Jenkins Trust and he is recipient of the Help Musicians UK Tutton Award.



Born in Barcelona, Josep-Ramon Olivé holds bachelor degrees in Choral Conducting and Singing from the ESMuC (Higher School of Music of Catalonia). He went on to study at Guildhall School of Music & Drama in London with Professor Rudolf Piernay, completing both a Singing Masters and the Opera Course.

He has collaborated with orchestras such as the Orquestra Simfònica de Barcelona i Nacional de Catalunya, the London Handel Orchestra, the Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment, Le Concert des Nations, and Hespèrion XXI; at important venues including Palau de la Música Catalana, Auditorio Nacional in Madrid, Gran Teatre del Liceu, Shanghai Grand Theatre, Avignon Opera,

Konzerthaus Wien and the Barbican Hall.

Amongst several prizes, Josep-Ramon was awarded with the prestigious Gold Medal of the Guildhall School in 2017 as well as the First Prize and the Audience Prize at the 2015 Handel Singing Competition and the same year he was nominated for 'Oxford Lieder Young Artist', together with pianist Ben-San Lau.



Ricard Rovirosa began his musical career with his father, Miquel Rovirosa, and Mercè Saliatti. At ten, he was accepted at the 'Escolania de Montserrat' (a specialist music school in Spain), where he studied with Vicenç Prunés and a year later, he was a prize-winner in the 13th City of Berga Competition (Spain). In 2000, he won a place at the Barcelona Music School, where he studied with M^a Lluïsa Reñaga and Albert Attenelle. In 2006, he was awarded an audition prize at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama to study with Professor Joan Havill. In 2010 he was awarded a first class Bachelor of Music (HONS) and, in 2012, a distinction Master of Performance (Guildhall Artist). He was also awarded a distinction for his Master of Ensemble Performance

from the Queen Sofía School (Madrid).

This is the final recital for his Doctorate in Music (DMUS); his supervisors have been Professor Joan Havill, Claire Taylor-Jay, Adrian Thorne and Fr. Jordi-Agustí Piqué, OSB.