

Folksong models and their sources in Manuel de Falla's

Siete canciones populares españolas¹

Michael Christoforidis

It may be that the Russian Stravinsky and the Spaniard Falla did not go on journeys of [folksong] collection, and mainly drew on the collections of others, but they too, I feel sure, must have studied not only books and museums but the living music of their countries.²

the purely melodic lines of their songs. The rhythmic or melodic accompaniment is as important as the song itself. Inspiration, therefore, is to be found directly in the people, and those who do not see it so will only achieve a more or less ingenious imitation of what they originally set out to do.⁸

This observation by Bartók on the sources of the folk material employed by Stravinsky in his Russian works has been supported by a body of research demonstrating Stravinsky's use of folksong collections.³ The extent to which Manuel de Falla utilised such collections was raised in two articles by the eminent Spanish folklorist Manuel García Matos dating from 1953.⁴ These articles dealt with *El sombrero de tres picos* [The Three-Cornered Hat], *El retablo de Maese Pedro* [Master Peter's Puppet Show] and the *Siete canciones populares españolas* [Seven Spanish Folksongs], and have provided the basis for much of the later discussion surrounding Falla's use of folk material.⁵ In a more recent article, Josep Crivillé y Bargalló has also traced Falla's use of folksong models in *Siete canciones populares españolas*.⁶ Neither scholar, however, had access to Manuel de Falla's personal library and sketch materials which have survived relatively intact.⁷ An examination of these sources, now located at the Archivo Manuel de Falla in Granada, has led to the identification of the collections handled by the composer and some insights into his assimilation of folk music.

Manuel de Falla most clearly defined his position on the use of folk music in an essay from 1917 entitled 'Nuestra música' ['Our Music']:

Let us now turn to folksong. Some consider that one of the means to 'nationalize' our own music is the strict use of popular material in a melodic way. In a general sense, I am afraid I do not agree, although in particular cases I think that procedure cannot be bettered. In popular song I think the *spirit* is more important than the *letter*. Rhythm, tonality and melodic intervals, which determine undulations and cadences, are the essential constituents of these songs. The people prove it themselves by infinitely varying

This stance seems to contradict Bartók's assertion regarding the primary source of Falla's folk inspiration. The essay 'Nuestra Música' should be read contextually, as it was in essence directed against the Spanish zarzuela [operetta] tradition. In their attempt to create a distinctly Spanish music, many zarzuela composers incorporated melodies from folksong collections within the nineteenth-century Italianate tonal framework of that genre. Falla himself used such collections and pre-existing musical matter from printed sources in almost all his mature works, though he generally subjected this material to a greater degree of elaboration and integrated them within an original conceptual framework.

Falla's activity as a folksong collector was not extensive prior to his return from Paris to Spain in 1914. Despite being raised in Andalusia—the region whose music provided the characteristics for much of what was seen to be 'Spanish' in nineteenth-century Europe—Falla lived in the cosmopolitan city of Cadiz, where his contact with folk music was limited. As a child and youth, Falla led a relatively isolated existence, mainly socialising with the children of the bourgeois merchant class; however, he later stressed his exposure to folklore through the songs and stories of his nursemaid, 'La morilla'.⁹ From this setting, Falla moved to Madrid in his early twenties to further his studies at the Conservatorium. The zarzuelas he composed in the subsequent years, and later suppressed, are littered with melodies taken from folksong collections. It was not until he came to study with Felipe Pedrell in 1902 that Falla was actively encouraged to study folksong directly from the people. Apart from his work as a composer and musicologist, Pedrell was an ardent folksong collector who believed that Spain's

musical regeneration was tied to the study of his country's folklore and glorious musical past.¹⁰ Antonio Gallego has argued that Falla's only extant collection of folksongs, a set of Christmas carols entitled *Cantares de Nochebuena*, was gathered in 1903 under the influence of Pedrell's teachings.¹¹

Falla continued to use folksong collections as a compositional aid even after ceasing his studies with Pedrell in 1904. In that year, he embarked on his first opera, *La vida breve*, which is set in the Albaicín quarter of Granada. Given that he had never been to Granada, Falla relied heavily on postcards of the town and printed scores containing dances of the province to evoke the atmosphere of Carlos Fernández Shaw's libretto. This practice led to some awkward moments at the work's first production in Nice where Falla was obliged by the French cast and crew to relate his 'first-hand' descriptions of the town.¹² Falla's move to Paris in 1907 estranged him from the living source of Spanish folk music and prolonged his reliance on printed collections. *Cuatro piezas españolas* [Four Spanish Pieces] of 1906 to 1908 and *Noches en los jardines de España* [Nights in the Gardens of Spain], composed between 1909 and 1915, incorporate folk melodies taken from printed sources. By this stage, however, the use of such material was tempered by a greater experience of the real sound world, context and performance practices of the music employed.

Perhaps the most popular set of Spanish songs ever written,¹³ *Siete canciones populares españolas* is the composition which makes most blatant use of published collections. All seven songs ('El paño moruno', 'Seguidilla murciana', 'Asturiana', 'Jota', 'Nana', 'Canción' and 'Polo') are inspired by printed models. The fact that they were composed in 1914, towards the end of Falla's seven-year Paris sojourn,¹⁴ may have contributed to the dependence on such sources. The circumstances of their commission are outlined by Jaime Pahissa, Falla's most extensive contemporaneous biographer:

After the first performance of *La vida breve* at the Opéra Comique, a Spanish singer from Málaga who was in the cast sought his advice as to which Spanish songs would be most suitable for her to give in concert in Paris. Falla was most interested and told her that he would try to arrange some for her himself.¹⁵

The nature of the compositions requested obviously entailed that Falla would have to make more literal use of folk material than had been his custom in

the works of the previous decade. This practice in *Siete canciones* probably prompted Falla to qualify his remarks in 1917 on the exclusion of strict melodic use of folk material by stating that in 'particular cases I think that procedure cannot be bettered'.¹⁶

Jaime Pahissa gives the following account, approved by Falla,¹⁷ on the extent to which each of the songs reproduces traditional folk melodies:

...sometimes the melody was purely folklore in character, at other times less so and sometimes wholly original. For example, the first song, 'El paño moruno', is the same as the well-known popular air. The melody of 'Asturiana' is also taken from the popular one, but the interesting accompaniment gives it a new guise. There is also a good deal of folk-lore in 'Seguidilla murciana'; but most of the 'Jota' is Falla's own, merely based on the popular model. The 'Nana' is an Andalusian cradle song—the first music he had ever heard from his mother's lips before he was old enough to think...In the 'Polo' there is also a great deal which is original.¹⁸

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

The main volume from which Falla drew for *Siete canciones* was José Inzenga's anthology of folksongs with piano accompaniment, *Ecos de España*, published in Barcelona in 1874.¹⁹ Four of the songs by Falla ('El paño moruno', 'Seguidilla murciana', 'Jota' and 'Canción') are based, to varying degrees, on Inzenga models. Exactly when Falla acquired a copy of *Ecos de España* is uncertain, though it is the probable source for the 'zorongo' referred to in the last movement of *Noches en los jardines de España*. Falla added the words 'Danza gitana' [Gypsy dance] to the printed title 'El zorongo', on page 102 of his copy of this collection. Concrete evidence of Falla's use of this source in *Siete canciones* is provided by the composer's annotations in his copy of *Ecos de España* and the appearance of four circled

numbers in the sketch material for this work, two of which correspond to page numbers in this volume.

Falla clearly based 'El paño moruno' on 'El paño' from page 65 of *Ecos de España*. A circled '65', followed by the words 'El paño', precede Falla's early draft of the accompanimental figure and opening of the melodic line in sketch material XLA2.²⁰ His annotations of Inzenga's 'El paño' are even more telling as they demonstrate that Falla constructed his initial draft of 'El paño moruno' over the printed model (see Example 1 on page 12).²¹ Falla faithfully reproduces the lyrics of the Inzenga version and maintains the two-strophe structure, only adding the exclamation 'Ay' at the end of the song to facilitate his cadential resolution. The melodic alterations introduced are minimal (see Example 2), the main difference being the repetition of the consequent phrase, marked '2 veces' [2 times] in Example 1. Falla not only borrowed the melodic material of Inzenga's 'El paño' but also gained from it some of the initial ideas for his piano accompaniment. The first four bars of 'El Paño' are rejected and the three-note figure from bar 8 is used by Falla to introduce Inzenga's subsequent bass line (see Example 3). In the first sketch from XLA2, Falla decided to add consequent four-bar phrases to each of the transformed Inzenga four-bar bass lines. The idea of a five-bar harmonic pedal, indicated in Falla's pencil jottings below Inzenga's bar 12 of 'El paño' (see Example 1),

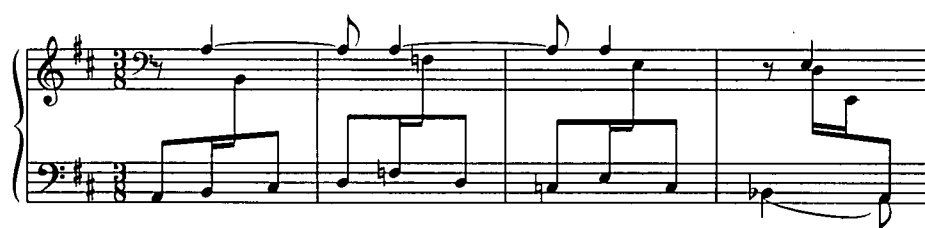
was also extended to eight bars. The early ideas for the bass line and harmonic accompaniment of the melody are also adaptations of Inzenga's piano part, though Falla's subsequent reworkings further explore the triple/duple and major/minor dichotomies.

'Seguidilla murciana' reproduces almost exactly the melodic line of 'Las torrás', the work following 'El paño' in *Ecos de España*. The circled number '68' in sketch XLA2, which accompanies the melodic incipit and an adaptation of the piano introduction of 'Las Torrás', corresponds with the page number of the Inzenga model. A transformation of this introduction is included as a ritornello piano solo passage in XLA3 but was abandoned in the definitive version of 'Seguidilla murciana'. Falla eventually chose to set the melody over chords presented in a guitar-like triplet and semiquaver arpeggiation, as opposed to the predominating quaver figuration of the Inzenga version which reproduces the characteristic quaver movement of the voice. According to Ann Livermore, Falla explained that the 'Seguidilla murciana' was 'set in order to free the song from the prison of past formality, adding, with a gesture towards the open window, "like a bird from its cage"'.²²

The melodic line of 'Canción' is also reproduced from Inzenga's 'Canto de Granada' (see Examples 4a and 4b). Clear evidence of this is provided in Falla's first sketch of the melody in XLA2, which only intro-



Example 2: Manuel de Falla, *Siete canciones populares españolas*, 'El paño moruno', vocal line, bars 23-38.



Example 3: Manuel de Falla, *Siete canciones populares españolas*, 'El paño moruno', bars 1-4.

duces minor variants and includes the second stanza of the lyrics from 'Canto de Granada'. This song may have caught Falla's attention because of its similarity to 'Un pastor lleva un pavo', one of the Christmas carols he had collected in Madrid (see Example 4c). This transcription had recorded the song in a minor key and in 3/8. Falla's ambivalence about the use of a major or minor setting is demonstrated by his change of the key signature, from one sharp to two flats, on his copy of *Ecos de España*. The major key was eventually chosen; however, the indecision concerning the time signature is still present in the first few bars of the initial sketch in XLA2. Federico García Lorca, a close friend and musical disciple of Falla, recorded a version of the work with 'La Argentinita' in 1931, under the title of 'Romance pascual de los pelegrinitos'.²³ Their rendition commences in the major before shifting to the minor and finally closing in the major. Falla's continued interest in the song is suggested by the fact that he annotated yet another version, by Manuel de Quadros, among unclassified sketch material dating from the 1920s, held at the Archivo Manuel de Falla (see Example 4d).

No definitive model for 'Jota' is given by either García Matos or Crivillé y Bargalló, with the former scholar concluding that 'this song is very possibly a recreation of another folksong'.²⁴ The employment of a methodology which compares a finished melodic line directly with that of an earlier printed folksong, precluded them from identifying sources which Falla elaborated more thoroughly. The inspiration for 'Jota'

in fact came from elements of 'La jota aragonesa' on page 81 of *Ecos de España*. Falla uses much of the text from this version and in reworking the vocal melodic material he normally maintains the initial intervals and the overall contour of each phrase. The idea for the accompanimental figure is derived from the 8-bar phrase marked 'imitando la bandurria', which precedes the first vocal entry (see Example 5a). The initial idea for the opening of 'Jota' in XLA2 (see Example 5b) resembles the passage from Inzenga more closely than the eventual opening (see Example 5c). The triplet added by Falla is also similar to the one he had used in the theme of 'Aragonesa' from *Cuatro piezas españolas*. The composition of that work may have given Falla the confidence to substantially rework and expand some of the passages from 'La jota aragonesa'. Falla possibly refrained from using the opening idea of Inzenga's piano introduction because of its marked similarity to the theme developed in Glinka's *Jota Aragonesa*, a mid nineteenth-century *espagnolade* referred to in Falla's writings.²⁵ It is noteworthy that Falla's copy of *Ecos de España* was bound with *Capriccio espagnol* by Rimsky-Korsakov, a work whose themes have been traced back to the Inzenga collection.²⁶

The initial sketch for 'Asturiana' in XLA2 is preceded by the number '77'. This corresponds to the page number of song 96 of José Hurtado's *100 cantos populares asturianos*.²⁷ This song, 'Arriméme a un pino verde', provides the melodic line and text for 'Asturiana'. Falla's library includes a copy of this collection, though song 96 and the last few pages are



Example 4: Initial bars of vocal line from a) Manuel de Falla, *Siete canciones populares españolas*, 'Canción'; b) José Inzenga, *Ecos de España*, 'Canto de Granada'; c) Manuel de Falla, *Cantares de Nochebuena*, 'Un pastor lleva un pavo'; d) melody from Manuel de Quadros found among Manuel de Falla's unclassified sketch material.

5a



5b



5c



Example 5: a) José Inzenga, *Ecos de España*, 'La jota aragonesa', bars 61-69 (facsimile); b) Manuel de Falla, sketch material from XLA2; c) Manuel de Falla, *Siete canciones populares españolas*, 'Jota', Bars 1-5.

missing. It is probable that they were either removed by Falla or came loose in the course of being used.²⁸ The preserved copy of the Hurtado collection carries the stamp of Manuel Quirrell's Cadiz music store, and it is likely that Falla acquired it there before settling in Madrid, or during one of his visits to Cadiz at the turn of the century. Inmaculada Quintanal Sánchez has demonstrated that Falla made use of songs from this source in several numbers of his zarzuela, *Limosna de amor*, written in 1902.²⁹ The second theme of Falla's 'Montañesa' from *Cuatro piezas españolas*, composed in Paris in the first half of 1908, is drawn from song 27 in *100 cantos populares asturianos*.

Another printed source which Falla had in his possession in Paris provided the model for the sixth

song, 'Nana'. Neither García Matos nor Crivillé y Bargalló was able to identify clear precedents for this song, though they allude to similarities in the contour of Andalusian and even foreign lullabies. However, Falla clearly based his 'Nana' on a melody of the same name which was reproduced at the end of the play *Las flores* by Serafín and Joaquín Álvarez Quintero.³⁰ In the course of 1909 and 1910, Falla had commenced work on an opera based on this play, which was never completed. The second edition of *Las flores* (1906), preserved in the Falla library, displays the composer's marking of the text and includes a signed dedication from the authors. The 'Nana' therein is also marked by Falla in line with his initial ideas for the rhythmic transformation of its opening (see Examples 6). A

Nana.

Lento.

O dor-mi va la co-sa de los ro-
 -sa-les a dor-mi va mi mu-ña
 por que ya es tar-de por que ya es
 tar-de por que ya es
 tar-de a dor-mi va la
 co-sa de los ro-sa-les
 Na-ni-ta na-na
 na-ni-ta na-na duermete li-ce-
 -ri-to de la ma-
 -na-na

Example 6: 'Nana' from *Las flores* with autograph annotations by Manuel de Falla.

O dor-mi va la co-sa de los ro-
 -sa-les a dor-mi va mi mu-ña
 por que ya es tar-de por que ya es
 tar-de por que ya es
 tar-de a dor-mi va la
 co-sa de los ro-sa-les
 Na-ni-ta na-na
 na-ni-ta na-na duermete li-ce-
 -ri-to de la ma-
 -na-na

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

binary structure would eventually be employed, and the text is based on variants of the third stanza of the version in *Las flores*. The cadential resolution of most of the phrases was substantially reworked by Falla (see Example 7).

The model for the final song in *Siete canciones* can be traced from information in sketch XLA2, where the

word 'Polo' is accompanied by the number '92'. This refers to the 'Polo gitano o flamenco', scored for voice and guitar or piano, in Eduardo Ocón's *Colección de aires nacionales y populares*.³¹ Of all the volumes consulted by Falla in the course of composing *Siete canciones*, this is the only one no longer present at the Archivo Manuel de Falla.³² In his first draft of 'Polo', in XLA2,

Falla set a line from Ocón's text to a variant of one of the melodic refrains, though he later opted for a completely different lyric. Falla edited and thoroughly reordered the melodic material of the 'Polo gitano o flamenco', often changing its rhythmic parameters while maintaining the original pitch (see Example 9). The opening idea of Falla's version, which generates the solo piano passages, is clearly derived from one of the guitar figures in the Ocón model (see Example 8). A triplet accompanimental figure, similar to one employed in sections of 'Polo gitano o flamenco', is used by Falla to support some of the adapted vocal line. The familiarity with southern Spanish music, the prominent accent in Falla's previous compositions, probably allowed him to treat the sources for 'Nana' and 'Polo' more freely.

The originality of the piano accompaniments created by Falla in *Siete canciones* resulted in part from his stylisation of traditional instrumental textures. He was to advise composers wanting to create strictly national music to 'listen to what we would call popular orchestras (formed by guitars, castanets and tambourines in my part of the world); only in them will they find that tradition they long for so much and which is impossible to discover elsewhere'.³³ Five of the seven songs have their roots in southern Spain; 'Nana', 'Canción' and 'Polo' are of Andalusian origin, and 'El paño moruno' and 'Seguidilla murciana' are from the adjoining region of Murcia. The imitation of the guitar, both plucked and strummed, is pervasive in these works, and this stylisation of the instrument represents a marked advance on his attempts during the previous decade.³⁴ Apart from his study of the guitar in Madrid

and the reproduction of its simple strumming style in *Cantares de Nochebuena*, Falla examined printed guitar scores by Julián Arcas and Rafael Marín, as well as the guitar writing in the aforementioned Ocón collection.³⁵ These sources furthered his understanding of the idiomatic style of the flamenco guitar and the textures and harmonies suggested by it. Falla's annotation of these scores also demonstrates that they were used to complement his knowledge of the melodic, rhythmic and harmonic peculiarities of flamenco forms.

Siete canciones populares españolas marked a crucial point in the development of Falla's musical language, instigated in part by his re-examination of folksong and its setting. This composition may have also prompted Falla's more thorough and immediate exploration of Spanish folklore in the following years. The personal stylisation of Spanish music in 'Polo', 'Jota' and 'Nana' had important consequences in subsequent works by Falla: *El amor brujo* (1914-15), *El sombrero de tres picos* (1916-19) and *Fantasia Baetica* (1919). While still employing some folk elements derived from printed collections, these works represent an original and powerful synthesis of predominantly southern Spanish folklore within a contemporary musical framework. Falla's harmonic language was also transformed in *Siete canciones* through procedures such as the generation of chords from the constituent notes of a melody and the use of what he termed 'cadencias burladas' [bluffed cadences].³⁶ 'Asturiana' includes early examples of the 'superpositioned chords'³⁷ based on Falla's exploration of the harmonic series, which feature prominently in his later works.

The adoption of a 'Spanish' Neoclassicism by

8a

8b

Example 8: a) Eduardo Ocón, *Colección de aires nacionales y populares*, 'Polo gitano o flamenco', guitar part, bars 60-63; b) Manuel de Falla, *Siete canciones populares españolas*, 'Polo', bars 1-4.

Falla in the 1920s signalled his declining interest in folksong as a primary source of inspiration. This was substituted by Spanish art music prior to 1800, which was viewed by Pedrell as containing manifestations of the music of the Spanish people.³⁸ Falla's integration of this art music was conditioned by his use of printed folksong collections as generative sources for his earlier compositions.

The interest in folksong displayed by Falla was not a purely utilitarian one, tied solely to his compositional reliance on printed anthologies. His contact with folk artists increased dramatically after returning to Spain in 1914, as did his commitment to the preservation of Andalusia's musical heritage. To this end he instigated and co-organised the 'Cante Jondo' competition in Granada in 1922, an event which had broad coverage and repercussions.³⁹ The first-hand assimilation of folksong had important ramifications on Falla's musical style and led to his incorporation of its variation procedures, imitation of microtonal inflections and was the catalyst for some of his later

experimentation with rhythmic, modal and timbral parameters. Further work is needed to examine the impact of folk music on Falla, especially in his later, 'non-folkloric', works. In 1925, at a time when he was immersed in his Neoclassical compositions, Falla still insisted that to use folk material 'one must start from the natural living sources and use the substance of the rhythm and harmony, not their outward appearance'.⁴⁰

Notes

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

² Béla Bartók, 'The influence of Peasant Music on Modern Music' (1931) in Benjamin Suchoff, ed. *Béla Bartók Essays* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979), p.341.

³ An important article in this respect is Richard Taruskin, 'Russian Folk Melodies in *The Rite of Spring*', *JAMS* 33.3 (1980), pp.501-543. Footnote 19 provides details of previous studies of folk music in Stravinsky's works.

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

9a

9b

Example 9: a) Eduardo Ocón, *Colección de aires nacionales y populares*, 'Polo gitano o flamenco', vocal line, bars 71-107; b) Manuel de Falla, *Siete canciones populares españolas*, 'Polo', bars 32-52.

music in Falla's first opera.

⁵ Numerous articles and biographies, from Suzanne Demárquez, *Manuel de Falla* (Paris: Flammarion, 1963) to Jean-Charles Hoffelé, *Manuel de Falla* (Paris: Fayard, 1992), have made use of the García Matos articles as the basis for their discussion of Falla's use of folksong. A recent reappraisal of García Matos's approach can be found in Miguel Manzano Alonso, 'Fuentes populares en la música de *El sombrero de tres picos* de Manuel de Falla', *Nassarre* 9.1 (1993), pp.119-144. This author reassesses García Matos's identification of folk sources in *El sombrero de tres picos*, but does so without reference to Falla's sketch material, library or other primary biographical material. The only critique of García Matos to make use of such primary sources is that of Antonio Gallego in 'Dulcinea en el prado (verde y florido)', *Revista de Musicología* 10.2 (1987), pp.685-699, although the discussion is restricted to a sixteenth-century melody in *El retablo de Maese Pedro*.

⁶ Josep Crivillé y Bargalló, 'Las Siete canciones populares españolas y el folklore', in Paolo Pinamonti, ed., *Manuel de Falla tra la Spagna e l'Europa* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1989), pp. 141-152.

⁷ The only study of Falla's use of folksong which consults these sources is one limited to Asturian models in Inmaculada Quintanal Sánchez, *Manuel de Falla y Asturias* (Oviedo: Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 1989).

⁸ As translated by David Urman and J.M.Thomson in Manuel de Falla, *On Music and Musicians* (London: Marion Boyars, 1979), pp. 31-32.

⁹ Falla made reference to this in a letter, dated 30/12/1928, which included his corrections to Roland Manuel's first draft of his biography, at the Archivo Manuel de Falla.

¹⁰ For an outline of Pedrell's ideas on the use of folksong prior to the years that Falla studied with him see Felipe Pedrell, *Por nuestra música* (Barcelona: Henrich y Cia., 1891), especially chapter 5.

¹¹ Introduction to Manuel de Falla, *Cantares de Nochebuena* (Madrid: Ediciones Manuel de Falla, 1992). I am currently in the process of gathering Falla's jottings of folk melodies he heard, some of which have appeared in the course of my research.

¹² Jaime Pahissa, *Manuel de Falla: His life and works*, trans. Jean Wagstaff (London: Museum, 1954), p. 32.

¹³ This popularity has led to numerous transcriptions of the work, including an arrangement of six of the songs for violin and piano by Paul Kochanski entitled *Suite populaire espagnole*. Two distinct versions for voice and orchestra were prepared by Ernesto Halffter and Luciano Berio.

¹⁴ During this period, Falla is known to have returned to Spain on only one occasion, in January 1908.

¹⁵ Pahissa, *Manuel de Falla*, pp. 76-77.

¹⁶ From 'Nuestra música' in Falla, *On music*, p. 31.

¹⁷ Falla corrected Pahissa's manuscript prior to its publication.

¹⁸ Pahissa, *Manuel de Falla*, pp. 77-78.

¹⁹ José Inzenga, *Ecos de España* (Barcelona: n.p., [1874]). The copy at Archivo Manuel de Falla has the inventory number of 1007.

²⁰ This numbering refers to Antonio Gallego's classification of Manuel de Falla's manuscripts and scores in Antonio Gallego, *Catálogo de obras de Manuel de Falla* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1987). This classification is also employed by the Archivo Manuel de Falla.

²¹ I undertook a study of Manuel de Falla's library during 1991 with a grant from Spain's Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores. This was followed by a classification of that collection in 1993 which will be published in *Catálogo de la biblioteca personal de Manuel de Falla* (Granada: Archivo Manuel de Falla, in preparation).

²² Ann Livermore, *A Short History of Spanish Music* (London: Duckworth, 1972), p. 191.

²³ Reproduced in *Colección de 'Canciones populares antiguas'* (Sonifolk, CDJ-105), reissue of HMV recordings made in 1931.

²⁴ García Matos, 'Folklore en Falla', p. 46.

²⁵ 'El "cante jondo"' (1922), in Falla, *On Music*, p.107.

²⁶ Falla recognised that Rimsky-Korsakov relied on the arrangement of folk material in *Capriccio espagnol*. See 'Notes sur Ravel' (1939), in Falla, *On Music*, p. 94.

²⁷ José Hurtado, *100 cantos populares españoles* (Bilbao, 1890), inventory number 985 at the Archivo Manuel de Falla.

²⁸ Some of the published musical material which Falla used in his compositions is preserved at the Archivo Manuel de Falla in the form of loose pages removed from their respective volumes.

²⁹ Quintanal Sánchez, *Manuel de Falla y Asturias*, pp. 21-25.

³⁰ Serafin y Joaquín Álvarez Quintero, *Las flores* (Madrid: Sociedad de Autores Españoles, 1906), inventory number 3262 at the Archivo Manuel de Falla. Crivillé y Bargalló, in 'Las Siete canciones', p. 148, noted the similarity of this 'Nana' from *Las flores* to that of Falla but mistakenly dated the play (as 1911) and only knew of the 1923 publication in Serafín y Joaquín Álvarez Quintero *Teatro Completo*, vol. 3 (Madrid: Sociedad General Española, 1923). He thus precluded it from being a possible model for Falla.

³¹ Eduardo Ocón, *Cantos españoles. Colección de aires nacionales y populares* (Málaga, 1876). Four editions of this work were published to 1906. 'Polo gitano o flamenco' begins on page 92 in at least the second edition (1888). Many thanks to Javier Suárez Pajares and Yolanda Acker for providing me with a copy of this piece.

³² Other volumes consulted by Falla for the purpose of his compositions are also not currently located at the Archivo Manuel de Falla. He is known to have lent copies of folksong collections to friends. The copy of Dámaso Ledesma's *Cancionero Salamantino* (Madrid: Imp. Alemana, 1907) in the Falla library actually belonged to the pianist Ricardo Viñes.

³³ 'Nuestra Música' (1917) in Falla, *On Music*, p. 82.

³⁴ Examples of Falla's imitation of the guitar during this period can be found in the dances from *La vida breve*, 'Andaluza' from *Cuatro piezas españolas* and 'Seguidille' from *Trois mélodies*.

³⁵ These included *Los tientos*, *Malagueñas*, *Granadinas*, *Tangos*, *Soleares* and *Siguirillas gitanas* from the 'Aires Andaluces' series by Rafael Marín (Madrid: Sociedad de Autores Españoles, 1902), and *Rondeña*, *Soleá* and *Murcianas* by Julian Arcas (Barcelona: Dotesio, n.d.). For a more complete account of Falla's interaction with the flamenco guitar see Michael Christoforidis, 'Manuel de Falla y la guitarra flamenca', *La Caña* 4(1993), pp. 40-44.

³⁶ An example of this type of cadence can be found at bars 59-60 of 'Jota'. Falla used this term in compositional notes from the 1920s.

³⁷ Falla's use of these chords is discussed in Paolo Pinamonti, 'L'Acoustique nouvelle interprete "inattuale" del linguaggio armonico di Falla', *Manuel de Falla tra la Spagna*, pp. 107-19.

³⁸ Felipe Pedrell expressed his position clearly in section III of the prologue to *Cancionero Popular Musical Español* vol. 1 (Barcelona: Eduardo Castells, 1917). Volumes 3 and 4 of Pedrell's *Cancionero* consist almost exclusively of 13th- to 18th-century Spanish works, which were thoroughly consulted by Falla.

³⁹ For a full account of this event and its context, as well as some of the Spanish and international press coverage of it, see Jorge de Persia, *I Concurso de Cante Jondo* (Granada: Archivo de Manuel de Falla, 1992).

⁴⁰ Falla, *On music*, p. 71.